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ARTICLE

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A Short History of Nazi-Satanism

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Abstract: *Starting in 1966 with the founding of the Church of Satan, modern Satanism has established itself as a religious and philosophical tradition that continues to this day. And as part of this, Nazi-Satanism has also established itself as a subcurrent within both modern Satanism and neo-Nazism. This article outlines the history of this current, which is often downplayed or ignored by scholars. Profiled groups and organizations include Nazi-Satanist groups proper (Order of the Black Ram, Joy of Satan, Order of Nine Angles); Satanist organizations that have had connections to neo-Nazis (Church of Satan); neo-Nazis who have embraced working with Satanists (James Mason, George Eric Hawthorne, Atomwaffen Division); and new online forms that include Nazi-Satanist ideas (764, Maniac Murder Cult). This article seeks to create a baseline account of Nazi-Satanism in order to show that it is not a recent or isolated phenomenon, as well as to spur further study.*

Keywords: Satanism, neo-Nazis, Anton LaVey, Church of Satan, Order of Nine Angles, Atomwaffen Division, Nikolas Schreck

Nazi-Satanism—the combination of neo-Nazism and modern Satanism—has existed for over a half century. But curiously there is not a single stand-alone article, much less a book, on this phenomenon as a whole, despite its influence on contemporary global terrorist networks.

Somewhat surprisingly, scholars of postwar fascism also have not given it much attention. The main exception is the Order of Nine Angles (O9A), which, especially in recent years, has received coverage because of its influence on neo-Nazi terrorism. However, these investigations are almost always exclusively focused on O9A and do not position it within a larger Nazi-Satanist tradition.

The situation is hardly better among most scholars who study modern Satanism. Since the 1970s there has been scattered material on the topic. There is substantial academic work about medieval conceptions of Satanism, as well as on the 1980s folk panic dubbed the “Satanic Panic.” But a body of academic work on modern Satanism has only emerged in the last fifteen years or so, and now there are about a dozen books dedicated to it. Yet most fail to address Nazi-Satanism with the attention it deserves.

Today, Satanism is quite visible among neo-Nazis—which is not to say it is always welcomed. The same is true for how Satanists see neo-Nazis. In 2009, James R. Lewis

conducted a survey of Satanists, half of whose respondents were in the United States. It found that 10 percent of Satanists viewed National Socialism positively, while 70 percent saw it negatively. (While this is a clear minority, it should be noted that a 2018 poll of Americans in general found that only 5 percent supported neo-Nazism, while 75 percent opposed it.)¹

If, as some scholars suggest, modern Satanism constitutes a “Satanic milieu” within the larger “occult milieu,” then one could see a “Nazi-Satanist milieu” nestled within that. And if that term feels too maximalist, then at the *very* minimum Nazi-Satanism must be recognized as a long-standing *current* within modern Satanism.

What follows is an investigation into Nazi-Satanism from the perspective of postwar fascist studies. It is a political analysis, and not a look at theology or ritual practice. It focuses specifically on National Socialism, and not on the fewer cases where Satanists embrace other kinds of white supremacist politics. This study is also focused on the actual presence of Nazi-Satanists, as well as where Satanist and neo-Nazi individuals and structures have entered into collaboration with each other. (It should be noted that in some cases, the political ideologies discussed as “Nazi-Satanism” may include ideas and relationships that are not completely National Socialist but have significant elements of that ideology.) This is neither a polemic against, nor a study of, Satanist ideas. And it does not explore Satanist views on National Socialism, Jews, gender, or race—with the exception of where these beliefs are part of groups that have direct connections with neo-Nazis.

This article hopes to focus attention on this phenomenon, and it seeks to accomplish four things:

1. To convince readers that Nazi-Satanism needs to be recognized as a current that has been part of modern Satanism almost since its origins, and which appears to be only increasing in prominence.
2. To argue that Nazi-Satanism needs to be taken seriously by scholars, particularly those who study modern Satanism.
3. To supply a thumbnail history as the first step in a larger investigation that others can expand on.
4. To provide an academic study that can resonate beyond the university and raise awareness among not just journalists and researchers, but also Satanists and other occult practitioners who are opposed to fascism. Many of them have *some* knowledge of Nazi-Satanism, and hopefully this will, as one Satanist told me after listening to one of my talks, help to “put the pieces together.”

1 The Satan Survey Two (SS-2) is discussed in Asbjørn Dyrendal, James R. Lewis, and Jesper Aagaard Petersen, *The Invention of Satanism* (Oxford University Press, 2016), esp. 9, 137, 165, 173, 191. For the US poll, see “Reuters/Ipsos/UVA Center for Politics Race Poll,” *Ipsos*, August 8, 2018, www.ipsos.com/sites/default/files/ct/news/documents/2018-08/2018_reuters_uva_ipsos_race_poll_08.08.18.pdf.

Defining Satanism

Modern Satanism emerged in the 1960s, and as with all objects of social analysis, academics have offered several definitions of it, although they broadly agree and differ only in details. The definitions are often driven by a desire to define Satanism as a real religion and philosophy, as opposed to the fantasy religion of medieval Christians and Satanic Panic advocates.

Massimo Introvigne offers a three-part definition: “Satanism is 1) the worship of the character identified with the name of Satan or Lucifer in the Bible, 2) by organized groups with at least a minimal organization and hierarchy, 3) through ritual or liturgical practices.” Per Faxneld says it is “a system in which Satan is celebrated in a prominent position.” Similarly, Ruben van Luijk defines Satanism as the “*intentional, religiously motivated veneration of Satan*.” Noting that some groups also venerate additional deities, he adds that Satan must have “a clear dominance.” Meanwhile, Jesper Aagaard Petersen defines it as a “self-religion, antinomianism, the use of certain ‘S’-words and a formulated ideological genealogy, often in the form of some relation to Anton Szandor LaVey.”²

Satanism is also typically divided into three different types. In 2016, Petersen, Dyrendal, and Lewis labeled these as rationalist, esoteric, and reactive. Rationalist Satanism refers to a coherent ideology that is “atheistic, skeptical, materialistic, and epicurean.” It views Satan not as a literal deity but as “a symbol of rebellion, individuality, carnality, and empowerment” (the position held by the Church of Satan). Esoteric Satanism is “more explicitly theistically oriented” and promotes “a religion of self-actualization.” While Satan is “often spoken of as a literal entity, it is not a god to be worshiped, but rather a being or principle to be emulated or understood” (the position of the Temple of Set). Reactive Satanism is an inverted Christianity, “a transgression from culturally accepted norms, without necessarily having much of an idea of what to replace them with, other than ‘the opposite’” (the view of teenage cemetery vandals and the occasional serial killer).³

This study will use the same three categories as Petersen, Dyrendal, and Lewis, but will instead refer to them by the names commonly used by Satanists themselves: atheist, theist, and folk Satanism.

2 Massimo Introvigne, *Satanism: A Social History* (Brill, 2016), 3; Per Faxneld, *Satanic Feminism* (Oxford University Press, 2017), 25; Ruben van Luijk, *Children of Lucifer* (Oxford University Press, 2016), 2, 6 (original italics); Jesper Aagaard Petersen, “Introduction: Embracing Satan,” in *Contemporary Religious Satanism*, ed. Jesper Aagaard Petersen (Routledge, 2009), 7.

3 Dyrendal et al., *Invention of Satanism*, 5–6.

Existing Literature on Nazi-Satanism

The literature on Nazi-Satanism is uneven. The earliest and best is from nonacademic Satanists and scholars of fascism. Later, a circle of academics, largely based in Scandinavia, made modern Satanism a field of scholarship. However, they had problematic views about Nazi-Satanism, almost always downplaying or dismissing it. But more recently, other scholars who take the current seriously have done better.

Two nonacademic books from the 1990s have no qualms about covering Nazi-Satanism. Linda Blood, previously an acolyte of Satanist Michael Aquino, published *The New Satanists* in 1994. Despite being marketed as a Satanic Panic exposé (she was sued by Aquino), her chapter on Nazi-Satanism, while marred by some inaccuracies, was the best overview at the time. Gavin Baddeley's 1999 *Lucifer Rising*, which documented the Satanist milieu in general, mentioned many of the major Nazi-Satanist figures, plus the Church of Satan's internal debates over Nazi-Satanism, although he also allowed a number of figures space to issue dishonest denials. It was written for a popular audience and understandably lacked some of the rigor expected of academic work.⁴

The first serious academic look at Nazi-Satanism was Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke's *Black Sun* in 2002, which includes a chapter profiling Anton LaVey, David Myatt, the Order of the Jarls of Bælde, and Kerry Bolton. Goodrick-Clarke's conclusion is that Nazi-Satanism is defined by being anti-Christian, transgressive, elitist, and "a tableau of ritualized transgression and exclusion from the rest of society," which it harnesses to funnel people into fascist politics.⁵ The next year Mattias Gardell's *Gods of the Blood* came out. It has a chapter that is in part about Nazi-Satanism, although much of it is focused on Satanist-influenced groups and nonpolitical theology. Gardell is strong on showing Nazi-Satanism's controversial status and crossover with Heathenism, a revival of pre-Christian Northern European pagan beliefs. But he downplays some of modern Satanism's politics—for example, refusing to name O9A founder "Anton Long" as David Myatt, which allows Gardell to ignore his deep neo-Nazi background.⁶

In 2009, philosopher Chris Mathews released *Modern Satanism*, much of which was a damning critique of LaVey's far-right views, emphasizing their overlaps with National Socialism. However, Mathews's tone, focus on LaVey, and some of his conclusions

4 Linda Blood, *The New Satanists* (Warner Books, 1994), chap. 8; Seth Rosenfeld, "S. F. Temple, Couple in 'New Satanists' Sue Author for Libel," *San Francisco Examiner*, October 29, 1994, www.newspapers.com/article/the-san-francisco-examiner-linda-blood-s/27607973; Gavin Baddeley, *Lucifer Rising* (Plexus, 1999).

5 Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, *Black Sun* (New York University Press, 2002), 213–31, quote at 231.

6 Mattias Gardell, *Gods of the Blood* (Duke University Press, 2003), 284–323, O9A at 292–95.

opened him up to criticisms from other academics. James R. Lewis in particular sought to delegitimize his critique and downplay the existence of a Nazi-Satanist current.⁷

About a half dozen books from between 2008 and 2016, mostly by Scandinavians, started the academic study of Satanism in earnest, and much of their work is of significant value. But where they addressed Nazi-Satanism, almost all of them whitewashed it.

Lewis, a controversial (non-Scandinavian) academic who has been accused of problematically partisan scholarship, dismissed the advocacy of violence by the Nazi-Satanist O9A in his 2001 encyclopedia *Satanism Today*—despite the fact that Myatt had just been accused of inspiring a British terrorist. In 2008, Lewis coedited, with Petersen, *The Encyclopedic Sourcebook of Satanism*. In it, Lewis briefly mentions Nazi-Satanism—but only to give space to other Satanists condemning it. His 2010 review of Mathews’s book is a full-court push to delegitimize it. Lewis cites the 2009 survey to debunk Mathews’s claims—although in fact it appears to show that Satanist sympathy for National Socialism is higher than in the general population—and he even criticizes Mathews for not citing *unpublished* work by scholars working in different disciplines.⁸

The 2009 anthology *Contemporary Religious Satanism*, edited by Lewis’s collaborator Petersen, also downplays Nazi-Satanism. For example, an article by Gry Mørk says black metal musician Varg Vikernes sees the “Jewish-Christian tradition as a spiritual plague”—but never identifies him as a white supremacist. Petersen’s 2011 essay, “Smite Him Hip and Thigh’: Satanism, Violence, and Transgression,” analyzes the role of transgression and ambiguity in Satanism—but spends the article dismissing the idea that, aside from a few teenage black metal fans, almost any Satanists could *possibly* entertain a serious interest in neo-Nazism. *The Devil’s Party*, an anthology Lewis coedited with Per Faxneld in 2013, again attacks Mathews and brazenly whitewashes direct neo-Nazi involvements. But the book does have a solid, often-cited chapter on O9A by Jacob C. Senholt—who from 2010 to 2011 was the director of Arktos, the leading English-language publisher of fascist intellectual books. Given that scholars of these topics are involved in or adjacent to fascist politics, make of that what you will.⁹

7 Chris Mathews, *Modern Satanism* (Praeger, 2009).

8 Jeffrey Kaplan, *Radical Religion in America* (Syracuse University Press, 1997), 139–40; James R. Lewis, ed., *Satanism Today* (ABC-CLIO, 2001), 196; James R. Lewis, “Who Serves Satan?,” in *The Encyclopedic Sourcebook of Satanism*, ed. James R. Lewis and Jesper Aagaard Petersen (Prometheus Books, 2008), 552–53; James R. Lewis, review of *Modern Satanism* by Chris Mathews, *Alternative Spirituality and Religion Review* 1, no. 1 (2010): 103–4.

9 Gry Mørk, “With My Art I Am the Fist in the Face of God’: On Old-School Black Metal,” in *Contemporary Religious Satanism*, 180; Jesper Aagaard Petersen, “Smite Him Hip and Thigh’: Satanism, Violence, and Transgression,” in *Violence and New Religious Movements*, ed. James R. Lewis (Oxford University Press, 2011), 351–76; Per Faxneld and Jesper Aagaard Petersen, eds., *The Devil’s Party: Satanism in Modernity* (Oxford University Press, 2012), 176–78; Jacob C. Senholt, “Secret Identities in the Sinister Tradition,” in *Devil’s Party*, 250–74; “Jacob Christiansen SENHOLT,” Gov.UK, accessed August 7, 2025, <https://find-and-update.company-information.service.gov.uk/officers/G1IXUBUbOtzW9Uj05nAk8abGgz8/appointments>.

The Invention of Satanism, authored in 2016 by Dyrendal, Lewis, and Petersen, contains Lewis's 2009 survey, and continues to attempt to delegitimize Mathews. In 2023, Faxneld and Johan Nilsson published *Satanism: A Reader*, an important collection of Satanist primary texts from 1850 to 2017, with accompanying commentaries. Again, there is a good section on O9A, but others are inadequate. For example, the section by Hans Thomas Hakl and Michele Olzi identifies Julius Evola as a philosopher, artist, and esotericist—but conveniently fails to note that he is best known as a “super-fascist” and one of the most important intellectual influences on contemporary neo-Nazism.¹⁰

Massimo Introvigne's 2016 *Satanism: A Social History* was easily the best academic book addressing Nazi-Satanism in over a decade. Although the current rightfully occupies only a small portion of his six-hundred-page tome, Introvigne acknowledges and documents the presence of a variety of Nazi-Satanist groups. And Ruben van Luijk's *Children of Lucifer: The Origins of Modern Religious Satanism*, released the same year, is also a good treatment of the subject. Although the relevant parts are mostly limited to LaVey, van Luijk does a thorough and incisive job analyzing his far-right views.

Satan and the NSDAP

Satanism started as an imagined religion conjured up by Christians in the late medieval period, and this fantasy version continues to this day. In the nineteenth century, the Romantic poets, including Shelley and Byron, incorporated Satan as a symbol of rebellion against the present order, while socialists, anarchists, and feminists later invoked Satan as the ultimate rebel against a capitalist, theocratic, and patriarchal society.¹¹ Proponents of philosophical systems based around Satan started with Stanislaw Przybyszewski's *Die Synagoge des Satan* in 1897, and scattered individuals and groups emerged and disappeared through the 1930s.

While this study limits itself to modern Satanism and National Socialism, it should first be noted that there were many early twentieth-century occult traditions connected to far-right politics, including Ariosophy, Anthroposophy, and Traditionalism. The role of occultism in Hitler's NSDAP (Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei / National Socialist German Workers' Party) has been the subject of much discussion. The party arose in the context of the German folkish (*völkisch*) movement. In *Mein*

10 Dyrendal et al., *Invention of Satanism*, 171–73, 191–92, 232n1 for chap. 7; Fredrik Gregorius, “The Order of the Nine Angles, *The Black Book of Satan* (1984),” and Hans Thomas Hakl and Michele Olzi, “Maria de Nagłowska, *La Lumière du sexe* (1932) and ‘Satanisme masculin, Satanisme féminin’ (1933),” in *Satanism: A Reader*, ed. Per Faxneld and Johan Nilsson (Oxford University Press, 2023), 252–255 and 136, respectively. Hakl's whitewashing of Evola is analyzed in several articles in a special issue of *Aries: Journal for the Study of Western Esotericism* 25, no. 2 (2025).

11 Per Faxneld, “The Devil Is Red,” *Numen* 60, nos. 5–6 (2013): 528–58; Faxneld, *Satanic Feminism*.

Kampf, Hitler says that “the basic ideas of the National Socialist movement are *folkish*, and *folkish* ideas are *National Socialist*.”¹² But it is the Thule Society, a far-right group led by occultist Rudolf von Sebottendorff, that is the best-known connection between these circles and the NSDAP. While some in the Thule Society would join the NSDAP, Hitler was never a member, and this loose relationship is frequently exaggerated.¹³

In terms of outsiders, as early as 1940 Lewis Spence connected the NSDAP and Satanism in his *The Occult Causes of the Present War*. But it was in the 1960s and 1970s that books came out claiming a strong connection between the party and occultism, including Satanism. Louis Pauwels and Jacques Bergier’s influential *The Morning of the Magicians*, published in English translation in 1963, was followed by others like Trevor Ravenscroft’s *The Spear of Destiny* in 1972 and Francis X. King’s *Satan and Swastika* in 1976. About these, Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke says most had “[a] complete ignorance of the primary sources” and that “inaccuracies and wild claims were repeated by each newcomer to the genre until an abundant literature existed.” Chris Mathews’s analysis is that “Nazi occult beliefs’ more often denotes occult beliefs *about* the Nazis than occult beliefs *of* the Nazis.”¹⁴ Regardless, these books helped popularize the linkage between the Nazis, the occult, and Satanism in the popular mind—and among Satanists themselves.

The truth is far more prosaic. The NSDAP did not like competition and implemented a series of bans on occult groups and practices. The only German group of note in the 1920s and 1930s connected to Satanism was Fraternitas Saturni—and even then, there is debate over whether there was enough Satan in their theology to classify them as such. But the NSDAP banned the group in 1937: Regardless of whether they were Satanists or not, the Nazis had no use for them.¹⁵

Church of Satan

All scholars agree about the importance of the Church of Satan to modern Satanism. Summarizing Introvigne, van Lwijk writes, “Genealogically speaking, every known Satanist group or organization in the world today derives directly or indirectly from LaVey’s 1966 Church of Satan, even if they are dismissive of LaVey or choose to emphasize the other real or alleged forerunners of Satanism.”¹⁶ And key to LaVey’s

12 Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (Mariner, [1925] 1999), 461 (original italics).

13 Goodrick-Clarke, *Black Sun*, 114, 116–17.

14 Goodrick-Clarke, *The Occult Roots of Nazism* (New York University Press, [1985] 2002), 219, 222, quote at 225; Mathews, *Modern Satanism*, 111.

15 Introvigne, *Satanism*, 283–85.

16 Van Lwijk, *Children of Lucifer*, 305.

influence is his 1969 work *The Satanic Bible*, which today is the world's most famous Satanist book. It advocates a self-centered individualism, unhampered by Christian morality, and decked out with Satanic regalia and even (atheist) ceremonial magic. LaVey himself called it "Ayn Rand with trappings."¹⁷

The Church of Satan was founded in San Francisco in 1966 when LaVey, who had been hosting occult and supernatural talks in his home, shaved his head, put on devilish clothes, and announced the new group.¹⁸ It attracted both media attention and a healthy attendance for its rituals. Many have commented that it was hard to tell where LaVey the carnival showman ended, and LaVey the committed Satanist began.

The late 1960s were a time of great social, sexual, political, and spiritual change. San Francisco was the epicenter of the spread of Eastern religions like Buddhism, but there was also a revival of interest in Western traditions of occultism and paganism. The Church of Satan both drew from this energy and pushed against it. Van Luijk writes that it "fitted neatly into these trends of anti-Christianity, occult attraction, sexual liberalization, and general rebelliousness." But on other issues there were clashes. While on the surface LaVey was a libertarian individualist, his Satanism turned out to be an oddly far-right affair. The hippies, sporting long hair and colorful clothing, embraced mysticism, community, drugs, left-wing politics, and peace. Meanwhile, LaVey, with a shaved head and black suit, promoted rationality, individualism, and "law and order" (which included supporting drug laws), and embraced interpersonal violence.¹⁹

Mathews says that "[f]ar from being an occult-obsessed order that aims to summon demons, LaVey's version of Satanism is materialistic, Darwinian, and atheistic. It is a body of beliefs that is more philosophical in flavor than religious, although it incorporates a religious, ritualistic aspect, primarily for its psychological potency." And while overall *The Satanic Bible* has an individualistic and libertarian feel, close observation reveals a bit more. Mathews emphasizes LaVey's "Nietzschean condemnation of pity and compassion as weakness, suspicion of and hostility to any majority positions, frequent use of violent imagery, . . . ubiquitous contempt for egalitarian values, and . . . constant focus on negative emotions such as anger, hatred, and revenge."²⁰ One reason for this is that *The Satanic Bible's* first section, "The Book of Satan," is plagiarized from Ragnar Redbeard's 1896 *Might is Right, or Survival of the Fittest*, a vulgar social Darwinist text combining white supremacy, antisemitism, and deep-seated misogyny. LaVey removed the explicitly bigoted references, but the frame—and mindset—remained intact.

17 Kim Klein "Witches Are Back, and So Are Satanists," *Washington Post*, May 10, 1970, 20.

18 Introvigne, *Satanism*, 306.

19 Van Luijk, *Children of Lucifer*, 298–99.

20 Mathews, *Modern Satanism*, xvi, 63.

The Church of Satan was accused of fascist tendencies almost from the beginning. In 1968, Isaac Bonewits noted that while some people were bringing “authentic Ku Klux Klan robes and Nazi uniforms for the [Church of Satan] ceremonies . . . [he] was assured that the clothes were merely for ‘Satanic shock value’—but upon talking to them, he realized “they were not pretending anything.” LaVey later said he voted for segregationist presidential candidate George Wallace that year.²¹ The next year, LaVey wrote to his trusted lieutenant, Michael Aquino, “We do not advocate or even approve of denial or desecration of such sacred American traditions as home, family, patriotism, personal pride, etc. but instead **champion** these things. . . . [C]onservative organizations will find . . . Satanism far more compatible with their doctrines than they now think it to be.”²²

Others took notice of LaVey’s politics. A 1971 *Newsweek* article reported, “LaVey describes his goal as the creation of a police state in which the weak are weeded out and the ‘achievement-oriented leadership’ is permitted to pursue the mysteries of Black Magic.” In fact, “If there is anything fundamentally diabolic about LaVey, it stems more from the echo of Nazism in his theories than from the horror-comic trappings of his cult.”²³

In *The Satanic Bible*, LaVey had written, “Satanism condones any type of sexual activity which properly satisfies your individual desires—be it heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual, or even asexual.” But in 1971, LaVey’s wife Diane, who helped run the organization, wrote to Aquino, “We’ve really had it with Satanic fairy godmothers—a new specification in the requirements for the Priesthood: Applicants **must be straight!**”²⁴

LaVey also gained a reputation as a misogynist. Aquino says LaVey “appears to have been uncertain of women and thus reluctant to grant them the full dignity of humanity.” In 1984, Diane LaVey’s divorce filing accused LaVey of beating her and even choking her unconscious.²⁵ LaVey had already argued against abortion, at least in most cases. In 1971, he said, “Satanically speaking, I am against abortion. Yet I **do** consider a *problem* of overpopulation. Therefore, I advocate compulsory birth control” for those deemed unfit.²⁶

21 Isaac Bonewits, “My Satanic Adventure, or I was a Teenaged Satanist! (Version 2.3),” *Neopagan Net*, first published 1975, updated 2005, www.neopagan.net/SatanicAdventure.html; Klein, “Witches,” p.23.

22 Michael A. Aquino, *The Church of Satan*, 6th ed. (pub. by author, 2009), 47, [https://web.archive.org/web/20130723004847/https://cdn.preterhuman.net/texts/religion.occult.new_age/Satanism/The%20Church%20of%20Satan%20\(2009\).pdf](https://web.archive.org/web/20130723004847/https://cdn.preterhuman.net/texts/religion/occult.new_age/Satanism/The%20Church%20of%20Satan%20(2009).pdf). All Aquino citations for this book are to the sixth edition, and all bolded text in quotes is in the original.

23 “Evil, Anyone?,” *Newsweek*, August 16, 1971, 56.

24 Anton Szandor LaVey, *The Satanic Bible* (Avon Books, 1969), 67; Aquino, *Church of Satan*, 174.

25 Aquino, *Church of Satan*, 19, 434.

26 LaVey, “The Third Side,” *The Black Flame* 5, nos. 3–4 (1994): 2, republished in *Satan Speaks!* (Feral

While most of the Church of Satan's 1960s membership was local, some out-of-towners came for events.²⁷ In 1970, the group started to expand nationally, establishing chapters, dubbed "grottos." The inevitable splinter groups emerged, too, starting with Wayne West's First Occultic Church of Man, founded after his 1971 expulsion.²⁸ His group would be followed by many others; they took what they liked from LaVey and added other elements. And these new Satanists would include neo-Nazis.

National Renaissance Party

The earliest documented interaction between the Church of Satan and neo-Nazis was with the National Renaissance Party (NRP). Founded in 1949, the NRP was the first major US postwar group based around National Socialism, although it publicly downplayed this. Its ideology was unorthodox, embracing Communist dictatorships and black nationalism. Additionally, the group's second leader, James Madole, was an occultist whose views combined Theosophy, Hinduism, and Aryan mysticism—but also Satanism.²⁹

In letters to Aquino in 1974 discussing how to deal with a new Nazi-Satanist group, the Order of the Black Ram, LaVey recounted his dealings with Madole, who had cross membership in both the Church of Satan and NRP. LaVey said, "I know Madole personally and have been to N.R.P. headquarters. Even have a card. They would do anything for us. So would the Klan, for that matter. I do not endorse either, but acknowledge camaraderie from any source." Mocking the NRP's members, LaVey said, "Their racist ideals are also worn on their sleeves and, I believe, are as removable as their armbands," as they only needed "a symbol and a scapegoat."³⁰ Regardless, he made it clear that neo-Nazis were welcome in the Church of Satan.

Madole played LaVey's *Satanic Mass* album at several party meetings. The Church of Satan's New York City grotto leader, Lilith Sinclair, told Aquino that Madole's residence was "practically overflowing with Baphomet emblems," and that he asked another Church of Satan member for recommendations of people who could help

House, 1998), 30. According to van Luijk, *Children of Lucifer*, 541n204, this was originally published in 1971. Bold and italics in original.

27 Dyrendal et al., *Invention of Satanism*, 59.

28 Aquino, *Church of Satan*, 143–44, 578–79.

29 For an overview of Madole's beliefs, see Goodrick-Clarke, *Black Sun*, 72–87, and Jeffrey Kaplan, "The Post-War Paths of Occult National Socialism: From Rockwell and Madole to Mason," *Patterns of Prejudice* 35, no. 3 (2001): 45–53.

30 Aquino, *Church of Satan*, 378, 380. Unfortunately, Aquino does not specify when LaVey's interactions with Madole occurred.

instruct NRP officers in occult ideas.³¹ In 1977, the NRP's *National Renaissance Bulletin* identified Bruce Ithier, a member of the group's "Security Echelon," as the "High Priest of the Temple of Baal which is a branch of Anton LaVey's Church of Satan." In 1978, Madole attended a "May Eve" celebration with the Temple of Baal; the NRP bulletin ran a picture from the event.³²

Order of the Black Ram

Although the Church of Satan had overlapping members with the NRP, apparently its first interaction with an actual Nazi-Satanist group was with the Order of the Black Ram, which was the catalyst for a discussion between Aquino and LaVey. This started when Aquino was told that Michael Grumbowski (a.k.a. "Shai"), a third-degree member (priest) in the Church of Satan, was stepping down from that position, although he remained a second-degree member. Grumbowski had been a favorite of Aquino, who had called him one of the potential "prime movers" of a "satanic renaissance" in the eastern United States.³³

It came out that Grumbowski—who was now working under a third name, Reverend Blackshire—had founded a new group, the Shrine of the Little Mother. Grumbowski also cofounded a second group, the Order of the Black Ram, which was led by Seth Kliphoth (né John T. Amend, and later Seth Typhon).³⁴ Kliphoth, a first-degree Church of Satan member, was also the Michigan state NRP organizer. The *National Renaissance Bulletin* reported that in 1974 he attended an Odinist Movement gathering in Toronto, where the speakers included an NSWPP member. (In 1967 the American Nazi Party was renamed the National Socialist White People's Party.) The Order of the Black Ram was described as having formed to "revive the Sacred Rites of our Aryan forefathers."³⁵

In December 1974, Kliphoth sent his group's publications to LaVey. A reply written on LaVey's behalf said that since the Order of the Black Ram explicitly acknowledged his influence, the Nazi-Satanists were recognized as a fraternal group. Five dollars was

31 Aquino, *Church of Satan*, 379, 381; Goodrick-Clarke, *Black Sun*, 83. Baphomet is a goat-headed figure, holding up two fingers on his right hand and holding two down on his left. While preceding modern Satanism, Baphomet has become closely associated with it, and the Church of Satan includes a goat's head in its symbol.

32 "NRP Reaches 100,000 Americans in New Jersey on Radio Station WCTC!," *National Renaissance Bulletin* 28, nos. 6–8 (June–August 1977): 4; "NRP Gives Celebration for New SE Commander," *National Renaissance Bulletin* 29, nos. 4–6 (April–June 1978): 1.

33 Aquino, *Church of Satan*, 208, 374–78.

34 Aquino, *Church of Satan*, 377–78.

35 Aquino, *Church of Satan*, 383; "NRP Activity in Michigan and Canada," *National Renaissance Bulletin* 25, nos. 3–4 (March–April 1974): 3.

included for a subscription to the Order of the Black Ram's publication, *Liber Venifica*. This meant that the Church of Satan now went further than just accepting neo-Nazis as members: It recognized a Nazi-Satanist group as a counterpart in good standing.³⁶

The Order of the Black Ram's reading list shows its influences. *Liber Venifica* #9 includes several LaVey books, Pauwels and Bergier's *The Morning of the Magicians*, Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, and white supremacist Ben Klassen's *Nature's Eternal Religion*.³⁷ The next issue had a special plug for the *National Renaissance Bulletin* and noted periodical exchanges with *The Odinist* and the *NS Mobilizer*. (The latter was the publication of the National Socialist League, highly unusual for being an explicitly gay neo-Nazi group, and described as "friendly to Satanic World-view.")³⁸

Modern Satanism and open US neo-Nazism each emerged from single organizations—the Church of Satan and the American Nazi Party, respectively—and in the mid-1970s both spun off new groups founded by disenchanted and expelled members. Kliphoth himself moved on from the NRP to other groups. In 1977, he led a local unit of the National Socialist Liberation Front, which promoted guerrilla warfare and terrorism (and in which the neo-Nazi James Mason was a leading figure); in 1980, Kliphoth claimed he was the Grand Dragon of the Michigan Klan.³⁹ So while the Order of the Black Ram apparently only lasted a short time, it was a harbinger of things to come. And the most important of these things was the O9A, which emerged at the same time in Britain.

Unhealthy Fascinations

In 1975, Aquino left the Church of Satan and formed the Temple of Set, which became the most important splinter group. Commentators said this was caused by LaVey's retreat from the grotto model and Aquino's turn to theistic Satanism, but the reason Aquino gives in his monumental history, *The Church of Satan*, is that LaVey started selling membership degrees.⁴⁰

The Temple of Set has been called "post-Satanist" because its central figure is not Satan—at least, not exactly. Kennet Granholm describes it as believing in "one central mythological being . . . the Egyptian god Set," who is "the ageless Intelligence of this

36 Aquino, *Church of Satan*, 383–84.

37 *Liber Venifica* 1, no. 9 [1975?]: 6–7, uploaded May 31, 2024, https://archive.org/details/bim_early-english-books-1641-1700_liber-venifica_1973_1_9.

38 *Liber Venifica* 1, no. 10 [1976?]: 18, 31, uploaded May 31, 2024, https://archive.org/details/bim_early-english-books-1641-1700_liber-venifica_1_10.

39 Spencer Sunshine, *Neo-Nazi Terrorism and Countercultural Fascism* (Routledge, 2024), 283n7.

40 Aquino, *Church of Satan*, 885–86.

Universe' and the only god with independent existence." He "is not worshipped" but instead "regarded as a teacher and guide, as well as a model on which to base one's own deification."⁴¹ The Temple of Set would also act as a new home for those disenchanted with LaVey.

While much ink has been spilled about Aquino's views of National Socialism, his links with actual neo-Nazis are limited. Overall, Aquino had what could be called an "unhealthy fascination" with National Socialism. In 1970, he had been very negative about it, saying fascism was "irreconcilable with Satanism, which advocates unrestrained enjoyment of human freedom."⁴² But he came to change his mind.

In 1974, Aquino said that "all avowed neo-Nazi groups are pariahs in the eyes of the Church of Satan." But at the same time he was fascinated by the NSDAP's symbols and uniforms, and he admired some of Hitler's ideas. He claimed that "*Mein Kampf* is a political *Satanic Bible*," which showed how to "control . . . mass movements" by exploiting people's "crude and bestial emotions." Furthermore, Aquino claimed that *Mein Kampf*'s antisemitism was merely "a personal quirk of Hitler's" that should be ignored, as it was "essentially unimportant to the main points."⁴³ The Temple of Set reading list included *Mein Kampf*, works by NSDAP ideologue Alfred Rosenberg and Holocaust denier David Irving, and Nazi occult books like Pauwels and Bergier's *The Morning of the Magicians*.⁴⁴ In 1982, Aquino went to Wewelsburg Castle to perform a ritual, which was published and became an important Temple of Set text.⁴⁵ (Wewelsburg was SS leader Heinrich Himmler's castle, and is the focus of many Nazi occult pseudohistories.)

Regardless of Aquino's rejection of neo-Nazism, more than one person moving either away from, or further into, fascism found their way into his group—including Nikolas Schreck, Zeena LaVey, Stephen Edred Flowers, and Kerry Bolton—and more than one person left over Aquino's positions. The latter included Aquino's own brother-in-law, William T. Butch, and Butch's fiancée, Lynn Johnson. They departed in 1985 over what they saw as the Temple of Set's "authoritarian, anti-feminine bias, as well as its increasing emphasis on Nazi occultism," forming the Temple of Nephthys.⁴⁶ But

41 Kennet Granholm, "Embracing Others than Satan," in Petersen, *Contemporary Religious Satanism*, 93–94.

42 Aquino, *Church of Satan*, 75.

43 Aquino, *Church of Satan*, 379, 380, 612.

44 Michael A. Aquino, *Black Magic* (pub. by author, 2010), 181, 235–36, 238, uploaded December 9, 2010, https://archive.org/details/BlackMagic_ct/mode/2up.

45 Michael A. Aquino, memo (November 8, 1982), and "The Wewelsburg Working" (October 19, 1982), uploaded October 24, 2012,

46 Arthur Lyons, *Satan Wants You* (Warner Books, 1988), 131. In *The Church of Satan*, Aquino denounced the description as "inexcusably gullible" (889).

the most famous defector was Linda Blood, whose book *The New Satanists* attacked Satanism in general and Aquino in particular. By 1992, the neo-Nazi presence had gotten so out of hand that the Temple of Set purged followers of O9A and associated groups like the Order of the Jarls of Bælder.⁴⁷ So while Aquino may have believed that his fascination with the Nazis was not political, this seems to have been lost on at least some of his followers.

The 1980s Satanic Panic

The 1980s changed the landscape of modern Satanism as a folk panic swept the United States. The media was filled with wild stories of Satanic cults abusing children and engaging in ritual murder. Fueled by the popularity of “recovered memories”—many people, guided by therapists, suddenly “remembered” being abused by Satanic cults—what became dubbed the Satanic Panic was championed by an alliance of evangelical Christians and law enforcement.

All good conspiracy theories have a kernel of truth, and there have been a small number of murders by Satanists. In 1985, in the middle of the Satanic Panic, Satanist serial killer Richard Ramirez, a.k.a. the “Night Stalker,” was arrested. At the same time, Satanist imagery was rife among heavy metal bands, from Mercyful Fate to Mötley Crüe. By then, LaVey had withdrawn from public life, but the Satanic Panic thrust the Church of Satan back into the spotlight. His daughter Zeena LaVey stepped up and was the group’s spokesperson from 1985 to 1990, appearing on talk shows to defend the good name of Satan.⁴⁸ She also married musician and fellow Satanist Nikolas Schreck, one of four members of the Abraxas Foundation, an “occult-fascist think tank,” albeit one that mostly existed on paper. And it would be the Abraxas Foundation that brought the Church of Satan into a much deeper connection with neo-Nazism.

The Abraxas Foundation members were participants in the “extreme culture” of the 1980s and 1990s. Branching off from punk rock, these writers, artists, publishers, and musicians wallowed in caustic and negative themes, including serial killers, cult leaders, pedophilia, conspiracy theories, and Satanism; unsurprisingly, Nazi imagery was also widespread. And while those who used it inevitably claimed it was for the sake of transgression and provocation, in fact some of them were collaborating with neo-Nazis—if not adherents themselves.

In 1987, Abraxas Foundation founder and industrial musician Boyd Rice met LaVey and joined the Church of Satan, and was made a priest before becoming an unofficial spokesperson and member of its advisory board, the Council of Nine. Rice

47 Introvigne, *Satanism*, 364.

48 Sunshine, *Neo-Nazi Terrorism*, 277–78.

introduced LaVey to two other Abraxas Foundation members. (While 1987 is typically given as the founding year of the Abraxas Foundation, Schreck has said it was 1988.) In 1987 or 1988, LaVey met Adam Parfrey, who was quickly becoming an important countercultural book publisher. In 1989, LaVey met musician Michael Moynihan, who would also become a Church of Satan priest.⁴⁹ Parallel to the Satanic Panic, neo-Nazism was in full swing in the 1980s as terrorist groups like The Order committed murders and robbed banks, and the Nazi skinhead movement exploded. Abraxas Foundation members were in direct contact with the leaders of the most violent wing of neo-Nazism, including James Mason, Tom Metzger of the White Aryan Resistance, and Bob Heick of the American Front, a Nazi skinhead gang.

Meeting James Mason

James Mason is today's most important neo-Nazi terrorist ideologue. Mason self-published the newsletter *SIEGE* between 1980 and 1986, in which he argued it was pointless for neo-Nazis to engage in traditional political work. (Mason's newsletter was rendered as *SIEGE*, while the 1993 edited anthology made out of it is often stylized *Siege*.) Instead, he advocated random but high-profile terrorist acts, assassinations, serial killings, and civil unrest in hopes of destabilizing "The System."

It is hard to overstate the influence of *Siege* on the current wave of neo-Nazi terrorism that emerged in the 2010s and since then has been linked to dozens of murders. Members of the most important group, the Atomwaffen Division, were all required to read *Siege*, and the book influenced the politics of other groups around them (some of which would also become intertwined with Satanism). These ideas later became the basis for Terrorgram, a series of shifting Telegram channels promoting ideas based on Mason's politics.

Despite years of disavowals, especially from Rice and Parfrey, their private correspondence with Mason shows how deep their connections to this end of the neo-Nazi milieu went. In fact, they spent years promoting Mason to their audiences, and the Church of Satan would help with this.

In 1986, Rice contacted Mason, suggesting the *SIEGE* newsletters be turned into a book. Soon after, he went on Metzger's cable access TV talk show, and Rice would remain embedded in the cloistered world of neo-Nazism for many years. He sent Mason letters emblazoned with swastikas and 88s—*H* is the eighth letter of the alphabet, thus code for *Heil Hitler*—and mentioned how he was reading neo-Nazi literature. In 1991, Rice was on Christian preacher Bob Larson's radio show, which featured a phone-in appearance from Mason. (Larson was an important figure in the Satanic Panic and

49 Sunshine, *Neo-Nazi Terrorism*, 177, 215, 234, 244. Schreck gave the 1988 date in an email to the author, April 2, 2025.

would debate Satanists on his show, including Rice, Schreck, and Zeena LaVey—thus gaining publicity for all parties involved.) When Mason had his own slot on Larson's show in 1993, itself billed as "Neo-Nazi Satanism," Rice accompanied him in the studio. Rice also befriended Heick, appearing in American Front uniforms in both a magazine photo and a TV interview.⁵⁰

Parfrey became the first person outside of neo-Nazi circles to publish Mason when he put the neo-Nazi in his art magazine, *EXIT*, in 1987. That year, Parfrey met Metzger and published a piece in the latter's newspaper, *White Aryan Resistance*. Parfrey also became the first person to put Mason in a book, his cult classic *Apocalypse Culture*. Later, Parfrey would publish several books by LaVey.⁵¹

Schreck, despite being a theistic Satanist, was made an honorary member of the Church of Satan in 1988 by Anton LaVey, and soon after he married his daughter Zeena LaVey. Schreck went on Metzger's show to denounce "Race mixing" and "genetic suicide," and he put out the anthology *The Manson File* (published by Parfrey), which included several pages of material from Mason.⁵²

This Nazi-Satanist crossover peaked with the 8/8/88 performance in San Francisco, which featured the coded 8 theme and included Rice, Parfrey, Schreck, and Zeena LaVey. While scholars of postwar fascism have recognized the event's importance, nonexperts often dismiss it. Petersen, though uncomfortable with some of the content, still claims the participants (and those around them) were engaged in a "play with gray." But Rice, Schreck, and Parfrey were directly helping out Mason at the time and also in contact with both Metzger and Heick. A photo taken at 8/8/88 shows Rice, Moynihan, Zeena LaVey, and Heick all Sieg Heiling. Petersen and others cannot bring themselves to admit that some of these transgressive Satanists may have been serious about neo-Nazism—or at least that, even if for their own reasons, they provided substantial assistance to committed neo-Nazis.⁵³

That year, LaVey reaffirmed his elitist views, saying, "There can be no more myth of 'equality' for all—it only translates to 'mediocrity' and supports the weak at the expense of the strong." It was at this time that US far-right monitoring groups like the Southern Poverty Law Center took notice of Nazi-Satanism.⁵⁴ (In Britain, because of David

50 Sunshine, *Neo-Nazi Terrorism*, 171–72, 174–76, 194n2, 179–81, 189.

51 Sunshine, *Neo-Nazi Terrorism*, 162, 213–14.

52 However, future editions of Schreck's book made it clear that he did not agree with Mason's ideas. Sunshine, *Neo-Nazi Terrorism*, 161, 277; Nikolas Schreck, phone interview with the author, March 26, 2025.

53 Petersen, "Smite Him," 352, 365, 368; Sunshine, *Neo-Nazi Terrorism*, 178–79.

54 Anton Szandor LaVey, "Pentagonal Revisionism: A Five-Point Program," *Cloven Hoof* 21, no. 2 (1988): 1–2, <https://churchofsatan.com/pentagonal-revisionism>; Steve Daniels, "Racists, Satanists Share Ideology of Evil," SPLC Klanwatch, *Intelligence Report* no. 43 (April 1989): 5.

Myatt and O9A, the antifascist magazine *Searchlight* had already taken note of the current by 1975.⁵⁵)

In 1989, Parfrey talked to Mason about publishing a book on George Lincoln Rockwell, the founder of the American Nazi Party. However, this came just as Parfrey was starting a new press, Feral House. Worried about being tagged as a neo-Nazi publisher, he said he needed a financially lucrative title to get the new press off the ground. So in place of Mason's proposed book on Rockwell, in 1989 Parfrey published LaVey's *The Satanic Witch*, a new version of 1971's *The Compleat Witch*. This was followed in 1990 by Blanche Barton's *The Secret Life of a Satanist: The Authorized Biography of Anton LaVey*, and then two more LaVey books, *The Devil's Notebook* in 1992 and the posthumous *Satan Speaks!* in 1998.⁵⁶

In 1989, Schreck released the documentary *Charles Manson Superstar*, which was narrated by Zeena LaVey and included an interview with James Mason. But that year Schreck and Zeena LaVey fell out with the other Abraxas Foundation members, and the next year cut ties with Mason and Anton LaVey himself, leaving the Church of Satan.⁵⁷

In 1988, Schreck had told Metzger that "we are strictly concerned with the western European tradition . . . we have no concern for any other," and that "[y]oung people are caught up in a nightmare of racial confusion, and we seek to end that." Zeena LaVey's December 1990 letter to Aquino reflects a milder version of these views. She says that the "Western European magical tradition" is "of more personal importance to me than the largely Eastern and negative Judaeo-Christian imagery" of the Church of Satan. She denounced Barton, and by extension her father, Anton LaVey, for trying "to attract cash from 'economic power brokers'; what other reason could justify the sickening repetitive flattery she (he) extends to Zionism, Bolshevism, and the State of Israel while safely negating any Norse or Teutonic mythology?"⁵⁸ In 1995, Zeena LaVey and Schreck joined the Temple of Set; in 2002 she was briefly its high priestess, although the two quickly left and formed the Sethian Liberation Movement.⁵⁹

55 Myatt is mentioned specifically as a Satanist in numerous *Searchlight* articles, starting with "A Very Trying Man" in May 1975. Twenty years later, he received a feature article ("David Myatt and the Occult-Fascist Axis," no. 241, July 1995, 6–7) and then his own cover story ("Disciples of the 'Dark Side': The Satanist Infiltration of the National Socialist Movement," no. 274, April 1998, 4–8).

56 Sunshine, *Neo-Nazi Terrorism*, 214–16, 279.

57 Sunshine, *Neo-Nazi Terrorism*, 278. However, Schreck, in his 2025 interview with the author (note 52), still talked about the influence of fascist intellectual Francis Parker Yockey and said he is philosophically against miscegenation—although specifying that he has no desire to impose his views on others.

58 Sunshine, *Neo-Nazi Terrorism*, 277; Aquino, *Church of Satan*, 900.

59 Schreck interview with author; Introvigne, *Satanism*, 355.

Nazi-Satanists in the 1990s

As a Church of Satan member, Moynihan became an important link between the group and the white supremacist movement. When he met LaVey, Moynihan was already working on turning the *SIEGE* newsletters into a book. And he would leverage his Church of Satan connections during the four years it took to edit the book, write the introduction—where Moynihan said the “book is meant to serve as a practical tool”—and publish it himself.⁶⁰

In 1988, Rice said he showed LaVey a videotaped interview with Mason. According to Rice, LaVey said “he was very much impressed” and that Mason’s views were “surprisingly close to his own.” In 1991, Moynihan asked LaVey for permission to quote him in *Siege*. According to Moynihan, he replied that “[t]here needs to be a lot more people like James Mason in the world!” and that he would be “honored” to be quoted. LaVey later sent Mason a copy of *The Satanic Bible*, inscribed “To James Mason—a man of courage and reason—a rare combination. Rege Satanas!” A picture of the inscription appears in the second edition of *Siege*.⁶¹

When Moynihan finally self-published *Siege* in 1993, the book thanked LaVey, Parfrey, and future Church of Satan priest Thomas Thorn, of the band Electric Hellfire Club. It also thanked *The Black Flame*, a Church of Satan periodical that Peter Gilmore started in 1989, which largely replaced *The Cloven Hoof* newsletter. (Gilmore would later take over as Church of Satan leader after LaVey’s death.) Gilmore wrote a glowing review in *The Black Flame*, calling *Siege* a “monumental achievement” and saying that Satanists who want to see how their “movement fits into American Society” should “look at this account of the American National Socialist movement and learn. Mason’s writing is clear and filled with clarity.” And in 1994, Gilmore and his wife, future Church of Satan high priestess Peggy Nadramia, took pictures with Mason during a visit. Afterward, Gilmore wrote him and said, “It is a rare pleasure to contact others who are fully alive.”⁶²

According to *The Satanic Bible*, “The true legacy of Satan . . . transcends ethnic, racial, and economic differences.”⁶³ But this was hard to square with the fact that, during its run from 1989 to 2005, *The Black Flame* ran white supremacist content. It was selective, however, and focused on the projects of the Abraxas Foundation members and those close to them, including George Eric Hawthorne, the singer of the white supremacist band RAHOWA (Racial Holy War), and the occult fascist Kerry Bolton, who published

60 Sunshine, *Neo-Nazi Terrorism*, 237.

61 Sunshine, *Neo-Nazi Terrorism*, 274–75.

62 Sunshine, *Neo-Nazi Terrorism*, 279–80.

63 LaVey, *Satanic Bible*, 104.

one piece in *The Cloven Hoof* and five in *The Black Flame*.⁶⁴ It in turn ran reviews of other periodicals like *The Rational Racist*, several of Bolton's publications,⁶⁵ and albums by Abraxas Foundation members and their friends. A 1996 issue included a gratuitous interview with Hawthorne—who was not even a Satanist—while Nadramia reviewed Hawthorne's music magazine, *Resistance*, and Gilmore recommended a RAHOWA album.⁶⁶

This content supplemented the less extreme far-right views of the Church of Satan leadership. These included anti-feminism; belief in social hierarchies, eugenics, and a Satanist master race; and social Darwinist-driven attacks on equality. Positive reviews in *The Black Flame* of books with little to do with Satanism included those by white supremacist Jared Taylor and far-right disinformation peddler Dinesh D'Souza.⁶⁷ LaVey, who praised Ronald Reagan after his 1980 presidential victory, turned more conservative in the 1990s—or at least more public about his views. But perhaps this was unsurprising for a man who once said, "I believe our culture reached its creative apex in 1939."⁶⁸

In 1992, LaVey said that, since Satanists were "discriminated against," they had the right to offend "any ethnic, religious, or social group." Indeed, in an outtake for a 1993 Nick Bougas documentary, LaVey used slurs against at least five different ethnic and racial groups.⁶⁹ (Bougas was a white supremacist artist who drew for Metzger's newspaper and created the infamous antisemitic "Happy Merchant" meme.) LaVey's official 1992 biography quoted him saying, "Satanism is the first time in history where a master race can be built of genetically predisposed, like-minded people"—although specifying that this was not based on race but rather on "the genes that make them Satanists."⁷⁰

64 K. R. Bolton, "LaVey," *Cloven Hoof*, no. 130 (1998): 28. The *Black Flame* articles are "Breaking Down the Stereotypes," 1, no. 3 (1989): 13–14; "Friedrich Nietzsche—Satan's Hammer," 2, no. 1 (1990): 2–3; "Exploding the Myth of 'Satanic Communism,'" 2, no. 1 (1990): 15–16; "Eugenics and Dysgenics," 4, nos. 3–4 (1993): 43; and "Satanic Dialectics," 5, nos. 1–2 (1994): 31–32.

65 The *Rational Racist* review is in *Black Flame* 6, nos. 1–2 (1996): 27. Bolton's publications reviewed include *The Watcher* in 3, nos. 3–4 (1991): 16; and 4, nos. 1–2 (1992): 29. *The Heretic* is reviewed in 4, nos. 1–2 (1992): 29; 4, nos. 3–4 (1993): 17–18; and 5, nos. 3–4 (1994): 27. *The Nexus* is reviewed in 6, nos. 3–4 (2005): 35–36.

66 *Black Flame* 6, nos. 1–2 (1996): 27, 31, 40–42.

67 *Black Flame* 5, nos. 1–2 (1994): 24–25; 6, nos. 1–2 (1996): 38.

68 Aquino, *Church of Satan*, 346; Baddeley, *Lucifer Rising*, 132.

69 LaVey, "Politically Incorrect Manifesto," *Black Flame* 3, nos. 3–4 (1992), 3; "Anton LaVey Was Worse Than You Think," *Queer Satanic*, September 5, 2023, <https://queersatanic.com/anton-lavey-was-worse-than-you-think>.

70 Quoted in Barton, *The Secret Life of a Satanist* (Feral House, [1990] 1992), ebook, chap. 19; Sunshine, *Neo-Nazi Terrorism*, 234.

In 1993, LaVey said, “If a neo-fascist look—and outlook—makes for men who look like men and women who look like women, I’m all for it.” In 1994, he said that society was “an inept and counterproductive fascist state” in the form of “politically correct” liberalism. However, he added, “There is nothing inherently wrong with fascism”; what was needed was a “more sensible and truly progressive” one.⁷¹ Around the same time, he also said, “The aesthetics of Satanism are those of National Socialism,” which had “drama, coupled with the romance of overcoming such incredible odds.”⁷²

Around 1995, Shane Bugbee, a countercultural publisher who dealt with particularly extreme material, was hired to promote RAHOWA, and Hawthorne gave Bugbee a copy of *Might Is Right*, which he would go on to reprint several times. Bugbee contacted LaVey and in October 1996 got the aging Satanist to write a new foreword to *Might Is Right*; he also made Bugbee a Church of Satan priest. In Bugbee’s reprinted editions of the book, LaVey’s foreword is joined by afterwords from both Gilmore and Hawthorne, plus an editor’s note from white supremacist publisher Katja Lane.⁷³

Despite their position on fascism, the Church of Satan was never a Nazi-Satanist group itself, and its members’ views varied. Alongside neo-Nazis were people of color (famously including Sammy Davis Jr.), Jews, LGBTQ+ people, leftists, and even antifascists. LaVey, himself from a Jewish family background, never embraced traditional antisemitism, although Mathews says that “LaVey’s relationship with Judaism and anti-Semitism is a confusing, often bizarre state of affairs.” In his authorized biography, Barton claims (improbably, to say the least) that LaVey helped run guns to Israel.⁷⁴ And in his posthumously published “The Plan,” LaVey said Satanists have affinities with both Nazis and Jews. Those from Jewish backgrounds, LaVey argued, should embrace antisemites’ association of them with the Devil.

They certainly won’t find acceptance among identity anti-Christian anti-Semites who use noble, rich, and inspirational Norse mythology as an excuse and vehicle to rant about the “ZOG” [Zionist Occupied Government]. The only place a rational amalgam of proud, admitted, Zionist Odinist Bolshevik Nazi Imperialist Socialist Fascism will be found—and championed—will be in the Church of Satan.⁷⁵

71 Sunshine, *Neo-Nazi Terrorism*, 273.

72 LaVey interview in Michael J. Moynihan and Didrik Söderlind, *Lords of Chaos* (Feral House, 1998), 236–37.

73 Sunshine, *Neo-Nazi Terrorism*, 414; Anton Szandor LaVey, foreword to *Might Is Right*, by Ragnar Redbeard (Shane Bugbee, [1896] 2014), 9.

74 Mathews, *Modern Satanism*, 150; Barton, *Secret Life*, chap. 5.

75 LaVey, “A Plan,” in *Satan Speaks!*, 22.

The Black Flame published antifascist Satanist voices, too, such as Elizabeth Selwyn's 1989 piece directly attacking Nazi-Satanism, including O9A. On this point at least, Selwyn was in tune with the magazine; it was generally hostile to O9A, claiming it embodied the Christian caricature of Satanism by advocating, among other things, murder. (However, van Luijk notes that O9A's obsession with brutality and neo-Nazism is "an extreme extrapolation of tendencies already present in LaVeyan Satanism."⁷⁶) Jeffrey Deboo was one of the most vocal contributors who condemned fascism, although the magazine placed one of his 1994 articles next to one by Moynihan championing the compatibility of Satanism and fascism, and in the next issue Barton attacked Deboo. And so, as with the Temple of Nephtys, some split to the left. Frequent *Black Flame* contributor Tani Jantsang cofounded the Satanic Reds in 1997; they condemned Nazi-Satanism and assembled a collection of articles discussing the relationship between Satanism and fascism.⁷⁷

Even at the time, the Church of Satan would not own up to what was going on. Although she had just posed for pictures with Mason, in 1995 Nadramia contemptuously dismissed criticisms that there was a "plague of Nazism," as it had come to be called. Gilmore would say that "[t]he Church of Satan is not a NAZI organization," even while reaffirming that neo-Nazis were welcome.⁷⁸

Kerry Bolton and NSBM

Until recently, anglophone fascists suffered from a lack of intellectuals. New Zealand's Kerry Bolton was one of the few exceptions. He incorporated O9A Satanism into his syncretic mystical beliefs, which reflected his time in fascist and pagan circles. In 1990, Bolton formed the Order of the Left Hand Path, although in 1994 the group changed leadership and became the Ordo Sinistra Vivendi. Bolton left and formed a new group that year, the Black Order, which proclaimed an "occult-fascist axis," but two years later he turned over its leadership to John Richardson. Because Richardson

76 Elizabeth Selwyn, "The Right-Wing Left Hand Path," *Black Flame* 1, no. 3 (1989): 5–6; van Luijk, *Children of Lucifer*, 371.

77 Jeffrey Deboo, "Fascism and the Deity of Rebellion," and Michael Moynihan, "The Faustian Spirit of Fascism," *Black Flame* 5, nos. 1–2 (1994): 10–12 and 13–16; Blanche Barton, "Sycophants Unite!," *Black Flame* 5, nos. 3–4 (1994): 8–10; "Is Fascism Satanic? An Old Subject Rehashed Anew by Everyone on Here," *Satanic Reds*, July 1, 2000, www.satanicreds.org/satanicreds/sat-fasc.html.

78 Mathews, *Modern Satanism*, 226n18, gives the publication information as Peggy Nadramia, "Re: Boyd Rice, A Nazi?," posted at alt.satanism, May 6, 1995; for the full text, see www.satanicreds.org/satanicreds/projectone-orig.html; Peter H. Gilmore, "A Map for the Misdirected," *Church of Satan*, accessed August 7, 2025, <https://churchofsatan.com/map-for-the-misdirected>.

was bisexual, the US affiliate left and formed the White Order of Thule, whose mystical white supremacist politics pulled from different traditions, including Satanism.⁷⁹

Bolton is a prolific writer. His many books include an edited collection of LaVey's friend Madole, and periodicals Bolton edited include *The Watcher*, *The Heretic*, and *The Nexus*. Michael Moynihan and Didrik Söderlind, in their 1998 book *Lords of Chaos: The Bloody Rise of the Satanic Metal Underground*, claim that Bolton had a significant influence on black metal musicians; Introvigne names the Polish band Xantotol specifically.⁸⁰

Emerging in the early 1990s, black metal became fertile ground for Nazi-Satanism. The most influential figure is Varg Vikernes, who recorded solo as Burzum. He gained widespread notoriety not just for his part in a wave of early 1990s arson attacks on Norway's medieval stave churches, but also for killing the guitarist of his own band, Mayhem. The black metal scene he was part of is the focus of Moynihan and Söderlind's book, and Vikernes himself is interviewed. Although his beliefs later changed, at the time Vikernes was a Nazi-Satanist, and Satanism dominated the Norwegian black metal scene. Out of this grew the genre NSBM (National Socialist Black Metal). Satanist NSBM music includes the band Absurd and the label Satanic Skinhead Propaganda, which released albums like the (misspelled) 2006 *Satanic Skinhead: Declaration of Anti-Semetic Terror*.⁸¹

NSBM has since spread globally. While its trademark corpse paint is theatrical, black metal's influence on fascist politics is real. Giorgos "Kaiadas" Germanis, an MP in the Greek fascist party Golden Dawn, was in the black metal band Naer Mataron. The second leader of the Atomwaffen Division, John Cameron Denton, is a fan of the genre and was spotted at a show by Horna, another black metal band.⁸²

Nazi-Satanism, especially O9A, has influenced other music genres as well. In 1990, Richard Moul, a.k.a. Christos Beest, took over O9A; his many music projects include

79 Gardell, *Gods of the Blood*, 294, 321; Introvigne, *Satanism*, 365, 369; Goodrick-Clarke, *Black Sun*, 227. While Richardson was attacked for being gay, he clarified that he was bisexual. "A New Beginning," *Edra*, no. 1, p. 5.

80 K. R. Bolton, *James H. Madole*, (pub. by author, n.d.), uploaded May 16, 2022, <https://archive.org/details/james-h-madole-by-kerry-bolton>; Moynihan and Söderlind, *Lords of Chaos*, 312–13; Introvigne, *Satanism*, 493.

81 For an overview of NSBM written from within that scene, see Davide Maspero and Max Ribaric, *Wolves Among Sheep: History and Ideology of National Socialist Black Metal* (Tsunami Edizioni, 2015).

82 "Black Metal' Musician Elected to Greek Parliament with Anti-Immigrant Political Party," *The World*, August 15, 2013, <https://theworld.org/stories/2013/08/15/black-metal-musician-elected-greek-parliament-anti-immigrant-political-party>; Abner Häuge, "Hell for Horna: Antifascists Campaign Against Black Metal Band's U.S. Tour After Nazi Links Come to Light," *Left Coast Right Watch*, April 18, 2019, <https://leftcoastrightwatch.org/articles/hell-for-horna-antifascists-campaign-against-black-metal-bands-u-s-tour-after-nazi-links-come-to-light>.

the “Irish avant-folk band” United Bible Studies. There are other O9A musical projects as well, such as Hville I Kaos, who play “Black Ritual Chamber Musick.” Meanwhile, Martinet Press Audio is an offshoot of the press run by Joshua Caleb Sutter, the key figure in the Tempel ov Blood nexion (“nexion” is the name for local O9A groups) and a former member of the neo-Nazi Atomwaffen Division. The label’s acts include Archon, who are described as “harsh noise ambient intended and designed for the coming days of terror.”⁸³

Burzum has not just become a household name to metal fans; it is now found throughout edgelord culture. For example, Solomon Henderson, who was influenced by both the neo-Nazi Terrorgram Collective and O9A before murdering one person in a Nashville, Tennessee, school shooting, posted seven social media pictures wearing a Burzum shirt, while antisemitic musician Ye (formerly Kanye West) was photographed wearing one as well.⁸⁴ The fact that both Ye and Henderson are black shows how today’s irony-poisoned online culture blurs the lines between shit-posting and political allegiance.

The Schismatic Power of Nazi-Satanism

Beyond mainstream society, Nazi-Satanism is controversial among both neo-Nazis and Satanists. This is true not just for Satanists for whom National Socialism is an attack on their individual autonomy, but also for neo-Nazis who belong to other religious beliefs—especially Christian Identity.

There was already both interest in and opposition to Satanism in the early NSWPP. Mason, then in the party, bought a copy of LaVey’s *Satanic Mass* album from another party member in 1968. But the NSWPP’s Joseph Tommasi denounced a fellow neo-Nazi as a “devil worshipper” in 1970. Similarly, in 1996 Hawthorne said that while “there is a lot of resistance to Satanism amongst Racialists,” there was also support—especially from black metal fans—and that his “movement ultimately benefits from having Satanists involved.”⁸⁵

83 Goodrick-Clarke, *Black Sun*, 222; Dylan Miller, “Beyond the Iron Gates,” *Quietus*, November 27, 2018, <https://thequietus.com/opinion-and-essays/black-sky-thinking/ona-fascism-nazis-folk-horror-underground-occult>; “New Audio Release Available Now: Archon–Undead Noise,” *Martinet Press*, December 13, 2016, <https://martinetpress.wordpress.com/2017/06/21/new-audio-release-available-now-archon-undead-noise>.

84 Marc-André Argentino, “Narrative Examination of the Antioch High School Shooter’s Manifesto and Diary,” *From the Depths*, January 23, 2025, www.maargentino.com/narrative-examination-of-the-antioch-high-school-shooters-manifesto-and-diary; Ariel Koch, “Unite Against the Parasites’: How Do White Supremacists Exploit Antisemitism to Mobilize Non-White Groups?,” *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict* 19, no. 1 (2026): 23, 36.

85 Sunshine, *Neo-Nazi Terrorism*, 274; “RAHOWA,” interview by Michael Moynihan, *Black Flame* 6, nos. 1–2 (1996): 42.

The increasing visibility of David Myatt and O9A also caused friction in Britain. In the mid-1990s, the violent neo-Nazi organization Combat 18 denounced him, saying, “Satanists are dirty scum who use this bullshit as a front for child molestation.”⁸⁶ In 1998, the British periodical *Final Conflict* published the booklet *Satanism and Its Allies: The Nationalist Movement Under Attack*. Despite some errors, it covered all the key players and was a comprehensive mapping of Nazi-Satanism.

White supremacist leaders also denounced Satanism, including *Turner Diaries* author William Pierce and esoteric Hitlerist Miguel Serrano, who said Satanists were “manipulated, psychotronically, in fact hypnotized, when not infiltrated by the CIA, Mossad, and other such secret organizations.” Addressing NSBM in 2008, Erich Gliebe—at the time running Resistance Records—said, “We are totally against that Satanic nonsense. There are many people in the NSBM scene that would like to see the whole scene cleaned out of all the Satanic stuff.” Conversely, some Satanists thought it was the black metal neo-Nazis who should be weeded out.⁸⁷

Joy of Satan

The most visible conflict, however, had ramifications for two important groups on both sides of the divide. In the mid-2000s, it came out that Joy of Satan leader Maxine Dietrich and Clifford Herrington, emeritus leader of the National Socialist Movement (NSM), were married, and furthermore that their respective groups shared a mailing address. When the news spread, it did not go down well with either group’s membership.

The Joy of Satan was founded in 2002, and Introvigne describes the theistic group as “a unique synthesis of Satanism, Nazism, and theories about UFOs and aliens.” They hold that two different kinds of aliens, who are at war with each other, created different types of humans: the “Nordic-Aryans” and the Jews. And they believe that Satan is real—but that he is an alien, not a deity.⁸⁸

Reports of the neo-Nazi link seem to have reached the Joy of Satan members first. Despite the importance of antisemitism in their theology, for many members neo-Nazism was too much. Introvigne writes that some left and “started minuscule splinter organizations,” although most of them soon disappeared.⁸⁹ The reaction was more intense on the neo-Nazi side. Herrington, the NSM leader since 1983, had stepped

86 “Disciples of the ‘Dark Side,’” 7–8.

87 Gardell, *Gods of the Blood*, 319–20; Benjamin Hedge Olson, “Voice of Our Blood: National Socialist Discourses in Black Metal,” *Popular Music History* 6, nos. 1–2 (2011): 142; Lewis, “Who Serves Satan?,” 552–53.

88 Introvigne, *Satanism*, 370–71.

89 Introvigne, *Satanism*, 371.

back into an emeritus role after handing control to Jeff Schoep in 1994. By the mid-2000s, Schoep had grown the group into the largest US neo-Nazi party. When the information about Herrington and the Joy of Satan made its way to party members in 2006, a raucous argument broke out—especially as many NSM members belonged to the Christian Identity movement. Both pro- and anti-Satanists left in a huff, and Schoep was forced to kick Herrington out in order to prevent the ship from sinking. Herrington then formed his own group, which listed the Joy of Satan as a “comrade organization.”⁹⁰

The Satanic Temple

The Satanic Temple (TST) has carved out a new space in modern Satanism. It promotes a liberal, atheist Satanism centered on reproductive rights and church/state separation, attracting a large feminist and LGBTQ+ base in the process. At odds with the approaches of earlier Satanist groups, TST is now easily the most visible Satanist group in the United States.

TST was first conceived in 2012, and chapters started forming in 2014. However, in 2018, many members were displeased after hearing about a First Amendment lawyer the group was using. Marc Randazza had not just defended neo-Nazis but had also attended alt-right events on his own. TST leader Lucien Greaves already had a track record of lambasting antifascists and defending alt-right speakers on “free speech” grounds. It was then that a 2003 radio show Greaves had cohosted became known, and this has been repeatedly brought up by the group’s critics, as it shows how Greaves was tied to earlier Nazi-Satanist circles.⁹¹

The incident involved Bugbee, whom Greaves had met while looking for a copy of *Might Is Right*. He illustrated Bugbee’s 2003 edition of the book and helped host an episode of Bugbee’s radio show promoting it. Guests included Hawthorne (by then going by Burdi), Gilmore, and Metzger. Numerous racist and antisemitic statements were bandied about by the hosts, with Greaves even arguing with Metzger that a eugenicist program based on “intelligence laws” would make a racially based one redundant.⁹²

90 Sunshine, *Neo-Nazi Terrorism*, 281.

91 Sunshine, *Neo-Nazi Terrorism*, 412–14.

92 Sunshine, *Neo-Nazi Terrorism*, 414–15.

Emails and court documents show Greaves expressed interest in promoting and making new editions of *Might Is Right* as late as 2013—after TST was underway. At a 2015 book release for *American Grotesque* at the new (though as yet unopened) TST headquarters in Salem, Massachusetts, many of the same people around Mason popped back up. The book was on photographer William Mortensen, who had influenced LaVey. It was coedited by Moynihan and published by Parfrey, who spoke at the event. Mason fan James Porrazzo, who had replaced Heick as the American Front leader, also attended. (Greaves says he was present but did not see Parfrey’s talk.) Apparently, TST had not completely left the gravitational pull of those who had taken part in the Nazi-Satanist nexus.⁹³

Both Parfrey and Bugbee have apologized for their past statements and associations. But these far-right connections—along with accusations involving financial questions, internal authoritarianism, and lawsuits against critics—have led to constant attrition from TST and a number of splinter groups forming. And some of these, cognizant of the history of Nazi-Satanism, declared themselves antifascist from the very start.⁹⁴

Order of Nine Angles

In recent years, the influence of the Order of Nine Angles on neo-Nazi terrorist circles and child abuse cults has become widespread. This form of theistic Satanism dates back a half century and has ended up returning full circle to folk Satanism—advocating murder, rape, and pedophilia. Needless to say, it has always remained controversial.

O9A’s following has exploded in the last decade. Dylan Miller says it “was once jokingly referred to as ‘The Order of No Members,’” and in 1994 Christos Beest said there were “ten people with a few hangers-on.” But in 2023, Daveed Gartenstein-Ross and Emelie Chace-Donahue cited one source that estimated there were up to two thousand O9A followers, and they were able to “relatively quickly” identify fifty “nexions” worldwide.⁹⁵

Despite denials, today O9A founder “Anton Long” is recognized by almost all scholars as David Myatt; according to Introvigne, O9A has “more or less acknowledged” this. Although not corroborated by scholars, Myatt claimed he took

93 Sunshine, *Neo-Nazi Terrorism*, 415–17.

94 Sunshine, *Neo-Nazi Terrorism*, 417.

95 Miller, “Beyond the Iron Gates”; Baddeley, *Lucifer Rising*, 164; Daveed Gartenstein-Ross and Emelie Chace-Donahue, “The Order of Nine Angles: Cosmology, Practice & Movement,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 48, no. 11 (2025): 1224.

over an existing pagan cult in Britain in 1973, and Goodrick-Clarke says he published the first O9A book in 1976. By that time, Myatt had already been involved in violent neo-Nazi circles for several years. In 1969, he joined neo-Nazi Colin Jordan's British Movement, and in 1974 formed a splinter group, the National Democratic Freedom Movement.⁹⁶

Myatt's political journey paralleled that of Mason and the American Nazi Party / NSWPP. Rockwell started his party in 1959, and in 1962 went to Britain, where he and Jordan cofounded WUNS, the World Union of National Socialists. Mason joined the American Nazi Party in 1966, three years before Myatt joined Jordan's.

In the 1980s, O9A came to the United States. In 1984, Myatt's "Vindex" essay was published in the White Supremacist periodical *Liberty Bell*—the same time Mason was publishing the *SIEGE* newsletter. In 1989, *The Black Flame* acknowledged the current by printing a short O9A explainer by "Algar Langton."⁹⁷ That same year work on the *Siege* anthology started.

Myatt withdrew from direct political organizing for a time, but Goodrick-Clarke says his "sudden re-emergence . . . in the mid-1990s as the spiritual rector of the far-right fringe in Britain was linked to its transformation into a highly radicalized, militant underground." Myatt published the periodical of an umbrella group run by the ultra-violent Combat 18, and then in 1997 helped found another splinter group, the National Socialist Movement (not to be confused with the US group of the same name).⁹⁸

Other Satanists were involved in the political circles around Myatt. Victor Norris, a.k.a. Father Raoul Belphegor, of the Anglican Satanic Church—described by *Searchlight* as a "close political and satanic friend of Myatt"—went to prison for prostituting his own children. In 1977 he started the periodical *Dark Lily* and recruited Magdalane Graham, a.k.a. Mother Lilith, to run it. In the end, however, she broke with Norris, repudiated his views, and continued her publishing efforts.⁹⁹

In 1998, Myatt left the National Socialist Movement and converted to Islam. But in 1999 he gained attention when his *A Practical Guide to Aryan Revolution* was found in the home of National Socialist Movement member David Copeland, who was arrested

96 Introvigne, *Satanism*, 358; Goodrick-Clarke, *Black Sun*, 217–18.

97 D. Myatt, "VINDEX: The Destiny of the West," *Liberty Bell* 11, no. 5 (January 1984): i–iii, 1–43 (interior content page numbering), uploaded February 22, 2022, <https://archive.org/details/david-myatt-vindex-destiny-of-west>; Algar Langton, "Order of Nine Angles: The Meaning of Satanism," *Black Flame* 1, no. 2 (1989): 11–12.

98 Goodrick-Clarke, *Black Sun*, 223; "Disciples of the 'Dark Side,'" 4, 6.

99 "Disciples of the 'Dark Side,'" 7; Introvigne, *Satanism*, 356.

for a London nail-bombing spree that killed three and injured 139. While a Muslim, Myatt promoted Holocaust denial and defended 9/11 and suicide bombings.¹⁰⁰

Organizationally, O9A has both nexions and individual followers, and its brand of Satanism has been dubbed the “Sinister Tradition.” It also has a complicated theology, which incorporates esoteric Nazism and paganism along with Satanism. It is theistic, and Goodrick-Clarke says followers can contact “sinister forces in the cosmos.” Ideologically, there appears to be an “inner core” of writers, including Myatt and Beest—although others write texts as well.¹⁰¹ According to Clive Henry, “Myatt diagnosed the world as fundamentally decadent and degenerate: it was inauthentic, and now existed on the verge of apocalyptic cataclysm.” The Zionist Occupied Government (ZOG)—the white supremacist name for the supposed Jewish control of the US government—“had utilised Christianity, liberalism, Marxism, capitalism, and multiculturalism to weaken and destroy Aryanism.”¹⁰²

But all is not lost. Gartenstein-Ross and Chace-Donahue say that O9A believes “Satanic forces will manifest in the physical world through *Vindex*, a person or entity that will emerge in the West to lead a pagan empire, dubbed the *Dark Imperium*.” After the corrupt contemporary world is destroyed, humanity can move to a new aeon, “the next stage in human evolution.”¹⁰³ (The aeon concept was popularized by Aleister Crowley, although Myatt’s version is heavily influenced by Oswald Spengler’s conceptualization of “civilizations.”)

In the meantime, adherents are to engage in a series of physical endurance tests as a kind of self-improvement regimen, as well as commit heretical and taboo acts to negate the present age. Infamously, this includes “culling,” a euphemism for murder, but also acts of terrorism. Followers are also supposed to take on an “insight role” by joining a movement, usually neo-Nazism or Islamism, that is opposite their own beliefs.¹⁰⁴ But in practice, it is typical for neo-Nazis to become Nazi-Satanists, with the insight role concept providing plausible deniability. At the same time, some adherents appear

100 Gerry Gable, “25 Years On: The Hunt for the London Nailbomber,” *Searchlight*, April 17, 2024, <https://searchlightmagazine.com/2024/04/25-years-on-the-hunt-for-the-london-nailbomber>; *State of Hate 2019—People vs the Elite?*, Hope Not Hate report, February 17, 2019, 84–85, <https://hopenothate.org.uk/2019/02/17/state-hate-2019>.

101 Gartenstein-Ross and Chace-Donahue, “Order of Nine Angles,” 1217, 1224; Goodrick-Clarke, *Black Sun*, 218.

102 Clive Henry, “David Myatt’s Imagined Emotionology, His Striving for Authentic Aryan Emotional Communities, and the Dishonourable Wulstan Tedder,” *Family & Community History* 27, no. 1 (2024): 53–54.

103 Gartenstein-Ross and Chace-Donahue, “Order of Nine Angles,” 1220, 1219 (original italics).

104 Ariel Koch, “The ONA Network and the Transnationalization of Neo-Nazi-Satanism,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 47, no. 10 (2024): 1180.

sincere in saying they are not neo-Nazis, and observers do not agree whether—or at least to what degree—O9A is intrinsically National Socialist.

Atomwaffen Division and Accelerationism

The late 2010s brought an astronomical surge of interest in O9A as it penetrated into the new wave of neo-Nazi terrorist circles. The most important group that emerged from these circles initially was the Atomwaffen Division (AWD). Founded in 2015, it was centrally based on Mason's ideas, openly advocated terrorism, and its US members and affiliates have been linked to five murders. In addition to influencing contemporaneous groups like The Base and National Action, AWD inspired new groups such as the Feuerkrieg Division. Later, a series of Telegram channels, dubbed "Terrorgram," arose to promote these ideas.

The Atomwaffen Division became deeply intertwined with Satanists—but of a different kind from those Mason was around. The group's second leader, John Cameron Denton, had apparently been promoting O9A since 2014. He linked up with Joshua Caleb Sutter's O9A nexion Tempel ov Blood, which became essentially integrated into AWD. Sutter had been in touch with Myatt since at least 2004, and his Martinet Press published books like *Iron Gates*, a novel that became required reading for AWD members. Koch describes it as containing "graphic descriptions of child rape, cannibalism, torture, genocide, and sadistic rituals." Those in AWD opposed to O9A began leaving by early 2018, and other neo-Nazis like *Daily Stormer's* Andrew Anglin also denounced AWD's Satanist turn.¹⁰⁵ After AWD disbanded in 2020, former members continued to follow Satanism, some of them eventually forming the National Socialist Order of Nine Angles (NSO9A). They have the dubious distinction of putting out a sixth, Satanist-themed edition of Mason's *Siege* and then promptly getting into a fight with Mason, who condemned them particularly and O9A generally.¹⁰⁶

Of the dozens of people arrested from this global neo-Nazi network, many follow, or at least have promoted, O9A. These include AWD's Denton and the group's graphic designer, Patrick Gordon MacDonald (a.k.a. Dark Foreigner); Sarah Beth Clendaniel, who was working with the first AWD leader, Brandon Russell; members of Sonnenkrieg Division and System Resistance Network, including Andrew Dymock;

105 Kelly Weill, "Satanism Drama Is Tearing Apart the Murderous Neo-Nazi Group Atomwaffen," *Daily Beast*, March 21, 2018, www.thedailybeast.com/satanism-drama-is-tearing-apart-the-murderous-neo-nazi-group-atomwaffen; Koch, "ONA Network," 1181; Ali Winston, "The Satanist Neo-Nazi Plot to Murder U.S. Soldiers," *Rolling Stone*, June 5, 2022, www.rollingstone.com/culture/culture-features/the-satanist-neo-nazi-plot-to-murder-u-s-soldiers-1352629.

106 Mack Lamoureux, "The Grandfather of Modern Neo-Nazism Is Fighting with Satanic Neo-Nazis Now," *Vice*, July 28, 2023, www.vice.com/en/article/neo-nazis-james-mason-fighting.

former National Action leader Ryan Fleming; several Feuerkrieg Division members and affiliates, including Jarrett William Smith; and RapeWaffen affiliate Ethan Melzer. Charges against them have included rape, child pornography, and terrorism offenses. Topping this is Nikita Casap, who was sentenced to life in prison for a 2025 double parricide, after which he planned to assassinate Trump.¹⁰⁷

Nihilistic Violent Extremism

More recently, O9A has spread beyond mere neo-Nazi terrorists and into online child abuse circles, especially the 764 cult. Marc-André Argentino, Barrett G, and M. B. Tyler describe it as such:

764 does not only leverage the sextortion of minors but also animal torture, incest, rape, self-harm, and bestiality. 764 force victims to carry out four key types of harm that may be recorded and shared on social media platforms or disseminated internally. These include forced drug use and self-harm, such as non-suicidal self-injury with blades or needles, asphyxiation or burning. They also regularly encourage people suffering from mental health problems to kill themselves on camera or commit mass shootings. New members are also encouraged to engage in animal abuse, being forced to injure or kill personal pets or other animals. Sextortion and CSAM [child sexual abuse material] are also key dimensions of 764; victims are groomed to share intimate images to be used to subsequently sextort and doxx them.¹⁰⁸

Some 764 members are O9A, some are neo-Nazis, some are both, and some are neither. Luca, a teenager in Romania, had a swastika tattoo and 764 affiliation when

107 “Dangerous Organizations and Bad Actors: Order of Nine Angles,” Center on Terrorism, Extremism, and Counterterrorism (CTEC), Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey, September 29, 2023, www.middlebury.edu/institute/academics/centers-initiatives/ctec/publications/dangerous-organizations-and-bad-actors-order-nine; “U.S. Army Soldier Charged with Terrorism Offenses for Planning Deadly Ambush On Service Members in His Unit,” US Department of Justice press release, June 22, 2020, www.justice.gov/usao-sdny/pr/us-army-soldier-charged-terrorism-offenses-planning-deadly-ambush-service-members-his; Marc-André Argentino, “Mortis Covenant & the Order of Nine Angles: An Analysis of the Nikita Casap Case,” *From the Depths*, April 17, 2025, www.maargentino.com/mortis-covenant-the-order-of-nine-angles-an-analysis-of-the-nikita-casap-case; Ryan Mancini, “Man Who Killed Parents to Fund Trump Assassination Plot Sentenced to Life in Prison,” *The Hill*, March 6, 2026, <https://thehill.com/regulation/court-battles/5772117-trump-assassination-plot-wisconsin>.

108 Marc-André Argentino, Barrett G, and M. B. Tyler, “764: The Intersection of Terrorism, Violent Extremism, and Child Sexual Exploitation,” *GNet*, January 19, 2024, <https://gnet-research.org/2024/01/19/764-the-intersection-of-terrorism-violent-extremism-and-child-sexual-exploitation>.

he filmed himself murdering a seventy-four-year-old woman, which he then shared online. Before being arrested for weapons charges and child pornography, prominent 764 member Angel Almeida posted on social media a photo with a Tempel ov Blood flag, and another picture in front of a Nazi flag while wearing a shirt saying “Kiddie Fiddler.” By September 2026, the FBI had opened over five hundred investigations into 764.¹⁰⁹

O9A beliefs are also part of the Maniac Murder Cult (a translation of its original Russian name, Маньяки: культ убийства, or MKY), which has had connections with 764, NSO9A, and the Satanic Front—another O9A-influenced Nazi-Satanist group with links to the Tempel ov Blood. MKY embraces both Satanism and neo-Nazism, although in practice they focus on encouraging random apolitical violence against socially marginal people. In May 2026, MKY’s Michail “Commander Butcher” Chkhikvishvili was sentenced to fifteen years in prison for soliciting hate crimes and planning a mass casualty attack.¹¹⁰ And neo-Nazi accelerationism, MKY nihilism, and 764 child abuse have cross-pollinated with the online True Crime Community, who fetishize—and encourage—school shooters.

These new forms of toxic online behavior—whether they are promoting terrorism, rape, child abuse, or random violence—have now melded together. Different names have been offered for this mixture, including “fused extremism,” “composite violent extremism,” and “hybrid ideologies.”¹¹¹ The FBI has created its own classification, Nihilistic Violent Extremism (NVE); the first known official use was in March 2025 in court documents related to 764 member Jack William Rocker. And while experts are

109 Diana Meseșan, “‘O să fac o crimă în patru ore.’ Autoritățile au ignorat semnele radicalizării adolescentului german care a ucis o pensionară la Mediaș,” *Libertatea*, March 29, 2003, <https://www.libertatea.ro/stiri/o-sa-fac-o-crima-in-patru-ore-autoritatile-au-ignorat-semnele-radicalizarii-adolescentului-german-care-a-ucis-o-pensionara-la-medias-investigatie-libertatea-spiegel-4489935>; Ali Winston, “There Are Dark Corners of the Internet. Then There’s 764,” *Wired*, March 13, 2024, www.wired.com/story/764-com-child-predator-network; FBI Boston, “Maine Teenager Is First Juvenile in the Nation to Be Federally Charged, Adjudicated, and Detained for Acts Related to Nihilistic Violent Extremist Groups in the 764 Network,” news release, September 1, 2026, <https://www.fbi.gov/contact-us/field-offices/boston/news/maine-teenager-is-first-juvenile-in-the-nation-to-be-federally-charged-adjudicated-and-detained-for-acts-related-to-nihilistic-violent-extremist-groups-in-the-764-network>.

110 Marc-André Argentino, “PART 1. Maniacs, Murder and Misanthropy: What is M.K.Y.,” *From the Depths*, June 27, 2024, www.maargentino.com/part-1-maniacs-murder-and-misanthropy-what-is-m-k-y; “Georgian National Sentenced to 15 Years in Prison for Soliciting Hate Crimes and Planning Mass Casualty Attack in New York City,” US Department of Justice, press release, May 13, 2026, <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/georgian-national-sentenced-15-years-prison-soliciting-hate-crimes-and-planning-mass>.

111 Daveed Gartenstein-Ross and Thomas Plant, “Composite Violent Extremism: A Radicalization Pattern Reshaping Terrorism,” *Foundation for Defense of Democracies*, April 18, 2023, www.fdd.org/analysis/2023/04/18/composite-violent-extremism-a-radicalization-pattern-reshaping-terrorism.

increasingly criticizing this category, and its misuse, it does catch the *mood* of the time.¹¹² Additionally, Canada banned 764, MKY, and Terrorgram; New Zealand banned O9A and Terrorgram; and Australia banned Terrorgram.¹¹³

Here, what is political, what uses the symbolism of politics but is *not* politically focused, what uses the symbolism of Satanism but *is* politically focused, and what authentically combines the two, have all dissolved into a thick fog where it is not clear where things start and end. But what *is* clear is that Nazi-Satanism remains an integral part of it.

Conclusion

While Satanism has existed as a made-up religion in the minds of Christians since the Middle Ages, it was only at the end of the nineteenth century that scattered thinkers and groups started making belief systems out of it. Modern Satanism as an unbroken religious and philosophical tradition was inaugurated in 1966 with the founding of Anton LaVey's Church of Satan, and since then it has developed in different directions. And one of these is Nazi-Satanism.

Scholars have traditionally ignored modern Satanism. Only in the last fifteen years or so, primarily in religious studies, has a body of work developed—but within it, Nazi-Satanism has received comparatively little attention. Scholars of fascism have paid even less attention, the main exception being several articles specifically on O9A. However, there are no books or full articles dedicated specifically to treating Nazi-Satanism as a long-standing current.

The Church of Satan was accused of having fascist elements almost immediately after its founding, and LaVey in fact did forge a relationship with the National Renaissance Party. By the mid-1970s, Nazi-Satanists, including the Order of the Black Ram and O9A, had emerged. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, a clique of counterculturalists who were promoting the neo-Nazi terrorist doctrines of James Mason either joined or were

112 US District Court, Middle District of Florida, Tampa Division, "United States of America vs Jack William Rucker," sentencing memorandum, Case 8:24-cr-496-VMC-AEP, March 12, 2025, <https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.flmd.434650/gov.uscourts.flmd.434650.33.0.pdf>; "What M/NVE Is—And What It Isn't," *Revontulet*, May 3, 2026, <https://revontulet.co/insights/53q-9gi74aova8p3xn4iqp8ix5py1gu>.

113 "Government of Canada Lists Four New Terrorist Entities," Public Safety Canada, Government of Canada, December 10, 2025, www.canada.ca/en/public-safety-canada/news/2025/12/government-of-canada-lists-four-new-terrorist-entities.html; "Designation of Two Terrorist Entities," *New Zealand Gazette*, December 10, 2025, <https://gazette.govt.nz/notice/id/2025-au7135>; "Terrorgram," Australian National Security, Australian Government, last updated June 27, 2025, <https://www.nationalsecurity.gov.au/what-australia-is-doing/terrorist-organisations/listed-terrorist-organisations/terrorgram>.

close to the Church of Satan, whose leaders gave their blessing to Mason's book, *Siege*. Parallel to this, O9A—a much more neo-Nazi version of Satanism—further developed in Britain, its influence eventually spreading around the world. But Nazi-Satanism took on real prominence when it became intertwined with a new wave of neo-Nazi terrorism that arose in the mid-2010s, especially around the Atomwaffen Division. Since then, using the new opportunities offered by social media and apps like Telegram, it has spread into many different groups and cross-pollinated with other movements.

The documentation of Nazi-Satanism in this study will hopefully open the door to further research. Sociologists and scholars of religion may wish to probe questions such as these: How extensive is Nazi-Satanism in the present day after O9A's explosion? What has been the dialogue between Nazi-Satanists and other Satanists, and how has O9A, in particular, developed side by side with them? In what ways do Nazi-Satanists differ from other Satanists, including in their ritual practice and conception of Satan? And what is Nazism-Satanism's role in modern Satanism—that is, what niche does it fill, and why has it embedded itself in a movement that centrally valorizes the autonomous individual?

The question of Nazi-Satanism's influence on neo-Nazism is also important. How extensive is Nazi-Satanism in terrorist networks, both today and in the past? And what is its likely role in the future? What kind of theoretical and practical impact has it had on these political networks? More broadly, there is a robust body of work on white supremacist politics in different religions, such as Christianity and paganism, and these should be expanded to cover Nazi-Satanism (in addition to other types of occult fascism that have arisen recently). Scholars of postwar fascism need to take heed of Nazi-Satanism as well. And, of course, the study of Nazi-Satanism should influence current scholarship on global terrorism, which fails to recognize it as a longstanding current within modern Satanism—especially as its adherents continue to espouse, and practice, terrorism, murder, and child abuse.

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