



## SATANISM AND SATANIC CHURCHES: THE CONTEMPORARY INCARNATIONS

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The 1980s witnessed a wave of fear over devil worship in both North America and Europe. Satanism, however, is not a unitary phenomenon. Satanism in the form of putative rituals that parody Roman Catholic worship can be traced to the inventive minds of fifteenth-century inquisitors bent on stamping out "witchcraft." In fact, there have been few actual satanic groups through history. The 1960s witnessed the emergence of a series of publicly organized, highly visible satanic churches that were one small segment of the counterculture of that period. The satanic cult fears of the 1980s represented a recurrence of the longstanding fears of underground, subversive satanic cults. The public satanic churches have been incorporated into this most recent moral panic. This chapter reviews the history and organization of satanic churches, the current outbreak of satanic subversion fears, and the relationship between them.

### *The Church of Satan*

Anton Szandor LaVey was born Howard Stanton Levy on April 11, 1930, in Chicago.<sup>1</sup> His rebellious nature was clearly in evidence by the age of sixteen when he ran away from home to join the Clyde Beatty Circus. He quickly advanced from cage boy to assistant lion tamer before leaving the circus when he was eighteen to work as a

stage hypnotist, mentalist, and organist in a carnival. When the carnival closed in the winter of 1948, he moved to southern California to play burlesque. It was while he was playing the organ at the Mayan Club in Los Angeles that he claims to have had an affair with young Norma Jean Baker, who later became Marilyn Monroe. In 1951 he married his first wife, fifteen-year-old Carole Lansing, and subsequently enrolled at San Francisco's City College as a criminology major in order to evade the Korean War draft. At the same time, he worked for three years as a photographer for the San Francisco City Police Department and furthered his study of the occult. During the early 1960s LaVey met Kenneth Anger, author of *Hollywood Babylon*, who was in San Francisco working on *Invocation of My Demon Brother*, a film that was widely rumored to be a cinematic rendering of the black mass. LaVey and Anger then began informal Friday-night gatherings to discuss occult phenomena, which they called the Magic Circle. These meetings attracted considerable public attention, and, always the showman, LaVey capitalized on this opportunity by selling tickets to the public. At these sessions he would captivate audiences with tales of witches, werewolves, and vampires. The combination of a mysterious house, a coroner's van as a car, and a succession of pets that included a boa constrictor, a black leopard, and a Nubian lion only added to his eccentric image.

The founding of the Church of Satan can be traced to April 30, 1966, when LaVey shaved his head, donned a black robe, pronounced himself the Black Pope and declared that night "Walpurgisnacht." He proclaimed 1966 Year One in the Anno Satanus—the first year of the Satanic Age. Later that same year, he promoted his new beliefs and organization in a topless nightclub called the "Witches Sabbath." The dancers included Susan Atkins (aka Sharon King), who was later to become infamous as a member of the Manson Family.

It was not long before LaVey became something of a national celebrity. In 1967, he received national press coverage by performing a satanic nuptial ceremony in which he wedded socialite Judith Case and ex-Christian Science Monitor journalist John Raymond. In May of that year, he attracted public attention again by baptizing his three-year-old daughter, Zeena, in a satanic ritual. He followed the wedding and baptism in December with satanic last rites for a deceased naval seaman, complete with full color guard. LaVey later served as a consultant and even played the role of the Devil in the film *Rosemary's Baby*. In addition, he attracted a number of celebrities to the Church of Satan, including Sammy Davis Jr., Jayne Mansfield, Barbara McNair, Kennan Wynn, Laurence Harvey, Christopher Lee, and Kim Novak.

The hedonistic philosophy of LaVey's Church of Satan is based on tenets of physical and mental gratification, self-assertion, and anti-establishmentarianism. The philosophy is spelled out in his now-famous Nine Satanic Statements that are found at the beginning of the *Satanic Bible*:

(1) Satan represents indulgence, instead of abstinence! (2) Satan represents vital existence, instead of spiritual pipe dreams! (3) Satan represents undefiled wisdom, instead of hypocritical self-deceit! (4) Satan represents kindness to those who deserve it, instead of love wasted on ingrates! (5) Satan represents vengeance, instead of turning the other cheek! (6) Satan represents responsibility to the responsible, instead of concern for psychic vampires! (7) Satan represents man as just another animal,

sometimes better, more often worse than those that walk on all fours, who because of his divine spiritual and intellectual development has become the most vicious animal of all! (8) Satan represents all of the so-called sins, as they lead to physical or mental gratification! (9) Satan has been the best friend the church has ever had, as he has kept it in business all these years!

Within the Church of Satan, sex is considered natural and encouraged, and is recognized as the biological instinct second only to self-preservation. Drugs are discouraged because they are viewed as escapist and hence as interfering with the realism LaVey preaches. Violence is expressly prohibited, and breaking church rules or state or federal laws constitutes grounds for excommunication.

Local chapters of the Church of Satan are called grottoes; in the mid-1970s grottoes could be found in major cities across the country. Lifetime memberships cost one hundred dollars, and at the height of the church's popularity in the 1970s membership was estimated at five thousand.<sup>2</sup> There are three major categories of ritual in the Church of Satan: *sexual rituals* to fulfill a desire, *compassionate rituals* to help another person, and *destructive rituals* to annoy, anger, or display hatred. Other rituals include *Shibboleth*, to reduce fears by confronting them; *Die Elektrischen Vorspiele*, to charge the ritual chamber with energy; and *Das Tierdrama*, to increase human sensory perception. Worship is based on the belief that humans need ritual, dogma, fantasy, and enchantment.

### Temple of Set

In 1969, LaVey met Michael Aquino, who holds a Ph.D. in political science and was at the time a lieutenant in an Army Intelligence unit specializing in psychological warfare.<sup>3</sup> The two met at a lecture that LaVey was giving, and both Aquino and his first wife soon joined the Church of Satan. Aquino was ordained into the priesthood in 1971, and he quickly earned the

title of Magister IV, a rank only one level below LaVey himself. Over the next several years the relationship between the two deteriorated. In 1975, Aquino, who at the time was the editor of the Church of Satan's publication, *The Cloven Hoof*, accused LaVey of selling priesthoods. He felt that the church had moved away from its original intent and lost its focus. It was at that juncture that Aquino, Lilith Sinclair (his second wife and the head of the Lilith Grotto in Spottswood, New Jersey), and twenty-eight other church members (including six church leaders), left the Church of Satan to form the Temple of Set.

The Temple of Set is organized into a network of local chapters called "pylons." The total membership of the pylons has never been large; in 1984 the temple claimed a total of five hundred members. Individuals who join the temple pay a fifty-dollar initiation fee and then a twenty-five-dollar annual membership fee. Initiates can progress through the following six degree levels: Setian, Adept, Priest or Priestess of Set, Master of the Temple, Magnus, and Ipsissimus. Above the local pylons is the Council of Nine, which appoints the High Priest of Set and the executive director.

Temple of Set philosophy proclaims that the universe is a nonconscious environment possessed of mechanical consistency. In contrast to the universe, and occasionally violating its laws, is Set. Set is the Egyptian god of night who is actually a metaphysical being, and formerly known under the Hebrew misnomer "Satan." Set has, over a period of a millennia, altered the genetic makeup of humans in order to create a species possessing an enhanced, nonnatural intelligence.<sup>4</sup> Aquino claims to have invoked Set in a ritual on June 21, 1975, and in four hours that night he wrote down their conversation in his book, *The Book of Coming Forth by Night*. According to Aquino, Set ordained him and his Temple of Set to succeed LaVey and the Church of Satan. According to Temple members, Set is not seen as a deity dedicated to evil nor is the temple's theology intended as a refutation of any conventional religion. In fact, the Temple of Set is a rather intellectually oriented religion. For example, Aquino

encourages initiates to study materials from an extensive annotated reading list, which includes topics such as ancient Egypt, ancient and contemporary religions, occultism, psychology, and experimental sciences.

### *Other Satanic Churches*

The Church of Satan and Temple of Set are the largest and most visible of the satanic churches. However, there have been a number of other groups as well. As the following brief review of these groups reveals, they have been both smaller and short lived. As a result, information about most of them is fragmentary. Most formed as reactions to the two major satanic churches, sometimes innovating on their beliefs and practices and sometimes as reactions against them. It is important to note that to the extent deviant practices have been associated with satanic churches, they have occurred largely in these smaller, offshoot groups.

Universal Church of Man was founded by Wayne West, a defrocked Catholic priest from Britain. West was excommunicated from the Church of Satan's Babylon Grotto in Detroit by LaVey in early 1970 for the misuse of fees and for changing rituals to suit his own personal appetite for bondage and homosexuality. The Universal Church of Man's beliefs and rituals were specifically dedicated to fulfilling West's personal fantasies of the flesh, and the organization was very short lived.

Brotherhood of the Ram was founded in Los Angeles in the early 1960s, with a bookstore as its primary axis. The group loosely followed traditional satanic beliefs and practices, including the renouncing of other faiths and pledged devotion to Satan, who was viewed as a god of joy and pleasure. Membership remained concentrated in southern California until the group's demise in the early 1970s.

Our Lady of Endor Coven of the Ophite Cultus Satanas was founded in 1948 by Herbert Arthur Sloane in Toledo, Ohio. Sloane also belonged to the Church of Satan for a short time. Satanas, meaning

"Horned God," is believed to be the messenger who showed Eve that there exists a supreme God above the God who created the cosmos. This God can be reached through Gnosis, or occult knowledge that is humanly attainable. The group had only one coven, which was led by personally by Sloane, and it dissolved soon after his death in the early 1980s.

Thee Satanic Orthodox Church of Nethilum Rite was founded by Terry Taylor and Dr. Evelyn Paglini at the Occult Book Shop in Chicago, Illinois. The group was formalized in 1971 and reached a membership of 538 members in 1973. The church opposed Anton LaVey and the Church of Satan, propounding instead the belief that God was creator of the cosmos and thus Satan was created by God. However, members believe that Satan possesses the greater knowledge and power. This power can be accessed through magic rituals and psychic development that are part of the weekly Saturday-night meetings.

Thee Satanic Church was founded in Chicago in 1974 by Dr. Paglini as a sectarian offshoot of Thee Satanic Orthodox Church of Nethilum Rite. In contrast to the latter, Thee Satanic Church emphasized the occult and de-emphasized Satanism. It published the occult-oriented but not satanic periodical, *Psychic Standard*. The periodical ceased publication and the church dissolved in early 1980 when its founder left Chicago.

Kerk du Satan—Magistralis Grotto and Walpurga Abbey was founded in Etersheim, the Netherlands, by Martin Lamers in 1972. Lamers was a former actor who had assisted in raising funds for the stage production of *Oh! Calcutta!*. In 1976, he moved the Dutch Kerk du Satan to the heart of Amsterdam's red-light district. He obtained two adjacent buildings, one for the Kerk du Satan and the other for the Walpurga Abbey. The abbey was a pub where customers paid a "religious donation" on a per-minute basis to watch "monastic sisters" dance, masturbate, and "perform acts of symbolic communion with Shaitan" for them at "the altar."<sup>5</sup> This combined operation ran afoul of Dutch authorities for claiming both organizations

as tax-exempt churches. Anton LaVey contemplated revoking the Dutch Church of Satan's charter, but instead sent his daughter, Karla, overseas to resolve the situation. Her efforts were unsuccessful, however, and the abbey lost its tax-exempt status.

Church of Satanic Brotherhood was officially founded in March 1973 by former members of Stygian Grotto of the Church of Satan in Dayton, Ohio. Several members of that grotto were charged by Anton LaVey with dealing in stolen property. When LaVey dissolved the Stygian Grotto on February 11, 1973, those former members joined with Wayne West, originally from the Detroit Grotto of the Church of Satan and the founder of the Universal Church of Man, to form the Church of Satanic Brotherhood. With an amended Church of Satan format and an intense hatred of Anton LaVey, the church grew rapidly for a time using its monthly periodical, *The True Grimoire*, for publicity and recruitment. The group was rather disorganized, however, and survived only until early 1974 when one of the founders, John DeHaven, moved to Florida and later during a radio broadcast publicly converted to Christianity.

Ordo Templi Satanas was a splinter group from the Church of Satanic Brotherhood formed in 1974 by Joseph Daniels, one of the founders of the Satanic Brotherhood, and Clifford Amos. Daniels assumed the name of Apollonius, the priest of Hermopolis. Like its parent organization, this group had only a brief lifespan; it did survive long enough to perform a memorial service for John DeHaven after his conversion to Christianity.

Order of the Black Ram and the Shrine of the Little Mother was founded by two members of the Detroit branch of the Church of Satan. The group's theology combined Satanism with the concept of Aryan supremacy. The order was connected through one of its founders to the neo-Nazi National Renaissance Party. For many years James Madole of the National Renaissance Party had sought to establish a union between his organization and LaVey's Church of Satan. LaVey always rejected these overtures. Nonetheless the

format of the Order of the Black Ram was structured around LaVey's work, Robert Heinlein's novel *Stranger in a Strange Land*, and neo-paganism.

Temple of Nephthys was founded in 1985 in Novato, California, and is recognized by that state as a non-profit church of the satanic religion. The temple recognizes the Church of Satan as a direct predecessor and close affiliate and details adherence to Anton LaVey's *The Satanic Bible* and *The Compleat Witch*. The philosophy is distinctly "elitist." Temple of Nephthys literature describes the organization as a "liberating magical institution of gifted individuals who are learning how to effectively apply satanic principles for their own success, survival and sexual magnetism."<sup>6</sup> They also assert that their philosophy is not antisocial, but instead is asocial. It is autonomy that permits social interaction, and so ultimately the individuals must retain power over their own lives. The ascending ranks of membership are Satanist I, Satanic Warlock and Witch II, Priest or Priestess of Nephthys III, Magister or Magistra IV, Magnus or Magna V, and Imperial General and High Priestess. Membership in 1990 was estimated at approximately 280, with 90 percent of that number female.

The Process—The Church of the Final Judgement was founded by Robert de Grimston More, an architecture student, and his wife, a former prostitute. In 1963 they founded Compulsions Analysis, which later evolved into the Process Church in 1966. The group subsequently established a commune for the Process Church in Xtul on the Yucatan peninsula in Mexico, with approximately 30 members. The Process is not strictly a satanic church as the theology asserts the existence of four gods—Jehovah, Lucifer, Christ, and Satan. Lucifer is the male god of air, representing sensuousness, liberality, and intellect. Jehovah is the female god of the earth, representing austerity, authoritarianism, and emotion. The group believes that cosmic forces insist on a combination of these two as almost a marriage. Christ exemplifies the male god of waters, standing for the unification of all things; conversely, Satan, the female god of fire, stands for hatred and

the separation of all things.<sup>7</sup> The group believes that at the final judgment, all four deities will be reconciled. Anton LaVey refused any affiliation with the group, referring to them as a bunch of "kooks."<sup>8</sup> The Process disbanded in 1974 when Robert was formally expelled from the group for his continued emphasis on satanic themes. Then later that year, several leaders of the Process Church chose a more orthodox Christian path instead of de Grimston's satanic one, forming the Foundation Faith of God (also called the Foundation Church of the Millennium, and the Foundation Faith of the Millennium).

### *Satanic Churches and the Satanism Scare*

Early in the 1980s a wave of satanic cult subversion fear swept across the United States, and spread to Canada as well as a number of European nations. The satanism scare involved a number of components: beliefs and practices of satanic churches, urban legends, rumor panics, animal mutilation cases, satanic themes in heavy metal rock music, homicide cases, and accusations of ritual abuse of children by satanists. All of these components of satanic activity allegedly are coordinated by a four-tiered satanic cult network.<sup>9</sup> According to this schema, at the lowest level are *dabblers*, primarily adolescents who experiment and play with satanic cultural material. At the next level are *self-styled Satanists*, criminals who appropriate satanic themes in order to rationalize their deviant activities. Above the self-styled Satanists are the *organized Satanists* who belong to various public groups, like the satanic churches. At the apex of this organizational network are *traditional Satanists*, the most diabolic, menacing component of Satanism. Traditional Satanists putatively are organized as an international, secret, hierarchically structured, and tightly organized cult network that is actively engaged in a variety of nefarious activities. These activities include abduction of children, child abuse, commercial production of "kiddie porn,"

sexual abuse and incest, and ritualistic sacrifices of young children that may involve dismemberment and even cannibalism. Although it is virtually invisible and impenetrable, this cult network is thought to be extremely large and growing. Both the number of ritual-sacrifice victims in the United States, estimated at fifty to sixty thousand annually, and the rapidly expanding ranks of "ritual abuse survivors" seeking treatment from therapists suggest a network of immense scale. Satanic churches are alleged to be connected to several elements of organized Satanism. As the following brief review indicates, there is no convincing empirical evidence to support these claims and, specifically, there is no evidence linking satanic churches to the deviant beliefs and practices attributed to underground satanic cults.

There have been charges that satanic churches are *sponsors* of various types of satanic activity. These churches allegedly attract antisocial individuals through their "perverted theologies" that inspire, or at least rationalize, deviant conduct. As the preceding description of satanic churches demonstrated, some of the splinter groups from the Church of Satan indeed were involved in deviant practices. However, there is no evidence linking satanic churches with the central activities attributed to satanic cults—sexual abuse, child molestation, and human sacrifice. And their theologies and rituals contain no advocacy of such activities; in fact, animal sacrifice is specifically prohibited by the Church of Satan. Further, the satanic churches were founded only recently and do not constitute the successor groups to a longstanding satanic tradition. Indeed, if there is a satanic theological tradition it has been created by Christians. As J. Gordon Melton points out, "The Satanic tradition has been carried almost totally by the imaginative literature of non-Satanists, primarily conservative Christians, who describe the practices in vivid detail in the process of denouncing them."<sup>10</sup>

Urban legends with an "evil corporation" motif have persistently resurfaced in recent years, and some versions have linked major corporations to satanic churches.<sup>11</sup>

Two of these narratives assert that the executive leadership of Proctor and Gamble Corporation and the McDonald's fast food chain both contribute a substantial proportion of corporate profits to the Church of Satan. These narratives are a subset of urban legends that have irresponsible or malevolent activities by "evil corporations" as their primary theme. The narratives have continued to circulate in the United States despite absence of any empirical validation.<sup>12</sup>

There has been a virtual epidemic of rumor-panics across the United States over the last decade. One of the most prevalent of these narratives warns of the imminent abduction of an adolescent in the immediate locale (most often a female, blond, blue eyed, virgin) for sacrifice in a satanic ritual.<sup>13</sup> In some regions these abduction narratives have appeared and reappeared a number of times, and sometimes outbreaks have persisted over a period of many months. The spate of child abduction rumor-panics is based on apprehensions similar to those contained in longstanding "urban legends" with a child endangerment motif.<sup>14</sup> Public officials have investigated such reports across the country without discovering any satanic cults intent on abducting members of the community.

During the last decade there also has been a surge in reports of suspicious and unexplained animal deaths. Either a large number or a succession of animal remains have been discovered in numerous localities with what appear to be surgically precise incisions and missing organs. This continuing trail of animal remains has been attributed to Satanists who are in search of blood and organs for their rituals.<sup>15</sup> Virtually every investigation of animal mutilation cases has concluded that unexplained large-animal deaths are the product of roadkills, hunting, trapping, disease, or poisoning. The "surgically precise" wounds observed on "mutilated" animal carcasses are the work of predators and scavengers.<sup>16</sup>

A variety of adolescent recreational material, particularly heavy metal rock music, has been connected to Satanism. Some

heavy metal rock music is believed to contain deliberately implanted subliminal messages promoting Satanism. However, there is little agreement among investigators that coherent messages even exist.<sup>17</sup> Assuming that such messages could be located, research on subliminal messages finds no significant influence from such messages even if presented in normal rather than reverse order.<sup>18</sup>

In a succession of recent homicide cases perpetrators have linked their offenses to Satanism. In some instances adolescents have killed either parents or peers; other cases have involved adult perpetrators who have killed non-related individuals. In such cases perpetrators have attributed their crimes to participation in satanic cults or experimenting with heavy metal rock music. In several dozen homicide cases Satanism has been offered as a contributing or causal factor in the commission of those crimes. It is clear that perpetrators have confessed to involvement in Satanism to diminish their legal responsibility, have employed satanic themes in order to express alienation from conventional society, and have sought publicity by adding a satanic gloss to their crimes. However, there is no credible evidence either that any of these individuals has been a member of a satanic cult network or that their crimes were committed as elements of organized satanic rituals calling for human sacrifice.

There have been a large number of alleged instances of ritual abuse of children in daycare centers and preschools across the United States. In these cases children have recounted horrific stories of drugging and systematic brainwashing, sexual abuse by adults, pornographic film-making, ritual sacrifice of children, and even cannibalism. However, despite intensive investigation of ritual sites identified by "ritual abuse survivors," not a single sacrifice victim has been discovered whose death can be linked to a satanic ritual.<sup>19</sup> In those instances where daycare centers' staff members have been charged with sexual abuse there has been no evidence linking these individuals to satanic groups of any kind. And while there is virtually no credible empirical evidence of either the existence of

an international satanic cult network or of substantial numbers of ritual sacrifice victims, there are numerous instances of disproved claims.<sup>20</sup>

One major daycare center case did involve allegations of a connection between satanic churches and ritual child abuse. The case involved Michael Aquino's Temple of Set.<sup>21</sup> In 1987 an employee of the Presidio Army Base daycare center was charged with twelve counts of child molestation following allegations by children between the ages of two and seven that suggested that as many as sixty children might have been sexually abused. Subsequent medical tests indicated that five of the children were infected with a sexually transmitted disease and fifty-eight children showed evidence of sexual molestation. Statements from the children described cross-dressing by men and women, body painting, robed rituals, and shark feeding. One of the children recognized Aquino on the army base and claimed that the daycare employee had driven her to his home. She correctly identified his home and the existence of a room with black walls. All of the charges against the daycare center employee eventually were dropped, ending the case.

In 1985 there had been allegations of ritual sexual abuse of children at Fort Bragg at the Jubilation Day Care Center. Following the Presidio case, the Army broadened its sexual abuse investigation to surrounding counties after local children reported recognizing Aquino during television coverage of the Presidio case. Ultimately, no charges were filed in the case. Finally, two years after the Presidio case, Ukiah police asked the San Francisco police for assistance in an investigation of a child abuse case similar to the Presidio case. Aquino was questioned in that case as well, but no charges were filed.

### *Summary and Conclusion*

The history of satanic churches is surprisingly brief. They arose in the counter-cultural decades of the 1960s and 1970s and flourished briefly during those years.



They played to the widespread rebelliousness and hedonism of that period. Like many other communal, human potential, and New Age groups of the era, their popularity waned as the countercultural period declined and seekers in the spiritual supermarket discovered alternative paths and products. Public interest in Satanism was rejuvenated in the 1980s with the emergence of an international moral panic over

satanic cults. This moral panic postulated a new form of Satanism and explicitly linked the satanic churches to this putative satanic conspiracy. Although there is no credible evidence of a satanic cult conspiracy, and therefore no evidence of related nefarious behavior by satanic churches, the current moral panic has rejuvenated public concern and reconfigured conceptions of Satanism.

## Notes

1. For information on Anton LaVey and the Church of Satan see Lawrence Wright, "Sympathy for the Devil," *Rolling Stone* (5 September 1991): 62-106; and Arthur Lyons, *Satan Wants You: The Cult of Devil Worship in America* (New York: The Mysterious Press, 1988), 104-24.
2. Lyons, *Satan Wants You*, 115.
3. For information on Michael Aquino and the Temple of Set, see Lyons, *Satan Wants You*, 125-37; Chas Clifton, "The Three Faces of Satan," *Gnosis Magazine* (Summer 1989): 8-18.
4. J. Gordon Melton, *Encyclopedic Handbook of Cults in America* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1986), 114.
5. Lyons, *Satan Wants You*, 121.
6. "Temple of Nephthys," unpublished brochure, 1990.
7. William S. Bainbridge, *Satan's Power: A Deviant Psychotherapy Cult* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 4-5.
8. Lyons, *Satan Wants You*, 90.
9. See David Bromley, "Satanism: The New Cult Scare," in *The Satanism Scare*, ed. James Richardson, Joel Best, and David Bromley (Hawthorne, N.Y.: Aldine de Gruyter, 1991), 49-74.
10. Melton, *Encyclopedic Handbook of Cults in America*, 76.
11. Gary Alan Fine, "The Goliath Effect," *Journal of American Folklore* 98 (1985): 63-84.
12. Jean-Noel Kapferer, *Rumors: Uses, Interpretations, and Images* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1990); Frederick Koenig, *Rumor in the Marketplace: The Social Psychology of Commercial Hearsay* (Dover: Auburn House, 1985); Ralph L. Rosnow, *Rumor and Gossip: The Social Psychology of Hearsay* (New York: Elsevier Scientific Publishing Co., 1976).
13. Anson Shupe, "The Modern Satanist Scare in Indiana: A Case Study of an Urban Legend in the Heartland, U.S.A." (paper presented at the annual meeting of North Central Sociological Association, Dearborn, 1991); Jeffrey Victor, "A Rumor-Panic About a Dangerous Satanic Cult in Western New York," *New York Folklore* 15 (1989): 23-49.
14. Jan Harold Brunvand, *The Vanishing Hitchhiker: American Urban Legends and Their Meanings* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1981).
15. William Ellis, "Death by Folklore: Ostension, Contemporary Legend, and Murder," *Western Folklore* 48 (1989): 201-20.
16. Leland Cade, "Cattle Mutilations—Are They for Real?" *Montana Farmer-Stockman* (3 March 1977); James Stewart, "Cattle Mutilations: An Episode of Collective Delusion," *The Zetetic* 1 (1977): 55-66.
17. Stephen Thorne and Philip Himelstein, "The Role of Suggestion in the Perception of Satanic Messages in Rock-And-Roll Recordings," *The Journal of Psychology* 116 (1984): 245-48.
18. John Vokey and J. Don Read, "Subliminal Messages: Between the Devil and the Media," *American Psychologist* 40 (1985): 1231-39.
19. Kenneth Lanning, "Satanic, Occult, Ritualistic Crime: A Law Enforcement Perspective," *The Police Chief* 56 (1989): 62-83.
20. See, for example, Lyons, *Satan Wants You*, 143-45.
21. For coverage of this episode see "Six of Seven Molestation Charges Dropped in SF Day-Care Case," *Sacramento Bee* 2 February 1988; "Satanic Priest Upset at Probe," *Courier Post* (N.J.) 4 May 1988; "Army Probes Officer in New Presidio Case," *Orange County Register* (Calif.) 24 December 1988; "Satanic Priest

Questioned in New Sex Case," *San Jose Mercury-News* 13 May 1989; "Satanist Accused of

Child Sex Abuse," *San Francisco Chronicle* 17 May 1989.

### *Suggestions for Further Reading*

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