

'A meeting of different tribes'? Travelling women and mobility between European and Australasian women's lands

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ABSTRACT

During the 1970s and 1980s, a number of predominantly white, working- and middle-class women from across Europe, Australasia, North America and elsewhere travelled across the globe, establishing short or longer-term residence in rural and urban separatist communities. This article explores the role of these women in disseminating post-68 feminist ideas and literature, as well as in the creation of transnational lesbian feminist networks. Drawing on oral history interviews and feminist literature, this work traces these networks and explores some of the central ideological concerns of rural women's lands and the ways in which these differed between specific locations in Australia, Wales and Denmark.

KEYWORDS

Women's lands; lesbian history; Australia; Wales; Denmark

In a recent edited collection celebrating Amazon Acres, a women-only rural community in Northern NSW, Australia, German feminist, Lava, recalled the day in 1982 when she first arrived at the women's lands. She wrote:

I felt excited to finally arrive and was full of anticipation. I knew some of the women on the Mountain having lived with them in Wales, London, Spain and India.


To come to these women's lands was like a meeting of two different tribes for me – Welsh and Australian.

I had seen photos of the Mountain and wondered if I would recognise some of the places ...

From a distance I watched these amazons in their jeans, Blondstone boots and checked shirts. Straight away I felt out of place.

These women were using chainsaws. On women's land in Wales we only ever used a hand saw and an axe ...

Later in the evening women came [back to the Hut] to have dinner. It appeared normal that women were eating meat and drinking alcohol, both considered to be embodiments of patriarchal evil in Wales. I had not eaten meat for years, or drunk any alcohol.

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I was allocated Skye's caravan to sleep in and on my way to bed I heard these thumping boing, boing, boing noises. I assumed these were coconuts dropping onto the ground. Nobody had explained to me anything about wallabies.

Falling asleep, I wondered if they thought I was nuts and how, or if, I would ever call this place home.¹

Lava was one of a number of predominantly white, working- and middle-class women from across Europe, Australasia, North America and elsewhere who travelled individually and in small groups across the globe in the 1970s and 1980s, establishing short or longer-term residence in rural and urban separatist communities. Motivated by a desire to find and be a part of a 'lesbian nation' and inspired by post-1968 feminist literature, these women played an important role in the transnational dissemination of feminist ideas and literature, as well as in the creation of transnational lesbian feminist networks. They embodied an imagined international lesbian feminist community and helped to materialise this vision by shaping communities outside their home countries and bringing the values and practices of those communities back to their native lands. However, their experience also points to the limits of transnational exchange and a global vision of 'lesbian nation.' Lava's account of her first day at Amazon Acres highlights this central tension in the transnational experience of lesbian travelling women. She refers to the importance of transnational lesbian networks and global circuits of mobility in prompting women like herself to travel between different women's lands around the world and to do so in expectation of a shared separatist culture. Conversely, however, Lava's initial reaction of alienation from Amazon Acres demonstrates the extent to which cultural and environmental differences shaped each of these lands in unique ways. These two themes are the focus of this article, which will draw on oral history interviews and feminist literature to trace these networks and to explore some of the central ideological concerns of rural women's lands and the ways in which these differed between specific locations.²

Feminist rural women's lands appeared across the Western world in the 1970s. We are perhaps most familiar with the phenomenon in the US, where communities such as the Oregon Women's Lands have been well documented, both by their residents at the time and, subsequently, by feminist historians and geographers.³ However, women's lands were also established in NSW and elsewhere in Australia, in a number of locations in the North Island of New Zealand, Wales and Denmark, as well as more short-lived communities which sprang up in Spain, England and elsewhere in Europe. This article will focus on three in particular: Amazon Acres and its sister communities, The Valley and Herland in NSW; Cefn Foellat near Lampeter in Wales; and Kvindelandet in Denmark.⁴ These communities were typically founded by women drawn from urban radical feminist and lesbian feminist populations who sought an isolated environment in which to enact an ideological commitment to separatism and to create 'lesbian nation'. Amazon Acres was established on Mount Firestone, near Wauchope, Northern New South Wales, early in 1974, by a group of Radicalesbians from Melbourne and Sydney. Kerryn Higgs, who had initially identified the plot of land and was a key instigator in the founding of the community, put down a deposit and the land was ultimately purchased collectively. It was a large site, comprising more than 1000 acres of largely

uncleared bushland, and was intended to be an open, self-sufficient community which any woman could visit or join. In the late 1970s, following a dispute regarding the extent to which Amazon Acres should be separatist, a second community, The Valley, was founded in the valley at the foot of Mount Firestone and, in 1982, a third community, Herland, was also established on neighbouring land.⁵

Cefn Foellat in Wales was a much smaller site, comprising one field, a house and some barns, which had initially been purchased as a small-holding by two women from London. Accounts suggest that, although they invited women to join them in establishing a women-only community on the property, this arrangement soon broke down. By the end of the 1970s, the land had been taken over by a group of international lesbian feminists (predominantly German) and a community of varied size between 2 and 30 women lived a subsistence lifestyle there.⁶ The idea for establishing Kvindelandet in Denmark emerged in the summer of 1975, during discussions at the lesbian week of Femolejren annual women's camp. Dreaming of a 'woman country', women decided to establish a lesbian camp, or village, where residents would live according to ecological and biodynamic principles, while simultaneously creating a new women's culture.⁷ Kvindelandet was established in late 1978 on twenty five acres 'in the middle of flat, conservative farming country' in Raekkeborgevej.⁸ The community of between twenty and sixty women was international from the outset and also attracted many travelling women who visited and lived on the land. The community existed for 5 years until the development of extensive drilling in the area forced the women to sell the land in 1983.⁹

Unlike many of the US women's lands, which were established when middle-class women purchased farms or land together with a partner or a small group of friends, the communities on Australasian and European lands were typically more diverse. Financial investment was neither a prerequisite nor a norm for residency and these communities embraced a philosophy of enabling all women's access to the land. Although international travel required greater resources, many travelling women did not have access to private funds and raised money for transport from unemployment benefit, short periods of casual work and, in some cases, more legally ambiguous activities. Both the long-term resident communities on the lands and the groups of travelling women therefore typically included a mix of women from working and middle class backgrounds and the communities do not seem to have experienced the tensions around class and socio-economic status which were described by residents of many US women's lands.

However, the women who created rural separatist communities in the 1970s, and those who travelled between them, were predominantly white. The desire to create a women's culture reflected both a radical feminist commitment to the practice of a separatist lifestyle as the only effective form of feminist revolution and the growing international influence of cultural feminism over the course of the 1970s.¹⁰ It was fuelled by the publication of feminist literature such as Jill Johnston's *Lesbian Nation* and WomanShare's *Country Lesbians*, as well as Shulamith Firestone's *The Dialectic of Sex*; Robin Morgan's *Sisterhood is Powerful* and Ti-Grace Atkinson's *Amazon Odyssey*. However, the reception of these ideas across different national and regional contexts was shaped by linguistic and material barriers, as well as cultural, economic and political differences and as a result both the women's land ideology and the networks of travelling

women sustained by the lands were confined to first world and Western nations. Within those nations, women's lands appear to have had limited appeal to women of colour, for a variety of reasons, including the pressing need for women of colour to engage in anti-racist activism and to collaborate with men of colour in doing so; the centrality of predominantly white feminist networks in circulating the vision of women's land; and, in Australia, the very different ways in which Indigenous women and white Australians understood and related to the land.¹¹ The ways in which these exclusions operated varied between each national and cultural context but it is clear that, transnationally, assumptions of whiteness and the legacy of colonial (as well as more recent European geopolitical) relationships, tensions and hierarchies helped shape these networks and communities.

An established tradition of lesbian circuits of mobility can be traced through much of the twentieth century, with individual women travelling between Australasia and Europe in search of lesbian communities and to escape cultural and familial pressures to conform. In the post-war period, these women often utilised and participated in emerging (predominantly white) lesbian subcultures and networks, such as those around lesbian magazines, organisations and bars.¹² In the 1970s, feminism increasingly provided a framework within which women could make contact with others, drawing on connections with mutual friends, or simply relying on a shared political perspective to provide an introduction into feminist and separatist communities in different cities and countries.¹³ By the end of the decade, oral history interviews suggest that common circuits of mobility had been established, which drew both on long-standing imperial and cultural relationships between countries and more recent shared cultures of feminism. Women from Australasia and across Europe travelled between London, continental Europe and Scandinavia, Asia and Australasia in the late 1970s and early 1980s in sufficient numbers that they became recognised in transnational feminist communities as a phenomenon, typically referred to as 'travelling women', 'feral women' or 'gypsy women'. These women often travelled in groups, or drew on contact networks to meet up with existing groups, and followed common circuits of mobility, moving between rural women's lands and other separatist communities.

One such woman, Sand, left her native Wellington, New Zealand for Melbourne in 1978, subsequently describing this move to Australia as 'practice for going overseas'. For a year or so she immersed herself in feminist communities in Melbourne and visited Amazon Acres, the rural women's lands in Northern NSW, but by 1979, it was, she recalled 'time to go to Europe.'

I went to London and through a friend, Morrigan, in NZ, found out that there were a whole bunch of women – a lot of them German but also English, Australian, were holed up on the side of a mountain in Spain, sort of squatting there, and living there. So I decided to join them. I flew from London to Spain and got picked up – there were these women that I'd never met before but I knew that they were there to collect me because they just had that look about them. Anyway ... they drove me to where this collection or tribe or whatever were living on the side of the mountain.¹⁴

Australian, Laurene, also set off for Europe in 1978. She explained:

I went to Greece and then the woman I was with at the time ... really wanted to go to London so I did the right thing and went to London. First of all, we were in a squat in

Bayswater and then ended up in a squat in Hackney ... That was like with a group of us, six of us lezzos from Australia who all just met up in London. Then more came along. It was just like someone knows so-and-so and so-and-so and so-and-so. So then we ended up with a whole lot of women and then it became international. We had Spanish, Canadian, German, Danish – all sorts of Englishwomen ... who came through, like a travelling house. So it sort of ended up being this travelling squat for women globally ... I stayed there for a while and then I went down to Wales and lived at Cefn Foellat, down at the women's land in Wales through a hard winter. Then I went to Kvinde Land [*sic*] in Denmark, women's land there.¹⁵

Laurene returned to Australia via South America in 1980 and went to live on Amazon Acres for a number of years. Sand and Laurene's accounts underline both the importance of word-of-mouth and loose feminist networks in enabling the sharing of information about these communities as well as the often personal and idiosyncratic motivations behind women's travel. If their broader search for 'lesbian nation' was inspired and enabled by a shared commitment to feminist utopia, their specific decisions to move from or to a certain location at a certain time were often prompted by a desire to follow a lover or the need to escape a difficult personal situation.

For Australians and New Zealanders like Laurene and Sand, London represented a focal point for connecting with networks of women from Australasia and Europe. In her work on the women's squats in Hackney, Christine Wall comments that, on Ivydene Road in the early 1980s, 'Many of these women [squatters] were travellers looking for short-term places to stay and they created a parallel community with very little overlap between the slightly older women who had arrived in the 1970s.'¹⁶ Her claim fits with Laurene's memory of the 'travelling squat' she stayed at in Hackney in the late 1970s, suggesting that at this time the travelling women represented a distinct, identifiable sub-group within lesbian feminist communities, who interacted with, but were separate from, more established locally-based lesbian feminist networks and communities. As personal accounts indicate, there were a number of German women involved in these travelling networks alongside Australians and New Zealanders. For women involved in feminist or left-wing politics, the political climate in Germany was extremely difficult in the 1970s and early 1980s and prompted some women to seek communities elsewhere.¹⁷ A group of European lesbians described by Thyme Siegal, in her account of 'country lesbians and sisters on the road' for US magazine *Maize*, travelled Europe 'in four vans together, mostly from Germany' seeking women's land.¹⁸ Lava, and a group of other German feminists who wished to live in a rural separatist community, travelled to Wales in 1978, after a mutual contact told them about the women's land there. These women lived in Wales for some time before travelling around Europe, establishing a women's camp in Spain, visiting the Danish separatist summer camp, Femø, and returning to the UK to live between Cefn Foellat and the lesbian squats in Hackney. Ultimately, Lava travelled to Amazon Acres in Australia, via Asia. Moving between a number of women-only communities on the land and in urban areas in the late 1970s and early 1980s, these women not only developed a distinct identity as 'travelling women', but also played a crucial role in fostering a shared ideology and disseminating ideas between feminists transnationally. The communities they visited and lived in shared three central ideological

concepts—separatism, collectivity and environmentalism—which reflected the core common values on which they were based, while nevertheless being interpreted in different ways in each community.

Separatism

At the heart of all of the women's lands established in the 1970s and early 1980s was a commitment to creating a women-only community in which women could enjoy a haven from the patriarchy and have the space to develop women's culture. Radical feminists understood the patriarchal system and the power structures which upheld male supremacy to be at the heart of the oppression of women. Women-only space was therefore considered essential in providing women both with a safe environment away from male aggression and a free and supportive space in which to develop and articulate a feminist politics. Separatist political spaces such as consciousness-raising groups and a variety of collectives were integral to feminist theorising and activism from the late 1960s, but from the early 1970s a growing number of feminists committed to living and socialising in women-only spaces as well. As rural women's lands began to be founded in Australasia and Europe, this commitment to establishing a women-only community was central to their conceptualisation. Chris, who was part of the group of Melbourne and Sydney Radicalesbians who established Amazon Acres in NSW in 1974, recalled:

In our minds – certainly my mind – was the idea that we would find a very isolated place, and that happened to be on a remote mountaintop, where we felt we could retreat. That we would basically secede from patriarchy. The patriarchal world was so oppressive and corrupt that we couldn't possibly live in it. So we would just create our own world – that was the thinking, the philosophy behind it.¹⁹

However, the degree to which separatism was enacted varied between communities. Reflecting on the extent to which the different lands were successful in creating a women-only community, Laurene explained:

'When I think of the lands it is interesting to note although Wales was only 2 acres, it felt huge, like a women's world unto itself. I was there on and off and I can say I do not remember a man ever venturing onto it.'²⁰

The Danish women's land was similarly strict and Laurene remembered her sister and brother-in-law, who had called by to visit her during a trip round Europe, being turned away at the gate without Laurene's knowledge. In Kvindelandet, she reflected: 'There was the more radical lesbian style of separatism but also ... self-sufficien[cy] from patriarchy as the goal; to stop male pollution, in all forms, being an influence on our lives and minds.' Laurene linked this explicitly with the strong influence of Jill Johnston's book, *Lesbian Nation*, on the community, 'earmarked copies [of which] lay around'.²¹ Shosana, an American woman who was resident on Kvindelandet in 1979-80, also described a strict separatist practice, although she suggested that this did not reflect the views of the entire community. She recalled:

I was often frustrated with, and sometimes clashed with, the extreme separatists on Kvindelandet. I wanted to live only with women, but I didn't feel it was necessary to give away the

male foal born to our horse or to get rid of the rooster. I would have loved to live with children on the land. European lesbians don't have as many children as in the American lesbian community. One time a Danish woman came with a boy child and was turned away by two visiting women who didn't even live on Kvindelandet; I was furious, but many women supported their decision.²²

Shosana's anger suggests that there may have been some underlying tension between the 'visiting women' and those, such as herself, who considered themselves longer-term residents. Differences of opinion over the practice of separatism were a touchstone for these tensions on several of the lands. Nevertheless, the community at Kvindelandet was recalled by many as radically separatist and ultimately disbanded when it became impossible to sustain the dream of a retreat from patriarchy. In 1980, Danish Oil and Natural Gas began drilling on nearby farms as part of a government scheme to utilise natural gas as an energy source and this both created noise pollution and threatened the separatist nature of the community. Shosana complained:

'The men of D.O.N.G., mostly Americans and Germans, watched us through binoculars and were found to be taking moving pictures of us. It became impossible to work naked weeding the fields, as we used to do. We began to lack the desire to work in the fields altogether.'²³

In Australia, separatism had not been practised as strictly on the lands in the 1970s but became a highly contentious issue as a result of the influence of travelling women in the late 1970s and early 1980s. While Amazon Acres had been established as a women-only community, male visitors were occasionally tolerated throughout the 1970s and the community also enjoyed the support and assistance of a male neighbour at that time.²⁴ Lava recalled that, in contrast to the strict separatism she had been accustomed to in Wales and London, 'there was a division between the women here in NSW ... between the women who were separatists and others who weren't. Yeah, there was both, and a lot of shades in between.'²⁵ While separatism as a theory had been very influential in Australian feminism from the outset, its practice was relatively flexible, becoming an increasing topic of debate in the later 1970s.²⁶ Laurene recalled that, when she arrived at Amazon Acres in 1980, there were 'just complete, utter, horrendous raging fights about these issues.' In her view, this conflict dated from the arrival of travelling women, such as herself, from Europe: 'It was mostly when we came back from Europe with our new-found [separatism]—we were completely separatist when we came back from Europe. We'd lived in complete women's communities throughout Europe and travelled around in packs of women.' As a result, her fellow travelling women, she felt, were committed to a principle of 'No male energy whatsoever, at all,' which they attempted to enact on the NSW women's lands following their return to Australia.²⁷ Her comments seem to suggest that the practice of separatism in Europe was generally stricter than that in Australia and that this regional difference was the source of conflict, which may have been the case. However, Shosana's observation about visiting women in Denmark points to an alternative explanation: that it was the travelling women themselves who were committed to a stricter form of separatism, either because their distinctive, self-contained way of life was more amenable to complete separatism, or because they represented a cohort of lesbian feminists who were most committed to the theory or dream of lesbian nation and were less constrained by practical realities than those women who were more rooted in a single physical location. Although the experience

of travelling would have involved the travelling women in more superficial contact with men than their resident sisters, their lifestyle was less conducive to building or maintaining any longer-term commitments to male family or friends.

Despite these differences over the degree of separatism, all the communities shared a vision of women's lands as a space in which to explore new forms of intimacy between women. Radical feminist critiques of the nuclear family, hierarchical heterosex and monogamous relationships inspired a culture which not only prioritised intimacy between women but also encouraged specific forms of intimacy. Couples were frowned upon as exclusive and women were encouraged to break down barriers between each other and challenge themselves by expressing affection and desire for women in non-monogamous forms. Sand recalled:

A lot of energy went into relationships and exploring monogamy and non-monogamy and how that would all work and friendships within all of that. And there were some amazing passionate friendships and - with elements of a sexual dynamic - but also just sort of a potency. Because some of the women would have sexual relationships but there was also just that energy between everybody ... and it made life kind of vital. And everybody was always aware of what was sort of going on with everybody else to some extent. And so we were really putting a lot of time and energy into trying to come up with ways of relating and being with each other that were fair and fun and quite wild and adventurous as well. There was also that sense of caring for the whole and so there was a group dynamic that was really strong.²⁸

Shosana similarly recalled this sense of closeness in her description of Kvindelandet, commenting 'We could become close in such a short time. I, who never had a blood sister, felt I had sisters on Kvindelandet.'²⁹ Nevertheless, the emphasis on non-monogamy in sexual relationships inevitably created some tensions and many women in both rural and urban separatist communities described the hurt and jealousy which could result from the practice. Laurene recalled that, when she visited Kvindelandet 'the usual "love" dramas were happening'. 'I'd gone there', she explained,

'chasing a woman I'd had a romance with in Wales but it did not work out. Her ex was violent and it scared me off particularly when she screamed like a pig being murdered at me whenever I was within twenty metres of her.'³⁰

Lava similarly described tensions arising from the practice of non-monogamy in Cefn Foellat:

You know sexuality was very much lived very openly and at the same time we were also very often changing lovers ... It was the era of free love, the same as in the hippy [culture] but it was in a lesbian context. And at times it was very painful for some women but it also was really colourful and really interesting and never a dull moment.³¹

Despite these tensions, however, most women recalled the attempt to create new forms of intimacy as positive in many ways, offering opportunities for fantastic sex, a deeper sense of intimacy and a unique bond amongst the group. Sand reflected:

It was that healthy detachment from mainstream. It was off the grid. It was away from the male gaze. It was in a comfortable, caring women's environment. In that sense I found it very safe. We would have had patriarchy in the head stuff but we had an amazing sense of community and sisterhood really. That's what it was. You could feel it travelling and in all the different places and it did come from the books and the movement and the politics

of the time and also just really getting into that energy, that resonance or whatever of ... women's space.³²

Her comments, and those of other travelling women who lived in a number of women's lands, suggest that the dream of developing a lesbian utopia in which women could express their love and desire for each other, unfettered by patriarchal notions of monogamy or commitment, was common to all the lands. While this practice of intimacy was recalled as both empowering and potentially destructive by many women, few identified any significant cultural differences in its practice between the various communities.

Collectivity

Reflecting the values of the broader feminist communities from which they derived, all the lands were established and organised along principles of collective ownership and decision-making, in an attempt to move away from capitalist notions of private ownership and the hierarchical structures which organised patriarchal society. The extent and manner in which these principles were enacted varied significantly between the communities, however. This was in part a result of the different ways in which the communities were established, financially and legally. Of the three communities in NSW, Amazon Acres and the Valley were bought collectively with funds from a number of individuals who contributed fairly large amounts and many more who donated money at fundraising events in Melbourne and Sydney, while Herland was established on the model of an Aboriginal co-operative.³³ As a result, all the NSW lands adopted and maintained a principle that the land belonged to all women. Any woman could live there and make an equal contribution to decisions about the day-to-day running of the community. Chris reflected that, on Amazon Acres:

The idea was everyone was equal, there were no leaders. So whatever decision we made, we would all talk about it til we worked – thrashed out every little nuance of the politics of it. Until we would all decide and agree ... So we would just have long discussions about whatever we did – wanted to do. Whether we wanted to make a garden? How we would make it, what we would use? We'd have long discussions about what food we would buy. For example, whether it would be wrapped in plastic, or how we could get it, and about communal buying of food.³⁴

The community at Amazon Acres maintained their commitment to collective decision-making over a long period, despite the fact that this sometimes prevented them from reaching a decision at all.

In contrast, Cefn Foellat in Wales had originally been purchased by two English women who aimed to establish a self-sufficient farm and invited other women to join them. By 1979, however, the community had been taken over by a group of travelling women who refused to recognise the title of the original owners and essentially drove them off the land. Although one of the legal owners periodically returned to Cefn Foellat, Lava recalls that her views were not valued in the community, and that, in general, despite an ideological commitment to consensus decision-making, 'Some women just had more of a say than others and some women were more respected than others.'³⁵ Kvindelandet was established through the purchase of an existing farm by a group of 5 women, who took out a joint mortgage on the land. Monthly mortgage payments and other bills were met collectively using Danish and German women's

unemployment benefit, Danish, Swedish and Norwegian women's social welfare money, wages from occasional paid employment and money brought by visitors to the community. As in the Australian lands, Kvindelandet appears to have been a relatively open community with a mixture of longer-term residents and travelling women: Shosana recalled that 'Visitors were welcome if they contributed money and work. Some women came to visit and became residents. Others came and went all the time.'³⁶ Another American woman described the community as very welcoming, commenting: 'They just set up and said, "Women of the world, come." Danish women are wonderful.'³⁷ American visitors also presented the Danish community as unusually co-operative and tolerant in comparison to other communities. Shosana recalled:

Decisions on Kvindelandet were made by consensus. Usually, something which needed to be decided upon would be discussed casually at breakfast or dinner. A decision would be arrived at by those there at the time. Most decisions flowed easily. Very rarely did we need large meetings, such as I remembered having constantly on American women's land. This was an anarchy which worked.³⁸

On Kvindelandet, as on all the lands in this period, day to day life was structured co-operatively, with women typically sleeping together in shared houses, huts or barns, cooking and eating together and sharing the necessary labour of survival. This had the benefit both of challenging the hierarchies which were perceived to exist in capitalist, patriarchal society and of strengthening the bond between the women in the community. Sand recalled:

You were uninterrupted on the land in terms of the group dynamics and there weren't so many distractions pulling you in lots of different directions. So you ate together and you talked together and you worked together and you got firewood together and you worked out the shopping together.³⁹

Mei ling, a long-standing resident at Amazon Acres, described this co-operation in action in her account of a 'gathering' between all the NSW women's lands, which took place on Amazon Acres in the early 1980s. Amongst the residents, Mei ling, Zoe, Morgan, Amber and Gabby had prepared lentil patties for sixty women; another team led by Greadann had made apple crumble; Cath and the salad team had picked and washed tomatoes and greens; Laurene had collected wood and built a fire; and Julie had transported crockery from the Hut, where the food was prepared, to the Hex, where the gathering would take place. When their guests arrived, they brought 'gifts of damper, honey, chapattis, flowers, homemade chimes and songs', while Skye and Jacky had brought cream they had saved from Daffodil, their 'prized Jersey milking cow' for the crumble.⁴⁰ While such gatherings were not daily occurrences, the collaborative approach taken to the preparation of food and carrying out of tasks was indicative of the routine practice on all the lands.

However, environmental factors and cultural differences impacted on the practical enactment of co-operative living in different ways in each community. In Denmark and Australia, the hard physical labour required to grow food and create a habitable environment could lead to tensions around the amount of time committed to this work by different individuals. This resentment could be exacerbated by cultural differences which meant that some women placed more value on cultural and political expression while others emphasised physical labour. Laurene recalled that, in Wales,

'Some German women treated us [Australians] as "those that did the dirty work" ... [arguing that] they were singing to us while we worked bringing pleasure to our drudgery.' However, Laurene felt that, when she travelled to Kvindelandet, she had found herself on the opposite side of a similar conflict. She explained:

There was a definite emphasis on growing food and creating vegetarian self-sufficiency, but there were few tools and sometimes unfriendliness from those who chose to work from sun up till sun down, hoeing hard ground. There were obvious undercurrents of being on the wrong side with the company I kept. Unfortunately, I hung with the artists, the least valued members of this community as compared to the most valued of the Wales community. In hindsight I can see how we appeared as freeloaders and pot heads.⁴¹

In contrast, an American resident compared the practice of consensus on Kvindelandet favourably with US lands, recalling:

'They weren't so brutal to each other, being right on or right off about everything. People cooked meals because they wanted to, or worked in the garden. I would say, "Well, she doesn't do anything," and the Danish women would say, "Well, she plays the guitar." ... They were more accepting.'⁴²

These contrasting experiences may reflect the different moments at which each woman was resident in the lands, the fluidity of these communities and the individual personalities of each woman. However, linguistic barriers could also cause misunderstandings. Kvindelandet was more multinational than the other communities, including women from Scandinavia and elsewhere in Northern and Southern Europe, the United States and Australasia, with the result that many different languages were spoken there. Laurene noted that her inability to speak Danish meant that she could, at times, feel excluded from the community, an experience which may have exacerbated her concerns about how her contributions to the collective were valued.

Broader cultural differences also impacted on community cohesion. Lava felt that German culture valued philosophising more highly than the more practical Australian culture, but nevertheless reflected that, as a German woman living in Cefn Foellat, alongside Australian and English women:

Generally we got on quite well. And I found the Australian frame of mind really inspiring because they were sort of like 'Let's do it!'. You know they were very ... there was always a positive attitude, an everything's possible sort of attitude and I really found that really attractive I think. Which with the English women I didn't have. The English women were always like, 'Oh, everything's difficult', you know ... the English would see the difficulties more than the possibilities ... When I came to Australia, that's when I saw the big culture difference ... Germany has got quite a collective culture, while Australia is much more individualistic ... so I did find that quite confronting. I missed my close women family. In Australia there seemed to be a lot of space between women and I did find that hard to handle.⁴³

This tendency to attribute certain values or characteristics to specific national groups points to a limitation in the lived reality of 'lesbian land' in contrast to the transnational utopian ideals which inspired these communities. Linguistic barriers and cultural differences or commonalities could be stronger than the sense of universal solidarity which came from a shared feminist value system or international lesbian identity. This was particularly apparent in national tensions deriving from the relatively recent history of the Second World War or colonial hierarchies. Shosana commented

that although, at Kvindelandet, 'Cultural differences were dealt with in mostly non-hostile ways', nevertheless:

There was some friction between German and Danish women. Denmark was occupied by Germany during World War II, and many German people come to Denmark today as tourists or property owners. As more and more German women came to Kvindelandet, some Danish women left.⁴⁴

Shosana did not comment on her own experience of frictions around cultural difference, but she concluded her account with the observation that her time at Kvindelandet had afforded her opportunities for deeper self-knowledge. One aspect of this was that 'As a Jewish woman encountering Germany and German people, I traded in my fears and paranoia for some real understanding.'⁴⁵ Some Australian women's characterisation of British women as less friendly and open than women from other cultures replicated long-standing tensions originating in the two countries' former colonial relationship.

Despite these tensions, women who lived on all the lands also recalled the sense of collective achievement and solidarity which came from shared labour and the personal empowerment they experienced from learning new skills. Many women who joined these communities came from urban backgrounds and possessed few practical skills in horticulture, animal husbandry or building, but such skills as the community possessed were passed on to each other. Additionally, the desire to be self-sufficient from patriarchy, together with the imperative of survival, acted as a powerful prompt to develop new skills. Residents and visitors to the NSW lands described their pride in acquiring a range of practical skills from lighting fires to building, while accounts of Kvindelandet and the international lesbian summer camp at Femø, from which the Kvindelandet community originated, stressed the development of cultural skills. A Dutch visitor to Femø recounted how, after breakfast:

we split up into different working groups. After all, Femø was not only a summer escape and free body culture but above all an exchange of knowledge. In the Herstory group, Gerd Brantenberg ... explained how the amazons used to prepare themselves for battle in the past. She opened her shirt, grasped inside and moved one of her breasts into the open, put one flat hand on the other breast, reached out with her arm, pressed her eye together, aimed, shot and let her imaginary arrow fly.

In another group, we tried to learn Danish. The sun was burning us from above. Everybody was sitting on a towel naked or had created a comfortable nest out of their sleeping bags, and frantically rolled their tongue; speaking after Yvonne: 'Röll gröll mith flöll' or something like that. That means 'Red berry pudding with cream' ... I won't guarantee the correct orthography here.⁴⁶

Music acted as a particularly cohesive force on all the lands. The Kvindelandet community possessed a piano, guitars, and a flute and many travelling women had instruments which they carried around with them. Music was not only an important form of entertainment in the evenings and at gatherings, but was continually developed as a means of personal and collective expression.⁴⁷ Sand recalled that, at Cefn Foellat and while travelling around Europe and Asia with a group of other women:

I think one of the main things we had in our favour with the cultures that we came across but also in keeping ourselves strong together was the music. We had an amazing time with music and some fabulous musicians amongst us and we would cart

our instruments wherever we went ... It was just magic, it was really, really uplifting and connecting.⁴⁸

The travelling women played an important role in fostering a shared, transnational lesbian musical culture in this period, developing music and lyrics collaboratively in international groups and transporting this culture to different communities. Shosana recalled that at Kvindelandet:

I fell in love with a big red-headed Danish woman. She and I and an American friend spent time playing guitars and singing in the tipi on top of the land's highest hill. I was thrilled by the Danish women's songs, many of which came out of the close-knit Danish lesbian movement. I shared many American women's songs as well. Making our own songbooks was a Kvindelandet phenomenon. Many songs were written by women during the time I lived on the land, mostly in English and Danish. For example, 'Moon Sister' was a collaboration between an English and a Norwegian woman.⁴⁹

Music also played a key role in collective life at Amazon Acres and songs were played and sung every evening around the fire. Many were composed by women in the community but others, including 'Ishtar', which was composed in Europe by a German woman, Shion, and taught to Australian, Greadann, during her travels, were brought to the land by travelling women and contributed to a sense of transnational lesbian community.⁵⁰

Environmentalism

In her work on lesbian land in the US, Catherine Kleiner has argued that the aim of developing separatist communities on the land fostered the creation of a new type of feminist and environmental politics, based on notions of nature as female. She claims:

Land lesbians gendered nature as a woman, becoming nature's lovers (both figuratively and literally) and moving beyond both deep ecology or ecofeminism. Their spiritual and sexual apprehension of nature was played out self-consciously in daily practical activities like composting, organic gardening, living 'off the grid,' and holding spiritual rituals celebrating their love for women and 'mother earth.'⁵¹

Whilst a commitment to urban activism meant that the valuing of rural communities was more contested in feminist circles in Australia and Europe than it was in the US, many women considered women's lands to offer a unique opportunity to explore the possibilities of 'lesbian nation' and believed that women were inherently more connected to nature. Dannie Druehyld, one of the founders of Kvindelandet, explained: 'We were a group of women who thought we were here on Earth to stop the destruction of Mother Earth.' For her, feminism and environmentalism were linked: 'We thought', she recalled, 'that when the women came to the helm, the world would be liberated', while the male mindset 'destroys the globe.'⁵² Lava similarly explained:

It was seen as, that going back to nature would actually bring out the feminine quality in you because the rest of society, how capitalist society functions ... is a) about male dominance but it is also about male values in terms of career and money and success and all that. While the feminist view was about getting out of all that and redeveloping a relationship with nature and a simple life and redeveloping that femininity around all of that.⁵³

Katherine Schweighofer has noted that white residents of women's lands positioned themselves in relation to, but not aligned with, patriarchal, colonialist understandings

of the land. In the US context which she explores, this manifested in a widespread commitment to land ownership, despite critiques of the capitalist and settler colonialist ideals that underpinned it, combined with a depoliticised appropriation of Native American cultural forms and traditional conceptions of the earth.⁵⁴ Although the European and Australian lands discussed here took a much more critical position in relation to capitalist land ownership than their US counterparts, the characterisations of the land and the position of white women in relation to it, on the Australian lands in particular, did echo colonial power dynamics in some regards. Interpretations of Indigenous relationships with the land as sustaining, in contrast with European, patriarchal destruction of the natural environment, informed residents' conceptualisations of the NSW lands and some cultural practices enacted at these communities. However, it has been difficult to locate evidence of active engagement with Indigenous women on the part of the predominantly white residents or of a political investment in the ongoing struggle for Indigenous land rights in which Indigenous women (and men) were engaged in this period.⁵⁵

A commitment to separating from urban, capitalist culture was manifested in all the lands in a day-to-day practice of self-sufficiency. Self-sufficiency represented both an ideological commitment to an autonomous and ecologically sensitive way of life and a practical response to a lack of financial resources. Laurene recalled that, in Wales: 'We were extremely poor, we had goats we milked so all the money we could scrape together was mostly used to get goat food. Big bags of wheat we would also ground for flour ourselves to make chapatis.'⁵⁶ Vibeke Nissen and Inge-Lise Paulsen note that Kvindelandet was founded on ecological and biodynamic principles, but was materially poor in comparison to the founding women's vision.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, at least in the early years, Kvindelandet was successful in achieving self-sufficiency. According to Shosana, on the front fields of the property, the women grew 'acres of carrots, green peas, horse beans 'favas', alfalfa, onions, turnips, kale, potatoes and beets', while hay was grown on the back fields for the farm's cows and horse.⁵⁸

In both Wales and Denmark, there was a strong emphasis on vegetarianism and on the avoidance of power tools and agricultural machinery. The mantra 'No men, machines or meat' was repeated in all the lands, although the extent to which it was observed varied.⁵⁹ Lava explained that eating meat was linked both with the killing of animals and with the expression of anger and was therefore regarded as a patriarchal practice. Similarly, power tools were considered an aspect of patriarchal culture and hand tools were preferred because 'they were non-pollutant, ... they were quiet, and also it gave you a stronger connection to the land or to the firewood.'⁶⁰ The travelling women brought these values to the lands in Australia in the late 1970s, where the attempted prohibition on machinery, in particular, caused some disagreement in the community. In contrast to the lands in Europe, Amazon Acres was on a much larger scale, consisting of approximately 1000 acres of uncleared bush and this, together with environmental factors such as drought, flash flooding and the impact of local wildlife, meant that the practice of self-sufficiency there was very challenging. As Lava explained:

'If you live in Australia in the bush ... to survive you actually do have to ... be physically really tough and you have to do all this stuff, otherwise you're not going to survive in the bush, while in Europe it's very different.'⁶¹

The need to chop hardwood for firewood in Australia, in contrast to the softer pine in Wales, prompted many women to advocate the use of chainsaws, while the task of

repairing the access road, which was regularly destroyed by flash flooding in the wet season and subject to sabotage by a hostile neighbour, was extremely challenging by hand.

Despite the frequent and sometimes contentious debates on Amazon Acres about the most appropriate ways for the women to relate to the land, the environment also played a central role in binding the community together. As Sand reflected:

The Mountain became this focus of a women's utopia in a way ... It's that thing of, the Mountain is about 10 km from the nearest neighbour, it's at the end of a private dirt road, it's 1000 acres of regenerating rainforest. The sense of space and solitude. For me often, what has kept me going back there has been that retreat in nature. It's a women's wilderness sanctuary, it's a healing sanctuary for me certainly ... A lot of the community stuff ... was to be battled through at times. [But] we all had the connection with the land. We all loved being there in a physical sense and what that gave us in terms of access to our own strength and our own minds outside of society and outside of that male gaze or lesbophobia. And to develop that sense of confidence and ability and empowerment and have that amazon energy all around, it was very attractive, it really resonated.⁶²

The sense of a powerful connection between women and the land, which was experienced by the women who lived in these communities, was articulated more broadly to transnational and urban feminist networks. The residents of the NSW lands produced an issue of ecofeminist journal, the *Wimmin for Survival Newsletter* in 1980. In a contribution to this issue, Chris Sitka reflected on the tensions between her community's commitment to respecting the bush and their learned reliance on and addiction to white western cultural resources, linking the exploitation of natural resources with global forces such as colonialism, capitalism and the patriarchy. Appealing to a notion of transnational feminist solidarity, she concluded:

'We must fight against the heartless exploitation of our sister wemooon and of our Mother Nature ... But the enemy is not only without. It is also within. The enemy is greed disguised as need. We must develop our own culture and life-style. One that does not destroy.'⁶³

This commitment to developing a women's culture and spirituality linked to the natural environment was apparent in the emphasis on astrology in some of the lands. This was particularly prominent in Denmark, where astrology played an important role in the daily routine of the community. Shosana recalled that:

Astrology was a central facet in our lives. We would explain energy levels by the phases of the moon. Quite a few women knew a lot about astrology and ephemerises were available for computations. One wall of the livingroom was full of individual women's charts, and another large chart showed all the women's signs together – we could see at a glance who had which sign in what position.⁶⁴

Drawing on this knowledge, the community was responsible for the development of a special astrological and lunar calendar for women known as We'Moon (a reference both to 'women' and 'we of the moon'). The first datebook emerging from this idea was produced in France in 1981 as a handwritten, pocket-sized astrological moon calendar diary and subsequently new editions were produced each year by different groups of women across Europe. The datebook was an expression of the transnational vision of

women's culture which Kvindelandet and other lands saw themselves as belonging to: the first issue was produced in five languages and We'Moon continues to be an international collection of women's art and writing.⁶⁵

Conclusion

Travelling women played a crucial role in fostering the dream of a transnational 'lesbian nation' in the 1970s and 1980s. Moving between different rural women's lands around Europe and Australasia, they transmitted ideas between communities and developed shared cultural forms such as music and the We'Moon calendar. These women's desire to set off in search of 'lesbian nation' and the networks they utilised to do so were both the product of a shared commitment to feminist ideals and a common vision of a universal lesbian utopia generated by feminist literature in this period. Their actions gave material form to those dreams, making them manifest and adapting and extending them in the context of the material world. However, their experiences also point to the limits of that vision. Environmental and cultural differences shaped specific women's lands in particular ways, with the result that travelling women did not necessarily feel an immediate sense of recognition in each community. Colonial hierarchies and assumptions of whiteness appear to have largely excluded women of colour; cultural and national tensions undermined the sense of international solidarity; while the experience of travelling in groups of women was qualitatively different from that of long-term residence on a single land, occasionally producing further fault-lines within communities. However, these women's stories and those of the communities they inhabited, provide valuable insights into histories of lesbian utopia, as well as, more broadly, into the ways in which contact networks and patterns of mobility facilitated and directed the dissemination of feminist ideas and practices in this period.

Notes

1. Lava, 'Will I ever call this place home?', in *Amazon Acres, You Beauty: Stories of Women's Lands, Australia* cur, ed. Sand Hall (Wollongong: Shall Publishing, 2016), 90–1.
2. As separatist and subsistence communities, the women's lands discussed typically generated more oral and musical cultural forms than printed or written records. As a result, they have left minimal archival traces and this article relies primarily on oral history interviews conducted by the author with four travelling women and a further ten women who were involved in the Australian women's lands and wider lesbian feminist communities.
3. See, for example, Heather Jo Burmeister, 'Rural Revolution: Documenting the Lesbian Land Communities of Southern Oregon' (MA diss., Portland State University, 2013); Gill Valentine, 'Making Space: Lesbian Separatist Communities in the United States', in *Contested Countryside Cultures: Otherness, marginalisation and rurality*, ed. Paul Cloke and Jo Little (London: Routledge, 1997), 105–17; Catriona Sandilands, 'Sexual Politics and Environmental Justice: Lesbian Separatists in Rural Oregon', in *New Perspectives on Environmental Justice: Gender, Sexuality and Activism*, ed. Rachel Stein (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2004), 109–26; Dana R. Shugar, *Separatism and Women's Community* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1995); Joyce Cheney, ed., *Lesbian Land* (Minneapolis: Word Weavers, 1985); Sue et al., *Country Lesbians: The Story of the WomanShare Collective* (WomanShare Books, 1976).
4. On the Australian women's lands, see Sand Hall, cur., *Amazon Acres, You Beauty: Stories of Women's Lands, Australia* (Wollongong: Shall Publishing, 2016); Judith Ion, 'Degrees of

- Separation: Lesbian Separatist Communities in Northern NSW, 1974–95’, in *Sex in Public: Australian Sexual Cultures*, ed. Jill Julius Matthews (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1997), 97–189; and Rebecca Jennings, ‘Creating Feminist Culture: Australian Rural Lesbian-Separatist Communities in the 1970s and 1980s’, *Journal of Women’s History* 30, no. 2 (Summer 2018): 88–111. They also receive a brief mention in Bill Metcalf, ‘Single-Sex, Secular Intentional Communities in Australia’, *Communal Societies* 32, no. 2 (2012): 146–78 and Carroll Pursell, ‘Making the Political Personal: Gender and Sustainable Lifestyles in 1970s Australia’, in *Everyday Revolutions: Remaking Gender, Sexuality and Culture in 1970s Australia*, ed. Michelle Arrow and Angela Woollacott (Canberra: ANU Press, 2019), 63–82. On Kvindelandet, see Vibeke Nissen and Inge-Lise Paulsen, ‘Handling gi’r forvandling: Klip af homo-bevaegelsens historie i Danmark’, *lambda nordica* 6, no. 2–3 (2000): 9–41.
5. Jennings, ‘Creating feminist culture’.
 6. Lava Kohaupt, interview by the author, April 19, 2017.
 7. Nissen and Paulsen, ‘Handling gi’r forvandling’, 26–7.
 8. Thyme S. Siegel, ‘Country Lesbians and Sisters on the Road’, *Maize: A Lesbian Country Magazine* 49 (1996): 30.
 9. Shosana, ‘Kvindelandet: The Women’s Land’, in *Lesbian Land*, ed. Joyce Cheney, 61–5.
 10. Radicalesbians, *The Woman Identified Woman* (Pittsburgh: Know, Inc., 1970); Alice Echols, *Daring to Be Bad: Radical Feminism in America, 1967–1975* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989); Verta Taylor and Leila J. Rupp, ‘Women’s Culture and Lesbian Feminist Activism: A Reconsideration of Cultural Feminism’, *Signs* 19, no. 1 (1993): 32–61.
 11. On barriers to community in lesbian land, see Shugar, *Separatism and Women’s Community*, 86–107.
 12. Rebecca Jennings and Liz Millward, “‘A Fully Formed Blast from Abroad?’: Australasian Circuits of Mobility and the Transnational Exchange of Ideas in the 1960s and 1970s’, *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 25, no. 3 (2016): 463–88.
 13. See Natalie Thomlinson, for example, on the ways in which assumptions of whiteness were embedded in the structures and networks of the British Women’s Liberation Movement: *Race, Ethnicity and the Women’s Movement in England, 1968–1993* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).
 14. Sand Hall, interview by the author, January 30, 2017.
 15. Laurene Kelly, interview by the author, February 19, 2013.
 16. Christine Wall, ‘Sisterhood and Squatting in the 1970s: Feminism, Housing and Urban Change in Hackney’, *History Workshop Journal* 83, no. 1 (2017): 92–3.
 17. See Tim Brown, *West Germany and the Global 60s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Geoff Eley, *Forging Democracy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Alexander Sedlmaier, *Consumption and Violence: Radical Protest in Cold War West Germany* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2014); Karrin Hanshew, *Terror and Democracy in West Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
 18. Siegel, ‘Country Lesbians’, 30.
 19. Chris Sitka, interview by the author, May 29, 2013.
 20. Laurene Kelly, interview by the author, February 19, 2013.
 21. *Ibid.*
 22. Shosana, ‘Kvindelandet’, 63. The question of whether boy children should be allowed to visit or reside in separatist communities was highly debated in 1970s and 1980s; on this debate in an Australian context, see Rebecca Jennings, ‘The Boy-Child in Australian Lesbian Feminist Discourse and Community’, *Cultural and Social History* 13, no. 1 (2016): 63–79.
 23. *Ibid.*, 64.
 24. Laurene Kelly, interview by the author, February 19, 2013: Laurene recalled that some of the founders of Amazon Acres, including Kerryn Higgs had ‘always said ... that their brothers could come, their fathers could come, their male friends could come’; Aquila, ‘Tipi Story’, *Amazon Acres*, cur. Hall, 132–3.
 25. Lava Kohaupt, interview by the author, April 19, 2017.

26. Jennings, 'Creating Feminist Culture'.
27. Laurene Kelly, interview by the author, February 19, 2013.
28. Sand Hall, interview by the author, January 30, 2017.
29. Shosana, 'Kvindelandet', 62–3.
30. Laurene Kelly, interview by the author, February 19, 2013.
31. Lava Kohaupt, interview by the author, April 19, 2017.
32. Sand Hall, interview by the author, January 30, 2017.
33. Ion, 'Degrees of separation'; Chris Sitka, 'Amazon Acres – The Genesis', in *Amazon Acres*, cur. Hall, 77–82. Aboriginal co-operatives are community organisations which were widely established in the 1970s to provide services to local Indigenous communities, generate profit through business activities and hold land in trust for the community.
34. Chris Sitka, interview by the author, May 29, 2013.
35. Lava Kohaupt, interview by the author, April 19, 2017.
36. Shosana, 'Kvindelandet', 62.
37. Siegel, 'Country Lesbians', 30.
38. Shosana, 'Kvindelandet', 62.
39. Sand Hall, interview by the author, January 30, 2017.
40. Mei ling, 'The Gathering', in *Amazon Acres*, cur. Hall, 77–82.
41. Laurene Kelly, interview by the author, February 19, 2013.
42. Siegel, 'Country Lesbians', 30.
43. Lava Kohaupt, interview by the author, April 19, 2017.
44. Shosana, 'Kvindelandet', 62.
45. *Ibid.*, 65.
46. Monika Mengel, 'Femø - Beginn einer lesbischen Zeitrechnung./Femø - start of a lesbian time calculation,' In *Lesbenjahrbuch 1. Rücksichten auf 20 Jahre Lesbenbewegung*, ed. Anke Schäfer and Kathrin Lahusen (Wiesbaden: Feministischer Buchverlag, 1995), 13–8. (*translation by Lilly Felk*)
47. Shosana, 'Kvindelandet', 62.
48. Sand Hall, interview by the author, January 30, 2017.
49. Shosana, 'Kvindelandet', 62.
50. Mei ling, 'Ishtar: The Story', in *Amazon Acres*, cur. Hall, 164–5.
51. Catherine Kleiner, 'Nature's Lovers: The Erotics of Lesbian Land Communities in Oregon, 1974–1984', in *Seeing Nature Through Gender*, ed. Virginia J. Scharff (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003), 243. See also Valentine, 'Making Space', 111; Stacey Alaimo, *Undomesticated Ground: Recasting Nature as Feminist Space* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000); Greta Gaard, 'Toward a Queer Ecofeminism', *Hypatia* 12, no.1 (1997): 114–37; Catriona Sandilands, 'Desiring Nature, Queering Ethics: Adventures in Erotogenic Environments', *Environmental Ethics* 23, no. 2 (2001): 169–88; Catriona Sandilands, 'Rainbow's End? Lesbian Separatism and the (Ongoing) Politics of Ecotopia', in *Feminist Utopias: Visions for the Millenium*, ed. M.Eichler and J.Larkin (Toronto: Inanna Press, 2002); Sandilands, 'Sexual Politics and Environmental Justice'; Nancy C. Unger, 'From Jook Joints to Sisterspace: The Role of Nature in Lesbian Alternative Environments in the United States', in *Queer Ecologies: Sex, Nature, Politics, Desire*, ed. Catriona Mortimer-Sandilands and Bruce Erickson (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2010), 173–97.
52. 'As a witch it is a condition to be called crazy,' *Information*, January 12, 2013, <https://www.information.dk/moti/2013/01/heks-vilkaar-kaldt-skoer>
53. Lava Kohaupt, interview by the author, April 19, 2017.
54. Katherine Schweighofer, 'A Land of One's Own: Whiteness and Indigeneity on Lesbian Land', *Settler Colonial Studies* 8, no.4 (2018): 489–506.
55. See, for example, Pat O'Shea's critique of white feminists' failure to support Aboriginal women in their anti-racist struggle: 'Is There any Relevance in the Women's Movement for Aboriginal women?', *Refractory Girl* (September 1976): 31–4. There is, however, evidence of some collaboration between Indigenous women and white feminists on environmental issues, such as at the Pine Gap Peace Camp. See Alison Bartlett, 'Feminist Protest

And Maternity at Pine Gap Women's Peace Camp, Australia 1983', *Women's Studies International Forum* 34, no.1 (2011): 31–8 and Megg Kelham, interview by the author, February 27, 2013.

56. Laurene Kelly, interview by the author, February 19, 2013.
57. Nissen and Paulsen, 'Handling gi'r forvandling', 27.
58. Shosana, 'Kvindelandet', 61, 64.
59. Gail Sheehan, 'Early Days', in *Amazon Acres*, cur. Hall, 38. For an analysis of feminist approaches to meat, see Carol Adams, 'Meat and Vegetables', *Trouble and Strife* 18 (Spring 1990): 4–11.
60. Lava Kohaupt, interview by the author, April 19, 2017.
61. Ibid.
62. Sand Hall, interview by the author, January 30, 2017.
63. Chris Sitka, 'Survival in the Bush', in *Amazon Acres*, cur. Hall, 153.
64. Shosana, 'Kvindelandet', 63.
65. Box 11, Folder 38, Series IX WE'Moon Publication Information/Mother Tongue Ink, SO-CLAP! Collection, Coll 266, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, cited in Burmeister, 'Rural Revolution', 79.

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