

Deviant Scripturalism and Ritual Satanic Abuse Part Two: Possible Masonic, Mormon, Magick, and Pagan Influences

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Having shown in a previous paper the possible Judeo-Christian influences that may exist in ritual satanic abuse, this study compares portions of people's accounts (using interviews and diaries from several alleged survivors), with doctrinal precedents for satanic ritual abuse in deviant interpretations of Masonic, Mormon, Magick, and Pagan traditions.¹

Impressionistic evidence suggests that most of the accounts about alleged satanic abuse contain important descriptions of rituals, symbols, and artefacts that may be explainable as deviant reversals or deliberate denigrations of Judeo-Christianity. Child sacrifice, the importance of bonfires, religious services involving baptism, communion, and marriage, and various sexual deviations appear in the traditional scriptures of both Judaism and Christianity, and their contexts and intended meanings in those writings easily could be altered to meet the demands of religious and sexual deviants. Various biblical passages involving the serpent, dogs, body whitewashing, and 'eating' mice allegedly have inspired satanists to actions that involve the reversal of their original intent. A significant portion, however, of additional accounts by the survivors with whom I have spoken contain elements that appear to borrow from other traditions, including Freemasonry, Mormonism, and paganism. In this paper I explore some of these more esoteric traditions as possible sources of deviant inspiration for satanists and satanic practices.

Freemasonry and Satanism

Just as parts of the Bible may provide direct inspiration or justification for satanic worshippers, so too may some of these same parts provide additional sanctification of satanic worship through aberrant Freemasonry. The semi-secret and highly ritualistic nature of Freemasonry has made it the subject of Christian attack for centuries, with current fundamentalists excoriating 'the Brotherhood' as little more than anti-Christian satanism. While these charges carry no weight in any serious attempt to identify cultural sources of inspiration for satanic practices, at least five survivors from allegedly three separate groups have indicated that male ritual abusers whom they remember were also Masons. One person specifically recalls a satanic catechism session that seemingly took place in a Masonic lodge. Within the framework of deviant Freemasonry, the word 'Jabulum' or 'Jahbulon' may have bearing on the process of sanctifying if not inspiring satanic worship. One standard Masonic source defines the term as a 'corrupted word used in two of the degrees of the [Ancient and Accepted] Scottish Rite, the Thirteenth and Seventeenth' (Mackey, 1927 p. 359). The two degrees are called, respectively, the 'Royal Arch of Solomon' (Pike, 1871 pp. 204-17) and 'Knight of the east and west' (Pike, 1871 pp. 246-75). In the 'Royal Arch of Solomon' ceremony the initiate learns this 'omnific [sic] word' [which also may have appeared over a hundred years ago as 'Jao-Bul-On', 'Jah-Buh-Lun', and 'Jah-Bel-On' (Fellows, 1860 p. 310)]. English and American Masons agreed that 'the word is compounded of the names

of Deity in three languages, Hebrew, Chaldean, and Syriac' (Fellows, 1860 p. 310), and in many minds the middle syllable referred to the god, Ba'al. Although current information about Masonic interpretations of this word is exceedingly difficult to obtain, a source from the 19th century makes this reference by first signifying that 'Jah-Bel' also meant 'Jah-Baal', and that 'Bel or Baal . . . was the same god with Moloch' [Mayo (source unknown) quoted in Fellows, 1860 p. 311]. Despite frequent contemporary Masonic denials, Short's critical analysis of Freemasonry confirms this interpretation (Short, 1989 pp. 66-7), pointing out that, to the Masons who devised the word in the 1830s, Baal/Ba'al 'was the Devil—a very odd bed-fellow for JAH [Yahweh/Jehovah]!' (Short, 1989 p. 67).

With this mythological interpretation now in place, one easily can see how deviant Freemasons could either sanctify practices involving child-sacrifice to Ba'al or Molech or perhaps could be inspired to engage in them. These possibilities become even more likely upon realizing that Freemasonry's venerated King Solomon, who directed masons in their construction of the Temple, turned to the worship of Ashtoreth and Molech when he reached old age.

For it came to pass, when Solomon was old, that his wives turned away his heart after other gods, and his heart was not perfect with the Lord his God, as was the heart of David, his father.

For Solomon went after Ashtoreth, the goddess of the Sidonians, and after Milcom the abomination of the Ammonites.

And Solomon did evil in the sight of the Lord, and went not fully after the Lord, as did David his father.

Then did Solomon build an high place for Chemosh, the abomination of Moab, in the hill that is before Jerusalem, and for Molech the abomination of the children of Ammon.

And likewise did he for all his [foreign] wives, who burned incense and sacrificed unto their gods (1 Kings 11: 4-8).

Through literalist interpretations of a Masonic teaching about the name of God, coupled with the worship practices of a key figure in Masonic lore, deviant Masons may justify their own satanic practices. Perhaps because 'Masonic teachings make no mention of a devil or Satan' (Robinson, 1989 p. 256), they take seriously the monotheistic belief that 'apparently separate deities were simply symbolic manifestations of aspects of one Supreme Being' (Robinson, 1989 p. 255). Consequently, Masonic deviants may believe that the sacrificially demanding Ba'al is but an aspect of the one God.

If, however, Masonic deviants wanted to find an allusion to Satan in their rituals, then they would be able to do so in the reference made in the third degree ritual to 'that bright Morning Star', which, biblically, was 'Lucifer, son of the morning' (Isaiah, 14: 12). Apparently the ritual says that:

in this perishable frame resides a vital and immortal principle, which inspires holy confidence that the Lord of Life will enable us to trample the King of Terror beneath our feet, and lift our eyes to that bright Morning Star, whose rise brings peace and salvation to the faithful and obedient of the human race (quoted in Short, 1989 p. 146).

If men were satanists, then it would be easy to see how they could interpret this crucial Masonic passage to reinforce their deviant worldview.

Finally, worth mentioning is that Masons frequently are willing to rent their lodges to appropriate individuals or organizations, and few if any questions would be asked about a fellow 'brother' who used the facilities (along with a few 'associates') from time to time. Satanic rituals could occur in masonic lodges (as at least some survivors suggest in their stories) without respectable members knowing anything about them.

Crowleyite Magick² and Ritual (Satanic) Child Abuse

The Masonic critic, Martin Short, observed that "[t]he works of Albert Pike [a 19th-century designer of Masonic rituals] and Aleister Crowley show that men preoccupied with paganism, the devil, and the occult are attracted to Masonry, if only (as in Crowley's case) on the way to somewhere else' (Short, 1989 p. 99). In Crowley's case, precisely where that 'somewhere else' was remains the subject of intense debate among occult magick practitioners, but all agree that sex was one important vehicle in his attempt to get there. Indeed, he utilized passions and indulgences of all forms in his spiritual quest, having claimed to learn 'that the skill, experience, and intensity of the Sworn Sons and Daughters of Satan are desirable to the soul beyond any plastic excitants of passion' (Crowley, 1972 p. 295). Passages such as this provide support for charges made by his innumerable critics that he was a satanist.

At the very least he was a misogynist, with one of his most insightful interpreters, Israel Regardie, commenting that 'his attitude towards women . . . was not at all salutary. . . . He felt [that] women were altogether beneath him. They existed for nothing more than to satisfy his sexual urges and drives' (Regardie, 1989 p. 442). For Crowley, 'sex—sex in any shape or form, the emergence of instinctual, that is, divine tendencies—is not to be thwarted or warped' (Regardie, 1989 p. 347). Some evidence exists that he was a pedophile, having had sex repeatedly with a 'youth who had become his servant and a partner in sex magic[k] activities' in 1923 (King, 1977 p. 146). He may have believed that 'the processes of ageing can be arrested and reversed by the use of disgust [toward one's unappealing sexual partners] and the use of young females as was done of old by King David and Solomon' (unattributed quote in King, 1977 p. 94).³ Vaginal fluid from women, apparently of any age, was 'obviously something that prevents senescence or aging. For ages the Siddhas have been stating that the [genital] excretions from women—called 'cow' in the Vedas—are of great value' (Crowley quoted in Grant, 1973 pp. 176–7).⁴ These 'sexual fluids' were 'accumulated in the magick cup', which presumably was a chalice of some kind (Grant, 1973 p. 81).

Extending Crowley's preoccupation with sex, apparently he believed that heterosexual, homosexual, or autosexual stimulation could allow people to break through barriers that covered humans' hidden powers (Tillet, 1982 pp. 283–4). After intensive magickal training, Crowley believed these hidden powers would appear to people in ways that allowed them to be harnessed and utilized. One set of appearances involved what a Crowley interpreter called the 'Cult of the Child', which involved 'the earthing [i.e. manifesting] of the magical Current' (Grant, 1973 p. 45). In his writings about this 'cult' he provided instructions about worshipping a god of War and Vengeance, Ra-Hoor-Khuit [the martial aspect of the god Horus (King, 1977 p. 135)]. He indicated that [t]he best blood [for use in worship] is of the moon, monthly; then the fresh blood of a child, or dropping from the host of heaven' (Crowley, 1972 pp. 311–2). More intensely, in his channeled message allegedly from this god, Crowley recorded that devotees were to '[s]acrifice cattle little and big; after a child' (Crowley, 1972 p. 311). Indeed, at one time (so his account goes) he became 'obsessed by an evil spirit posing as Mercury. This entity informed [Crowley and his magickal partner, Victor Neuburg]

that the supreme act of sexual magic involved the rape, ritual murder, and dissection into nine pieces of the body of a young girl. The resulting chunks of flesh were to be offered as sacrifices to the immortal gods' (King, 1977 p. 85).⁵

Peculiar as Crowley's obsessive and violating rituals and beliefs sound, they may provide an explanation for several incidents that Louise (a pseudonym) remembers when she was around three years old. Her father was a Mason, and she recalls being sexually assaulted by a man in a crimson robe that her father brought to her. She also recalls an incident where she was placed on the top of a white set of three steps [which Crowley mentions as being in his idealized temple (Crowley, 1972 p. 268)] and sexually assaulted by numerous men. She also recalls seeing a young girl sacrificed and dismembered next to her on a table. Furthermore, she spoke about another incident in which thirteen men each placed an object into her vagina and caught the resultant blood and additional discharges in a container (Louise, 1992).

Mormonism and Satanism

Just as the pagan god Ba'al in the Bible influenced an important segment of Masonic teaching mythology (concerning the name of God), so too do Mormon scriptures appear to have been influenced by biblical accounts of this god and others that required human sacrifice for appeasement. The influence of these figures on Mormon scriptures appears in publicly accessible texts that are central to the faith and which intend to provide negative images of religion to members. In addition, a satanic figure (Lucifer) plays a similar, negative role in a secret Mormon temple ceremony that is witnessed only by worthy members who have been granted permission to receive the group's more esoteric teachings. As is the case with the accounts in both the Bible and Freemasonry, suggestive evidence exists that deviant members of Mormonism are practicing satanic rituals that are based upon these negative images. I understand, however, that Mormonism has suffered from false accounts of child abuse (Shupe, 1991 pp. 106–23), so the material that allegedly links deviant Mormonism with satanism must be evaluated with extreme care.

The strongest (but not definitive) evidence that satanic rituals are being conducted in the context of deviant Mormonism appears in an internal memo about 'ritualistic child abuse' written by a Mormon bishop to the 'Strengthening Church Members Committee' on 19 July 1990. Someone leaked Bishop Glenn L. Pace's memo to outsiders⁶ almost a year later, and the document eventually entered the public domain through various media accounts. Pace indicated that he had 'met with sixty victims. That number could be twice or three times as many if I did not discipline myself to only one meeting per week. . . . All sixty individuals are members of the Church. Forty-five victims allege witnessing and/or participating in human sacrifice. The majority were abused by relatives, often their parents' (Pace, 1990 p. 1, reprinted in Utah Lighthouse Ministry, 1991 p. 3). Later in the memo Pace lamented 'that many of the victims have had their first flashbacks while attending the temple for the first time. The occult [groups in the Salt Lake City area use] the doctrine of the Church to their advantage. For example, the verbiage and gestures are used in a ritualistic ceremony in a very debased and often bloody manner. When the victim goes to the temple and hears the exact words, horrible memories are triggered' (Pace, 1990 p. 4, reprinted in Utah Lighthouse Ministry, 1991 p. 4).

The alleged perpetrators were Mormons, often ones in prominent church positions. The victims, Pace revealed:

have told me the positions in the Church of members who are perpetrators. Among others, there are Young Women leaders, Young Men leaders, bishops, a patriarch, a stake president, temple workers, and members of the Tabernacle Choir. These accusations are not coming from individuals who think they recognized someone, but from those who have been abused by people they know, in many cases their own family members (Pace, 1990 p. 5, reprinted in Utah Lighthouse Ministry, 1991 p. 5).

Elsewhere in the letter Pace specifically identified the satanic nature of the alleged ritualistic abuses.

When discussing the religious teachings that the groups allegedly imposed upon children, Pace concluded that '[t]he spiritual indoctrination which takes place during the physical abuse is one of the most difficult to overcome. In addition to experiencing stark terror and pain, the children are also instructed in satanic doctrine. Everything is completely reversed: white is black, black is white, good is bad, bad is good, Satan is going to rule during the Millennium' (Pace, 1990 p. 3, reprinted in Utah Lighthouse Ministry, 1991 p. 4).

The descriptive portions of Pace's memo highlighted the essential elements of three satanic Mormon accounts with which I had worked in a professional capacity in the fall of 1990. In the fall of 1991 I finally met one of the alleged survivors who made some of the initial allegations that I had seen a year earlier.

Many sections of standard Mormon scriptures recount incidents of individuals or groups receiving and using esoteric teachings reportedly from Satan in order to further their worldly power and domain. Mormon literalists easily could take these passages at face value and either construct rituals and doctrines in accordance with a belief system that claimed special revelations from Satan, or else could use these passages to sanctify their deviant behaviours. In, for example, the 'Moses' section of the *Pearl of Great Price*, Cain receives secret, world-empowering teachings from Satan.

And it came to pass that Cain took one of his brothers' daughters to wife, and they loved Satan more than God.

And Satan said unto Cain: 'Swear unto me by thy throat, and if thou tell it thou shalt die; and swear thy brethren by their heads, and by the living God, that they tell it not; for if they tell it, they shall surely die; and this that thy father may not know it; and this day I will deliver thy brother Abel into thine hands.

And Satan swore unto Cain that he would do according to his commands. And all these things were done in secret.

And Cain said: Truly I am Mahan, the master of this great secret, *that I may murder and get gain*. Wherefore Cain was called Master Mahan, and he glorified in his wickedness (Moses 5: 28-31, my emphasis).

As with passages in the Bible and Freemasonry, I am not concerned about the extent to which these scriptures represent historically real or religiously manufactured events. The fact that they identify secret satanic teachings involving murder as a means of achieving worldly gain might be enough motivation for some people to venerate a supposedly satanic reality.

Other passages in Mormon scripture speak about the power for worldly gain that people obtained from the devil's 'secret combinations'. For example, after discussing the mistaken nature of the Gentiles' teachings, the prophet Nephi adds:

And there are also secret combinations, even as in the times of old, according to the

combinations of the devil, for he is the foundation of all these things; yea, the foundation of murder, and works of darkness . . . (2 Nephi 26: 22).

As discussed in the *Book of Mormon*, Satan revealed these same combinations to a band of criminals called the Gadianton robbers, which allowed them to 'murder, and plunder, and steal, and commit whoredoms and all manner of wickedness' (Helaman 6: 23). The leader of this band 'doth carry on his works of darkness and secret murder, and doth hand down their plots, and their oaths, and their covenants, and their plans of awful wickedness, from generation to generation according as he can get hold upon the hearts of the children of men' (Helaman 6: 30). After the Gadianton robbers received the support of the Nephites, 'they did obtain the sole management of the government' (Helaman 6: 38).

Thus, standard Mormon scriptures describe a group of people who had secret teachings from Satan that included requirements of 'secret murder'. They believed that these secrets gave them worldly power, and they passed along this esoteric knowledge to their children. Although these passages do not describe child sacrifice, other passages in Mormon scriptures specifically do.

In the *Pearl of Great Price's* 'Book of Abraham', Abraham reported that his forefathers' 'hearts were set to do evil', which they accomplished by turning 'their hearts to the sacrifice of the heathen in offering up their children unto these dumb idols' (Abraham 1: 7). One discussion of the Gadianton robbers in the *Book of Mormon* describes them as Lamanites who conquered the city of Teancum, at which time they 'did drive the inhabitants forth out of her, and did take many prisoners both women and children, and did offer them up as sacrifices unto their idol gods' (Mormon 4: 14). When the Nephites attacked the Lamanites, they did so partly out of anger 'because the Lamanites had sacrificed their women and their children' (Mormon 4: 15). Presumably Satan received the sacrificial women and children victims, since he had given them their secret 'combinations'. Continuing with the theme that adherence to Satan's teachings provided believers with worldly gain, the *Book of Mormon* even stated that the Lamanites, as warriors, had 'exceedingly great power' (Mormon 2: 3).

The representations, therefore, of Satan as a source for worldly power who requires human sacrifice (including offerings of women and children) exists in readily available Mormon texts, and easily could be utilized by deviants who themselves quest after secular success. Moreover, the accounts that Bishop Pace apparently has heard (as well as the accounts with which I am personally familiar) indicate that children allegedly are being exposed to (and perhaps initiated into) these reputed secrets by current practitioners. Intergenerational transmission of this kind is precisely what the *Book of Mormon* indicated occurred among the Gadianton robbers, so it seems possible that alleged current satanic Mormon practitioners see themselves as initiates into these demonic teachings (assuming, of course, that they in fact exist).

An additional source of alleged abuse by deviant Mormons is the image of Satan (in the form of Lucifer) who plays a prominent role in the early sections of the secret Mormon temple ritual. At several key junctures during this ritual, Satan teaches Mormon doctrines to Adam and Eve, all the while claiming that he is the "'God of this world'" (Temple Ceremony in Sackett, 1982 p. 33; see also the summary of the Temple Ritual in the latter 19th-century in Beadle, 1882 pp. 393-415).

Satan's role in Mormon theology is that of a brother and former equal of Jesus in the Council on the planet Kolob whom Elohim (the Father of this world) expelled for resisting Jesus' assignment of free choice to the inhabitants of this world. Lucifer had

wanted to force people to know the difference between good and evil, thereby propelling them on a road that would lead to their development into gods and goddesses themselves who would oversee their own worlds. Consequently, once Adam and Eve appeared in the Garden of Eden, Satan (in the form of a serpent) beguiled the perfect couple to partake of the fruit from the tree of knowledge, thereby casting them into mortality and the possibility of perfection and godhood. According to Mormon theology, spirits need bodies to inhabit in order to develop their perfection, so that the fall of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden actually was a 'good' development in humanity's spiritual development. As the *Book of Mormon* teaches:

And now, behold, if Adam had not transgressed he would not have fallen, but he would have remained in the garden of Eden. And all things which were created must have remained in the same state in which they were created; and they must have remained forever, and had no end.

And they would have had no children; wherefore they would have remained in a state of innocence, having no joy, for they knew no misery; doing no good, for they knew no sin.

But behold, all things have been done in the wisdom of him who knoweth all things.

Adam fell that men might be; and men are, that they might have joy (2 Nephi 2: 22-25).

In essence, the fall of Adam and Eve provided spirits with opportunities to gain bodies (through Adam and Eve's descendants), and gave humanity opportunities to experience joy and good (since they now knew their emotional opposites). These opportunities came about because of Satan's insistence that Adam and Eve 'Partake of the forbidden fruit, and ye shall not die, but ye shall be as God, knowing good and evil' (2 Nephi 2: 18). Moreover, they provided people with the chance of perfecting themselves [if they would 'repent while in the flesh' (2 Nephi 2: 21)] and thereby become divine figures.

Part of the temple ceremony involves a re-enactment of the fall of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden, and, as commonly interpreted in the Bible, Satan (as Lucifer) plays an instrumental role in that fall. Lucifer, for example, tells Adam that he can eat fruit from the tree of good and evil, since '[y]ou shall not surely die, but shall be as the Gods, knowing good and evil' (Temple Ceremony, in Sackett, 1982 p. 27). While beguiling Adam and Eve to disobey Elohim's prohibition about eating from the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, Lucifer is wearing an apron, which is 'an emblem of my power and Priesthoods' (Temple Ceremony in Sackett, 1982 p. 28). In the movie shown in the contemporary Temple Ceremony, Lucifer instructs the primal couple to '[t]ake some fig leaves and make you aprons' because 'Father [Elohim] will see your nakedness'. At this moment the movie stops and 'all patrons in the audience remove the bright green satin fig-leaf embroidered aprons from their packages of temple clothing and tie them around their waists' (Sackett, 1982 p. 28). In essence, in this section of the Temple Ceremony, Mormons follow Satan's directive.

Later in the ceremonial movie, Adam has built an altar to God and is offering prayer at it. Three times he supplicates, 'Oh God, hear the words of my mouth!', but Lucifer, not Elohim, answers him. When a surprised Adam queries, 'Who are you?', Lucifer answers with the claim, 'I am the God of this world' (Temple Ceremony in Sackett, 1982 p. 33). Further along in the ceremonial movie, Elohim and Jehovah send the Apostles Peter, James, and John to earth (the 'Telestial World') in order to 'cast Satan

out of their midst' (Temple Ceremony in Sackett, 1982 p. 37). In one of Lucifer's final exchanges with Peter he expounds, 'Aah! You have looked over my kingdom, and my greatness and glory. Now you want to take possession of the whole of it . . . I have a word to say concerning these people [in this context, the Mormon Temple initiates]. If they do not walk up to every covenant they make at these altars in this temple this day, they will be in my power' (Temple Ceremony in Sackett, 1982 p. 38). In essence, not only does Satan/Lucifer play a prominent and influential role in certain sections of the Mormon Temple ceremony, but also he specifically is given power over Mormons who do not live up to all of their church's covenants. Easily, deviant Mormons could accept at face value Lucifer's claim that he is the 'God of this world', and devise an altered Temple Ceremony to venerate him (as the accounts that both Pace and I have heard suggest has happened).⁷

Egyptian and Pagan Influences

Elaine's written account suggests that the alleged satanic group that abused her may have borrowed some of its figures from gods who were associated with death in Egyptian mythology. The dominant abuser in her account is a figure called 'the Jackal', who for at least one series of rituals has an assistant named 'the Wolf' (Elaine, 1991 (5 and 7 June) pp. 58–66, especially p. 66 (see pp. 27–8)). The Wolf sexually violated her and directed her in a ritual murder, while the Jackal repeatedly assaulted her sexually and physically (with a cattle prod). The Jackal also controlled and directed her in several rituals, including ones in which people were killed. At one point Elaine recalled him saying:

'I am the Jackal but you needn't be afraid because I eat only the dead . . .
Do you know who Satan is?'
I don't answer.
'That's one of my names too' (Elaine, 1991 p. 28).

Later in her memories Elaine remembers an instance in which the Jackal 'tells me I am to obey the Wolf—his servant—as I would him' (Elaine, 1991 p. 66).

One way to interpret Elaine's memories is to view them in the context of Egyptian mythology. From this perspective, the reputedly satanic group that violated her had identified mythological figures who were associated with death and developed rituals that incorporated them. In the Egyptian Papyrus of ANI, for example, the Jackal (as the god Anubis) lead 'the deceased into the presence of Osiris, and present[ed] the heart of the deceased to the god' (Budge, 1920 p. 237). Elsewhere in Egyptian mythology, the jackal appeared as the god of embalming (David, 1982 p. 24) who at one point appears to have been connected to 'the wolf-god of Assiut', who evolved into 'a god of the dead' (David, 1982 p. 27). Each of these mythological figures was associated with an aspect of death, and they would be appropriate images for satanists to incorporate into rituals.

The possible Egyptian imagery becomes interwoven with what appears to be pagan symbolism in certain parts of Elaine's story. Elaine recalls numerous instances in which she or other people were wearing headdresses (Elaine, 1991 pp. 43, 47) or wreaths (Elaine, 1990 pp. 19, 22, 55). One cannot be certain that these wreaths and headdresses indicate pagan satanic involvement, but it is worth noting that Gail provided me with a photograph with what could be a representation of a pagan harvest symbol. In the black and white photograph, which was on a roll of film in a family member's camera,

two females are standing with their heads down and their backs to the camera and each is holding, with both hands at waist-level, a bundle of long grass (possibly wheat or a similar grain). To their right, and slightly closer to the camera, stands a younger girl (possibly ten to twelve years of age) who is holding a similar bundle on her head. Behind the women is the side of a house, and in the upper window is an roundish object in the lower left hand corner that Gail says is her face looking out on the scene. The picture took place in late September during the mid 1970s, and leaves still are on the trees in the background. Gail believes that subsequently the two older women were murdered, after which several group members drained the blood out of one of them (Gail, tape no 3, side B p. 10). One interpretation of this peculiar photograph is that the three people represented the cycle of the seasons, with the older women holding the fruits of the harvest and the younger woman symbolizing the renewal of life.⁸

Another indication that the alleged satanic group in which Gail was unwillingly involved drew upon pagan sources is a memory that she had about Druidic teachings that were being propagated to a group of teens who were in an organization to which she belonged. While on a picnic with these teens an acquaintance:

came up behind me and he said, '[Gail], what is a Druid?' and I said, 'A Druid—oh, they [sic] are awful'. I knew they had some kind of gruesome healing sacrifices. I knew that much about them. It was originally in England, I think. I knew it was awful stuff. He said [that] the [teens] are sitting over in this sort of long low buildings [sic] that had a dirt floor and there was an old man just sitting inside the door smoking a pipe. He was telling them all about how to become a Druid. [My acquaintance] was telling me he was trying to recruit these kids to become Druid[s]. I said, 'No you have got to be kidding', and I walked over and stood in the doorway and listened for a little while. And sure enough he was (Gail, 1989 (29 July) p. 19).

The alleged group's involvement in Druidism may explain why one of its active members once apparently justified the practice of human sacrifice to Gail by telling her to read Sir James George Frazer's *The Golden Bough* (1890).⁹

Conclusion: From Scriptural Deviance to Satanic Practice

Mere identification of possible scriptural and related traditional sources for many practices and beliefs that appear in satanic accounts is not definitive proof that ritual abuse occurred either in distant religious 'history' or in the alleged survivors' lives. Only independently confirming evidence—bodies, videos of rituals, ritual books, ceremonial artefacts, etc.—can provide the physical support that is necessary to substantiate the psychological claims. Thus far I am unaware of any definitive evidence of this kind appearing anywhere around the world, so social scientists must remain very sceptical about the reality of the accounts. Certainly none has appeared to substantiate major assertions in the accounts that I have collected, although a few stories have had sections receive partial confirmation (and others apparent disconfirmation). Beyond these essential efforts to check alleged survivors' accounts with external reality, it remains essential for researchers and therapists to realize that religious sources central to our culture have significant discussions of what we now call ritual abuse.

Broadly speaking, three possibilities exist concerning these and other satanic abuse allegations. They are:

- (1) that the events occurred exactly as described; (2) that the events did not actually happen, and [alleged survivors] are mistaken or telling lies; and (3) that some events occurred but other aspects are fictitious (Jones, 1991 p. 166).

Specifically regarding mistaken or deceptive accounts, alleged survivors conceivably could manufacture stories for either revenge (through law enforcement, family scandal, or even psychic fantasy) or attention from counsellors or other supportive individuals. Researchers into satanic abuse accounts cannot rule out the possibility that some people may be suffering from factitious disorders that compel them to fabricate stories because of their 'psychological need to assume the sick role' (American Psychiatric Association, 1987 p. 315). Furthermore, people may suffer from various forms of false memory syndrome, in which people 'remember' events that never actually occurred (see Loftus & Ketchamp p. 1991).

Regarding the possibility that alleged satanic abuse survivors are 'remembering' events that actually are a combination of reality and fiction, numerous factors easily explain the memory distortions. Jones identified several factors that may affect children's memory of traumatic events such as ritual satanic abuse, and with slight modification these factors equally hold true for adults recalling events from long ago (Jones, 1991 pp. 166-7). These factors include: (1) professional or interviewer responses; (2) authorities' responses; (3) social contagion (from the media, other alleged victims, or professionals); (4) defensive elaborations of initial statements; (5) post-traumatic effects; (6) drug intake (either during the trauma or after it); (7) confusing and/or intimidating tactics used by perpetrators; and (8) the effects of repeat interviews. These factors can confuse memory, and often they work to do so in harmony with recall and interpretive distortions that creep into memory the further one moves from the allegedly abusive ritual event(s).

The intent, however, of this two-fold study is to show how major Western religious traditions may provide important ideational bases for discovering logic in many of the satanic accounts that are coming forward. While I concede the point to skeptics that alleged victims might use the same passages that I identified to fabricate or otherwise construct false memories, I remain unconvinced that many of the people with whom I have worked had sufficient scriptural exposure to have done so.

The plausibility of these accounts increases even more when we keep in mind a basic insight from the sociology of deviance: one technique that deviants use to justify or 'neutralize' their aberrant behaviours is to invoke claims or 'appeals to higher loyalties' (Sykes & Matza, 1957 p. 669). It is entirely possible that intergenerational satanists do exist, and that many of them sanctify their actions partly by claiming that they perform them in order to placate what they believe to be the god of this world. Once again, of course, we cannot know what (if any) relationship exists between actual perpetrators' satanic actions and the religious justifications that exist for them within normative religious traditions unless we find and interview actual practitioners themselves (assuming, of course, that they are real). The existence, however, of these sections in traditional scriptures provides a religious studies perspective that validates the claimants rather than labels them as 'sick people' whom therapists 'parade' before conferences as 'public exhibitions . . . for our vicarious *frisson* of sexual terror' (Hicks, 1991 p. 176). Their terror may be based upon real events, and it may originate in behaviours partly inspired by religious texts and traditions that are widely accessible in Western culture.

Notes

- 1 Revised version of a paper delivered at the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (November 1991). Special thanks go to Bob Beatty of the *Calgary Herald* (a newspaper in Alberta, Canada), whose collaboration and friendship helped me work with this emotionally difficult material.

- 2 Many practitioners of spiritual power manipulations spell their activities with a 'k' on the word 'magic' in order to distinguish their activities from entertainment performances.
- 3 The Hebrew Bible states that in King David's declining years he obtained a Shunammite 'young virgin' named Abishag who 'ministered' to him and even slept by him for warmth. He did not, however, 'know' her (1 Kings 1: 1-15). Use of an unattractive sexual partner seems to be related to 'the fact that, in accordance with the tantric doctrines of the identity of opposites, the "noblest and most precious" is hidden precisely in the "basest and most common".' Indeed, '[t]he more depraved and debauched the woman, the more fit she is for the rite' (Eliade, 1969 p. 261 note 204). None the less, I cannot determine the exact relationship between an unappealing sexual partner and the arresting of aging, unless the relationship lies in the generation of energy and power that tantra allegedly unleashes (according to its practitioners).
- 4 Special thanks go to Dr Catherine Wessinger of Loyala University in New Orleans for alerting me to a key reference about the tantric use of women's vaginal fluids. For the process of gathering 'the female sexual fluid' in a contemporary tantric ceremony, see Marglin (1985 p. 222). For mention of using 'a mixture of sperm and the secretions of the vagina' in ceremonies of the Ordo Templi Orientis (of which Crowley involved himself for a time) see Wilson (1987 pp. 103, 108).
- 5 In Crowley's defense, however, I should point out that one of his recent interpreters insisted that 'this [revelation] was too much even for Crowley, and [he and Neuburg] decided to ignore it' (Wilson, 1987 p. 106).
- 6 The non-Mormon 'outsiders' who received the leaked document appear to be Jerald and Sandra Tanner, who operate the anti-Mormon Utah Lighthouse Ministry. I have located a reference to a one hundred page book that the Tanners have written on *Satanic Ritual Abuse and Mormonism*, which an advertisement claims 'examines important evidence which seems to support these accusations'. As with all studies, however, written by opponents, this should be approached with caution.
- 7 I realize that parts of the Temple Ceremony were changed in April 1990, but apparently the new version 'still has Lucifer teaching standard LDS [Latter Day Saints of Mormon] doctrine' (McKay, 1991 p. 1).
- 8 Gail recorded the incident as follows: 'there was a picture on this film of me looking out the window, seeing these girls, two of them with their heads down, with long things of grass behind them, facing the other way, and one younger, facing the camera. I think [they are] symbolizing the new crop or whatever and the other two [are symbolizing] the old crop' (Lyn, 1988, tape no 2, side B p. 7).
- 9 While Frazer does discuss Druids' human and animal sacrifices, his comments focus upon their fire-offerings. About the victims he says, ironically, 'we must suppose that the men whom the Druids burnt in wicker-work images were condemned to death on ground that they were witches or wizards, and that the mode of execution by the fire was chosen because, as we have seen, burning alive is deemed the surest mode of getting rid of these noxious and dangerous beings' (Frazer, 1890 pp. 646-7, see pp. 643-7). Nowhere in Gail's accounts are sacrifices or murders committed in the traditional Druidic manner. Frazer's study is replete, however, with accounts of human (including child) sacrifice (e.g. see Frazer, 1890 pp. 317-9, 432-8, 560, etc.). For a brief contemporary account of a murder conviction against a member of a group called the Druid Fellowship (in Arlington, Texas) see Sanger (1992). Although no indication exists that either the group was intergenerational or that the murder was ritualistically inspired, the murderer allegedly had passed on death threats through members of his religion.

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