

From Barbarian to Lord

The Influence of *Männerbund*-Theories on Alt-Right Author Jack Donovan's Literature

MATHIAS NORDVIG

ABSTRACT: *The chapter investigates the influence of Männerbund-theories on Neopagan, alt-right author Jack Donovan's literature from 2012 to 2021. As an author and opinion-maker, Donovan has proposed a radical deconstruction of American society and rebuilding in male tribal gangs. This anarcho-libertarian vision for society, coupled with strong misogynist tendencies, has been a core element in the so-called 'manosphere' discussions in the rise of the American alt-right, and Donovan's associations with these groups has earned him a reputation as a white supremacist. This chapter discusses the historical influences on Donovan's thinking in a perspective that looks beyond attempts to categorize the author's political position.*

RESUME: *Dette kapitel undersøger indflydelsen fra Männerbund-teorier på den neopaganistiske, amerikanske alt-right-forfatter Jack Donovans litteratur i perioden 2012 til 2021. Som forfatter og meningsdanner har Donovan foreslået en komplet omkalfatring af det amerikanske samfund til en tilstand bestående af mandsdominerede stammesamfund. Denne anarko-libertarianske vision for et samfund har sammen med forfatterens omfattende misogyni været et kerneelement i den såkaldte 'mandesfære'-debat, der har fulgt den amerikanske alt-right-bevægelse fra begyndelsen. Donovans associationer med alt-right-grupper og individer har resulteret i, at han har fået et ry som fortaler for hvidt herredømme. Dette kapitel diskuterer de historiske indflydelser på Donovans tænkning i et perspektiv, der ser udover forskellige forsøg på at kategorisere forfatterens politiske tilhørsforhold.*

KEYWORDS: *Neopaganism; Männerbund; alt-right; radical right; radical traditionalism; neo-völkisch; reception history*

Introduction

Jack Donovan is an author and prolific online contributor who has been engaged in alternative right (alt-right) and ‘manosphere’ discourses between 2010 and 2018 (Lyons 2019, 242–57), writing and speaking about his vision of “male tribalism” (Lyons 2019). A figure with ambiguous attachments to the alt-right, Donovan first emerged in 2007 with his book *Androphilia*, a manifesto rejecting gay culture and its alliance with feminism (Lyons 2019, 243–44). After that, he embarked on a journey to form male tribal groups. As his literary production continued, he joined the Wolves of Vinland in 2014, a collective of male-dominated tribal-oriented groups in the USA. He left them again in 2018 (see below).

From 2012 to 2021 Donovan has published a series of books outlining what may best be described as a masculinist Neopagan philosophy centered around male groups. *The Way of Men* from 2012, *Becoming a Barbarian* from 2016, *A More Complete Beast* from 2018, and *Fire in the Dark* from 2021 explain Donovan’s ideas about how men may realize their full potential by forming gangs that live by their own rules. These visions of male gangs may, in my opinion, be considered the contemporary anarcho-libertarian inheritors of the *Männerbund* as it was envisioned by early twentieth-century scholarship on pre-Christian Nordic-Germanic culture and religion. In the following, I will argue that Donovan’s visions of male gangs are closely related to pre-World War 2 *völkisch* and radical traditionalist concepts. As Matthew Lyons points out in “Jack Donovan and Male Tribalism”, it can be difficult to navigate Donovan’s literature because he does not clearly identify his sources (Lyons 2019, 247). His literature reveals influence from thinkers, philosophers, psychologists, biologists, evolutionists, alt-right activists, early twentieth-century *völkisch* thinkers, and traditionalists, as well as several classical and historical authors. There are even references to some radical-left thinkers and activists in his works. To the observer, Donovan’s books can be a perplexing, entwined set of thoughts. They represent a worldview that is not – as is the case with any worldview – stringent and logically coherent, but undergoes progressive development as the author’s experiential horizon changes. The transformations in perspectives and ideas, along with Donovan’s personal connections to groups and individuals in the alt-right scene, complicate the treatment of his literature. In the following study I will address this problem and explain my approach to his authorship.

Jack Donovan and the Neopagan Alt-Right

As an author associated with the American alt-right, Donovan has been scrutinized for his political leanings, his misogyny, and his ties to white supremacist groups and individuals. The American anti-racist watch-group Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) designates the Wolves of Vinland, Donovan’s former group, as neo-*völkisch* and includes them on their watchlist for white supremacist groups (Wikipedia 2021a). Other neo-*völkisch* groups and individuals on SPLC’s site include David Lane and

Wotansvolk,¹ Else Christensen and the Odinist Fellowship, Stephen McNallen of the Ásatrú Folk Assembly (AFA), and his successor Matt Flavel (SPLC website b n.d.). The latter group has recently become the center of a controversy in the small town of Murdock, Minnesota (USA), because they have established a “whites only church” for practitioners of Ásatrú, a contemporary Neopagan religion based on Old Norse mythology (Hampton 2020).² A 2017 article on SPLC’s website about Donovan describes his ideology of male supremacy and mentions his affiliations with the Wolves of Vinland, including that he is the leader of their Cascadia chapter in Oregon (SPLC website c 2017). Donovan explains his affiliation with the Wolves of Vinland on his own website, stating that he was a member in the period 2014–2018 (Donovan website a 2021). He defines the Wolves of Vinland as “[a] private tribal and religious organization. The political and philosophical ideologies of its individual members seemed to vary widely when I was a member” (ibid.).

In scholarship, Donovan has received fleeting attention. Matthew N. Lyons treats Donovan’s perspectives on gender in his chapter “Jack Donovan and Male Tribalism” in the book *Key Thinkers of the Radical Right* from 2019, and Verena Höfig has argued that the Wolves of Vinland is a white supremacist organization in “Vinland and White Nationalism” from 2020. Despite her perceivably accurate diagnosis of the Wolves of Vinland, Höfig has greater difficulties placing Donovan in the same category. Concerning his book, *The Way of Men*, she notes: “[A]s a men’s rights manifesto [it] is not openly engaged in racist thinking” (Höfig 2020, 107). Donovan himself has maintained a somewhat critical position towards white supremacy throughout his time with the alt-right, and since 2020 has become more vocal in his rejection of racism (Donovan website b 2021; Donovan, Web Archive 2011; Donovan, Web Archive 2017; Burley 2020; Wikipedia 2021b).³ Most recently, he has characterized white supremacy in the following way: “White supremacy and white nationalism are generally the fixations of whites with low levels of achievement. They’re at the bottom of the totem pole trying to find a reason why they belong at the top, or why another group is or should be lower.”⁴ In this statement, Donovan highlights the hierarchical perspective that is ever-present in his literature, a fundamentally meritocratic view of the world.

¹ David Lane died in prison in 2007. He was incarcerated for his role in the murder of Jewish talk-show host Alan Berg in Denver in 1984. Lane invented the 14 words and the 88 precepts, which are commonly used codes among white supremacists, often in combination: 14-88 (SPLC website a n.d.).

² Concerning Ásatrú, see: Gardell, 2003; Snook, 2015; Velkoborská, 2015; Gregorius, 2015; von Schnurbein, 2016; Nordvig, 2018; Strmiska, 2018.

³ It is difficult to navigate both popular and academic literature on Donovan because most publications seem entrenched in political evaluations. Matthew N. Lyons is a blogger on the radical anti-fascist platform “Threewayfight,” which describes itself as “an insurgent blog on the struggle against the state and fascism” (Three Way Fight website 2021) and Kersplebedeb publisher’s blog, which describes itself as “a publisher of radical books & pamphlets, and manufacturer of radical agit prop materials [sic].” (Kersplebedeb website n.d.). See also: The Daily Beast website (Swan 2017) and Nashville Scene website (Gervin 2017).

⁴ Personal communication via Instagram. November 9, 2021.

The meritocracy in which Donovan seems to believe is not based on race essentialism, but in adherence to the masculinist ideals that he establishes in his literature.

Since its inception, the alt-right movement has been an eclectic, loose-knit group of opinion-makers. It has been characterized as a “collective experiment[s] in identity” by journalist Benjamin Wallace-Wells (Wallace-Wells 2016). Höfig characterizes the alt-right as a “cacophony of misogynist, white supremacist, eco-fascist, and neo-pagan views” (Höfig 2020, 107).⁵ Regardless of whether one is inclined to define the movement as a collective experiment or a cacophony of various views, its members can be difficult to appropriately categorize. Jack Donovan himself has defined the alt-right as: “Basically everyone who were tired of the dominating Republican version of the right.”⁶

Appropriate categorization of alt-right actors is a recurring problem to observers. In his book *Lions of the North*, Benjamin Teitelbaum addresses this problem in context of radical nationalism in Sweden:

The field of critical race studies has long alleged that discourses like cultural nationalism are merely the new public façade of race nationalism [...] Though this paradigm enjoys widespread celebration in media circles, it fails to grasp the often genuinely felt and socially consequential ideological differences among activists, as well as the extra-ideological forces that bring them together (Teitelbaum 2017, 6).

Teitelbaum suggests that the collective experiments in identity among right-wing groups and individuals are expressions of genuinely-felt and socially-consequential differences. This is a perspective that considers that groups and individuals who associate with the alt-right may have other motivations than those assumed by observers. Donovan has consistently described his motivations as a male tribal project. In his blog/essay “Why I am Not a White Nationalist,” he explains that his desire is “[t]o hang out in the woods with [...] the people who I am oathed to, my tribe, the Wolves of Vinland” (Donovan, Web Archive 2017).

It is on this basis I will conduct my analysis of Donovan’s literature. I see his literature as an attempt to create a masculinist Neopagan philosophy for male communities inspired by pre-World War II theories about the *Männerbund*. It is not a white supremacist project even though it does borrow from ideas and ideologues who may have held such views.⁷ Moving forward, I will draw comparisons between concepts and the sources of influence that may have delivered the raw material for the author’s thoughts. I will demonstrate that Donovan’s authorship from *The Way of Men* (2012) to *Fire in the Dark* (2021) represents an evolving worldview in which philosophy

⁵ Höfig’s omission of Christian denominations from the religious views of the alt-right is problematic, since the religious American mainstream can hardly be absolved of its role in these movements (e.g., Whitehead and Perry 2020). Paganism is, by any measure, a fringe phenomenon in the alt-right and radical right movements.

⁶ Personal communication. September 10, 2020.

⁷ At this juncture, I leave the conversations about whether Donovan is a white supremacist to other observers.

and mythology entwine with his interest in intimate male group relationships (Lyons 2019, 243–46).

Männerbünde in Research and Contemporary Popular Culture

References to *Männerbünde* can be found in fringe music scenes and Neopagan subcultures after World War II. From the middle of the 2010s, the male-centered group the Wolves of Vinland, based in Lynchburg, Virginia (USA), emerged on the internet. To find out how and when they were formalized as a group, and what they initially stood for, one will have to rely on the few citations in their Wikipedia article. A website called blueridgeoutdoors.com is cited as a source on Wikipedia. It featured an interview with the founding brothers Paul and Mattias Waggener in 2015. In this interview, it is revealed that the brothers bought land for their compound in Lynchburg Virginia in 2003, and that by 2015 the group had more than 300 members with chapters in Wyoming and Colorado (Wallace 2015).

Finding evidence of the group's existence prior to 2014–15 is somewhat difficult. An article on politicalresearch.org from November 9, 2020, claims that they were founded in 2007 (Burley 2020). Matthew N. Lyons suggests they were formed in 2006 (Lyons 2019, 252). The music photographer Peter Beste did a shoot with them at some point in 2015. His Instagram account displays pictures of Donovan and group members with their back patches in June and September of that year (Instagram, Peter Beste 2021). Similarly, a post on a blog called Vinlandian Lore featured the Wolves of Vinland in October 2015 (Vinlandian Lore website 2015). Formed as a “male tribe”, they appear to be inspired by the *völkisch* ideas, schwarmerei for Nazi and occult symbols, movie- and heavy metal-inspired post-apocalyptic attire, and Neopagan rituals. Donovan joined the group in 2014 and left it again in 2018 when he disavowed the entire alt-right movement. This was a reaction to the fatal Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville (Virginia, USA), when key alt-right figures and their groups united with Neo-Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan. The rally cost the life of the counter-protester Heather Danielle Heyer when a radical right supporter ran their car through a crowd (Lyons 2019, 252). During his membership of the Wolves of Vinland, Donovan wrote the book *Becoming a Barbarian* in which he defines his concept of the male gang as a *Männerbund* (Donovan 2016, 16).

As a concept, the *Männerbund* is intrinsically tied to past scholarship of Old Norse mythology, particularly the first decades of the twentieth century. It was first of interest to the *völkisch* movements in Germany in the period 1900–1920s, then to the German National Socialist regime in the 1930s and 40s. Heinrich Schurtz (1902), Hans Blüher (1917), Lily Weiser (1927), Richard Wolfram (1932), Robert Stumpfl (1934 and 1937–38), and, of course, Otto Höfler (1934, 1936, 1937, and 1938) promoted the idea that prehistoric Germanic and Indo-European, or Indo-Germanic, peoples kept ritualized practices of forming secret fraternities that would function as protectors of their societies. The idea itself would perhaps not be so problematic were it not for its

political import at the time, not least the social status its academic adherents earned with Germany's National Socialist regime in the 1930s and 1940s (Mees 2006, 189).

Later scholarship has problematized the empirical foundations of *Männerbund* theory and pointed out the radical right ideological foundations of most of the above scholars' work (von See 1990; von Schnurbien 1990; Hirschbigel 1992). In the field of pre-Christian Nordic religion and myth, the discussion about the existence of independent warrior bands attached to cultic functions has continued and there are essentially two camps: one that until recently has maintained the possibility of the existence of such fraternities in pre-Christian Nordic history, and another that has theorized that the existence of any such groups was under the supervision of local magnates in Vendel Era and Viking Age Scandinavia. Jens Peter Schjødt has suggested that the *berserkir* and *úlfheðnar* (Raudvere 2012, 241–2; Hedeager 2012, 13) were essentially Óðinn-dedicated warrior fraternities, who were liaised through secret initiatory rituals (Schjødt 2008, 51; 2011). Similarly, Kris Kershaw's *The One-Eyed God: Odin and the (Indo-)Germanic Männerbünde* purports the existence of warrior fraternities in ancient, and highly theoretical, Proto-Germanic, and Indo-European times (Kershaw 2000; Rood 2017, 46–50). The other camp, those who have not rejected but recast the idea of these warrior gangs in what could essentially be called the 'aristocratic warband theory,' suggests that these groups were comitatus-like warbands called *lið* associated with aristocratic rulers (Lindow 1975; Nordberg 2004), and, perhaps, bound together by an ideology of fictive kinship established through rituals and taboo to solicit solidarity among their participants (Enright 2013).

The last three decades of archaeological research has yielded strong evidence for the aristocratic warband theory from the Vendel Era, reflecting a more intricate understanding of the complexity of both literary evidence and archaeological record, but certainly also a sharpened sense of understanding of the complexities of societies in general. What is evident is that early twentieth-century discussions about *Männerbünde* carried ideological overtones, were highly politicized (especially by the late 1920s and early 30s), and relied on crude understandings of societies in evolutionary paradigms and racial hierarchies – or at least *Kulturkreis* theories, with all these imply about the idea of *Volksgeist* (Davies 2007, 101). A notable feature of the early *Männerbund* theory is that it was intrinsically tied to the *völkisch* movement (Mees 2006), and that it unfolded in an intellectual environment where masculinity was being questioned, both from liberal movements and from inside the *völkisch* movement itself (Davies 2007). In the post-war period, as *völkisch* ideas gave way to more restrained theories about human development and culture, central scholarly figures such as Georges Dumézil and Jan de Vries were certainly influenced by Otto Höfler's works and ideas about *Männerbünde* (Davies 2007). They, in turn, have influenced the works of both Schjødt and Kershaw, and many other scholars. Ultimately, vague tenets of this considerable body of research have precipitated to Neopagan subcultures like the Wolves of Vinland.

In his 2015 interview with Eric Wallace on blueridgeoutdoors.com, Paul Waggener explains what prompted the brothers' desire to create the Wolves of Vinland:

We realized we were expending our creative energies in the wrong direction. We wanted to find a better, more sustainable way of life, one that wouldn't compromise our personal integrity, what we felt was an honorable mode of living. At that time, we were running heavy metal venues, putting on public and underground events. It was a dangerous life. You had this big, extended flock of people calling you 'brother' and 'friend,' yet you didn't really know anything about them. The majority of those relationships were parasitic, spiritually draining. There was this sudden, staggering recognition of a core group of individuals that were different, where the connection went beyond the realm of acquaintance. We started thinking: If as human beings we have the option to choose the people we surround ourselves with, why not choose people who will influence us positively, and vice versa? Why not create a model based on symbiotic relationships, upon dynamics of personal empowerment? A dynamic of power share versus power drain (Wallace 2015).

Paul Waggener explains the Wolves of Vinland as a tight-knit group of loyal members who come together through personal empowerment. His explanation is echoed by his brother in an interview with the Swedish radical right radio station *Red Ice Radio* in 2017. Mattias Waggener explains that the brothers invented the Wolves of Vinland inspired by their youth, where the strong bonds of loyalty between the brothers and their close friends were decisive factors in how well they did in a life of crime and boredom (Red Ice Radio 2017). It is not hard to detect a sense of dejected ennui, comparable to a Spenglerian assessment of the modern world, in their perspectives. A similar attitude is shared by Donovan in his literature: general disdain for the modern world.

The Way of Men and the Männerbund

In *The Way of Men*, Donovan explains his vision of the male gang fending for its existence and establishing its own moral codes in the wasteland of modernity:

Relieved of moral pretense and stripped of folk costumes, the raw masculinity that all men know in their gut has to do with being good at being a man within a small, embattled gang of men struggling to survive.

The Way of Men is the way of that gang (Donovan 2012, 3).

"The way of men" is defined, not by civilization, but by being in opposition to civilization. To oppose established society in favor of the intimate male gang is to follow the way of men. In *Becoming a Barbarian*, Donovan develops his view of this gang life and uses the figure of the barbarian that lives in the periphery of the Empire of Nothing as his model (Donovan 2016, 31–33): "To be barbarian today is to draw your own social perimeter" (Donovan 2016, 36). This is echoed in his Nietzschean exegesis in *A More Complete Beast*, where he teases out the tenets of Nietzsche's *Herrenmoral* (Nietzsche, 1886), celebrates the *Übermensch*, and describes the ideal man as a noble beast (Donovan 2018, 5 and 33–35). Donovan makes an argument for the biological origin and function of the male gang. In *The Way of Men*, he uses the history of Rome as an example of how the process of ascent and decline into decadence develops from a biological urge of landless men to form a gang:

Rome was founded by a gang and it behaved like a gang [...]. The story of Rome is the story of men and civilization. It shows men who have no better prospects gathering together, establishing hierarchies, staking out land and using strength to assert their will over nature, women, and other men (Donovan 2012, 92).⁸

In Donovan's perspective, men with nothing to lose will band together and take what they need or perish. As they take what they want, they subdue nature, women – and other men. This ideological vision of men's purpose is not far from Otto Höfler's theories about *Männerbünde* and his notion that the urge to form male gangs is rooted in biological functions (Höfler 1934). Towards the conclusion in *The Way of Men*, Donovan offers some thoughts about the relationship between men, masculinity, and civilization:

Civilization comes at a cost of manliness. It comes at a cost of wildness, of risk, of strife [...]. Civilization requires men to abandon their tribal gangs and submit to the will of one big, institutionalized gang (Donovan 2012, 139).

In this vision of a gang of men surviving in a wasteland of technology, concrete, and impersonalized moral opinions, devolution and moral corruption from feminization result in the Empire of Nothing (Donovan 2012, 92). The Empire of Nothing is morally distant from the male experience; it creates artificial universalist ideologies, and it foregrounds what Donovan considers feminine virtues (Donovan 2012, 147–56; 2016, 16–20, 24):

Universalist ideologies, whether Christianity or Islam or communism or commercial multiculturalism, all have the ultimate goal of world unity and submission. No matter what it takes to get there, the end is the same. Billions of peaceful, interchangeable people on their knees. Total submission. Total nothingness. One identity to end all identity. One story to end all stories.

The unifying narrative of the Empire may simply be the latest evolution of the universalist death cult (Donovan 2016, 27).

In this “universalist death cult” the man whose natural expression is violence and tribal gang morality has no place (Donovan 2016, 41; Lyons 2019, 244). This is a critique of modernity that echoes early twentieth century *völkisch* critiques. Like the *völkisch* desire to limit cultural, physical, and human boundaries, Donovan's visions of the male gang seek the intimate, the closed off, and private: a tribe. The value system at play in his *Männerbünde* theory, as a solution to men's problems, stipulates smaller rather than bigger units of organization. The male gang provides protection from the world in an intimate fellowship. This is a countercultural position that contrasts to civilization. It is in this preference for anarcho-libertarian social organization that Donovan diverts from the earlier *Männerbünde* theories. The *völkisch* groups and scholars in the early twentieth century, blurring the lines between history and politics, labored under the assumption that the *Männerbünde* would serve the *Volk* to establish the *Reich*, the empire, which would expand the boundaries of the *Volk*. Davies writes:

The 'Nordische Gesellschaft', which thrived from 1921 until its 'Gleichschaltung' in 1933,

⁸ Rome features as an example in his theories throughout his literature.

was notable for a governing council that included future Nazi leaders like Darré, Himmler and Rosenberg, as well as the author Hans Friedrich Blunck, whose mythic narrative 'Urvätersaga' provided a literary blueprint for tales of Germanic 'Männerbünde' overcoming static, matriarchal conditions (Davies 2007, 103).

Although they are, in so many ways, an antithesis to the idea of the empire, Donovan's writings could be compared to Hans F. Blunck's *Urvätersaga* in the way that he analyses the history of Rome. In *The Way of Men* Rome is a mythic past that provides a blueprint for overcoming the static matriarchal conditions that Donovan sees in the Empire of Nothing (Donovan 2012, 150). Generally missing from his vision are the racial theories and the empire-building that attracted Nazi leaders like Darré, Himmler, and Rosenberg to the *völkisch* movements of the early twentieth century. Donovan does not believe in a civilization that stipulates unified identity beyond the gang, the *Männerbund*. It appears that the 'folk' with which Donovan identifies different from the white supremacist *Volk*, both in *völkisch* and in neo-*völkisch* thought.

The folk that Donovan may have attempted to create as a member of the Wolves of Vinland is not so much the *Volksgeist*-carrying the *Germanentum* of Herder, Kosinna, and "Rassen" Günther (Mees 2008, 185).⁹ Nor is it the folk of David Lane's Wotansvolk, Else Christensen's Odinic Fellowship, or Stephen McNallen's Ásatrú Folk Assembly.¹⁰ Standing on the shoulders of Guido List's Armanenschaft, the *Volk* to right-wing neopagan ideologues is certainly a direct descendant of racist *völkisch* thought, especially in the way that it was coopted by Amt Rosenberg and Ahnenerbe (Höfig 2020 108–14; Goodrick-Clarke 1992, 33–65). Donovan has argued for a tight-knit group of loyal comrades, formalized in a spiritual bond. This group, to Donovan, has a limited horizon, demarcated by the forest, the wild. He has called this structure "anarcho-fascism" (Lyons 2018) for some time but does not seem to have understood it as a racial *Germanentum* that would take over America or, indeed, the world. The horizon established by the tribal perimeter is not broad enough for that.

From *Männerbund* to Solar Idealism

Donovan is not an academic. Direct references that allow the reader to track each aspect of his influences are not consistent in his writings or speeches. He is well-read, intelligent, and methodical. As Matthew N. Lyons puts it in "Jack Donovan and Male Tribalism":

Tracing Donovan's intellectual influences can be difficult. He uses few footnotes yet refers to a wide range of other writers, ranging from classical authors such as Aristotle and Livy to modern leftists such as Noam Chomsky and bell hooks [Gloria Jean Watkins] (Lyons 2019, 247).

This makes it difficult to trace Donovan's ideas. Notably, he perceives society as a rigid atmosphere of control. He diagnoses society's dominant discourse as a taboo on racial,

⁹ This is also recognized by left-wing observer Rhyd Wildermuth in the article "Wolves of Winland" on Gods and Radicals (Gods and Radicals website 2021).

¹⁰ Although the Wolves of Vinland may include members with such aspirations.

religious, national, and sexual identities (Donovan 2016, 11), which enforces anti-racism and anti-sexism as the cultural norm, despite what individual groups may want as an alternative (Donovan 2016, 23–24). This diagnosis of society, civilization, takes form in *Becoming a Barbarian*, where Donovan takes a strong stance against the dominating discourse – and creates a forest retreat.

Donovan's response to what he perceived as a regulatory atmosphere in society has been to seek isolation. His refuge has been a forest in both physical, imaginary, and spiritual form: Waldgang. Waldgang is the name of Donovan's compound in Oregon, named after Ernst Jünger's 1951 novel *Der Waldgang* (Donovan 2016, 32). The name is explained on his website:

Its name was inspired by the title of Ernst Junger's 1951 book, which translates roughly to "The Forest Passage." It was conceived initially as a tribal space – an escape for spiritual "outlaws" – but its purpose has transcended mere opposition (Donovan website c 2021).

Waldgang is a safe, tribal space. This is probably a reference to his time in the Wolves of Vinland, where elements of the ideological foundation for Waldgang seem to have been conceived. This is evidenced in the chapter in *Becoming a Barbarian* 'Caput gerat Lupinum' (may he wear a wolfish head),¹¹ where Donovan both demonstrates intricate knowledge of Old Norse mythology and employs the analogy of the Nordic outlaw, the *skóggangr* (lit. forest-walker), as an identifiable peer of the wolf, the outsider in the Empire of Nothing. The outlaw references correspond well to Ernst Jünger's *Der Waldgang*, whose themes include independence, individualism, and retreat to the forest. As a figure of German history, literature, and culture, Jünger is an ambiguous person, revered and reviled depending on the eyes of the beholder. He was a conservative and a nationalist, but also in opposition to the Nazis during their regime (Barr 1993).

The universe that Donovan is creating, both physically and in literature, has (in some cases) traceable elements that point to known authors and philosophy. In other cases, it is more difficult to parse out where it all came from. On his misogyny and its relationship to his same sex attraction – a cornerstone in his *Männerbund* theory – many pages could be written. Unfortunately, the limitations of this article do not allow for a deep investigation of this (see e.g., Lyons 2019). He casts the female as the product of civilization and the opposition to the gang. In *The Way of Men*, he calls feminist progress degeneracy and continues: "Women are just acting according to their natures and skewing things in their interests" (Donovan 2012, 149–50). In *Becoming a Barbarian*, he claims that women's natural nurturing tendencies corrode cultural structures (Donovan 2016, 24). As he otherwise explains in *The Way of Men*, it is the nature of women to confuse men, domesticize them, make them promiscuous, and pull them away from their true nature. This is explained at length in the chapter 'The Bonobo

¹¹ A common reference to legal outlaws and dangerous criminals in medieval English legal codes.

Masturbation Society' (Donovan 2012, 109–33), and more succinctly at the beginning of the chapter 'Start the World':

The Way of Men is to fight the external threat, and to fight other men. Sometimes men fight *over* women, but men have no history of fighting women. During times of peace and plenty it has always been the Way of Women to lure men to [sic] away from the volatile gang, to seek his investment in her reproductive endeavor, and to encourage him to seek refuge and comfort in domesticity (Donovan 2012, 147).

This characterization of women claims that once civilization has kicked in and men have secured peace by eliminating other men who could be a threat to that peace, a woman's natural propensity towards procreating will: 1) lure a man, 2) engage him in sex, and 3) domesticate him, i.e., make him passive. Tracing these misogynistic sentiments in the history of European thought is not hard. Donovan is echoing the content of the *Malleus Maleficarum*. Moreover, as an *ad hoc* curiosity, the themes in Donovan's ideas about women and men are almost verbatim expressions of some of the sentiments in the first printed book in Sweden in 1483, the *Dyalogus creaturarum optime moralizatus*, here referenced by Stephen A. Mitchell in *Witchcraft and Magic in the Nordic Middle Age*:

According to *Dyalogus creaturarum* (citing other sources), man is soul incarnate, a silhouette of his time, an explorer in life [...]; woman, by contrast, is the bewilderment of man, an insatiable creature, a constant concern [...] a pitfall for the abstinent man (Mitchell 2011, 188–89).

I doubt that there is any direct connection between the *Malleus Maleficarum*, the *Dyalogus creaturarum*, and Donovan's literature, but it is fascinating to note that an author of 21st-century America expresses similar ideas as the Christian intelligentsia in late medieval Germany and Sweden: women lure men, they are the bewilderment of men, they engage men in sex, they are insatiable, the pitfall of the abstinent man, etc. Man, according to Donovan, is made for greatness through violence, but a woman will make him passive. Equating the male sex with being active appears in the *Dyalogus's* understanding of man as soul incarnate, an explorer. The antithesis to that is the passive woman—an attitude expressed by Donovan, too.

In the *völkisch* political debates about *Männerbund* and *Mutterrecht*, as Peter Davies describes in his article "'Männerbund' and 'Mutterrecht': Hermann Wirth, Sophie Rogge-Börner and the Ura-Linda-Chronik" from 2007, these sharply drawn lines between the perceived nature of men and women were also present in pre-World War II discussions. The *völkisch* movements in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Germany and Austria included several groups and individuals who believed that the Germanic *Urzeit* was defined by matriarchal or matrilineal societies. In the beginning, this *Ur-feminism* was a radical position that helped *völkisch* thinkers contrast themselves in opposition to established academia. As the theory that ancient Germanic society was patriarchal took over in academia, the *völkisch* and Nazi thinkers of the 1920s seized the opportunity with the *Männerbund* theory to cast themselves as radical outsiders, morally grounded in the *Volk*, railing against a distant, alienated elite. Davies writes:

The antibourgeois impetus of the 'Männerbund' theory of Heinrich Schurtz and the 'Wandervogel' theorist Hans Blüher, in which the eroticised camaraderie of the 'Männerbund' is credited with the achievements of culture and state-building, was combined with 'völkisch' ideas to produce ecstatic, cultic visions of Germanic warrior bands (Davies 2007, 100–1).

As an anti-feminist and anti-elite theory the *Männerbund* theory, according to Davies, served "[a]n attempt to deal finally and unambiguously with a particular crisis in the language of masculinity that had arisen at the turn of the century" (Davies 2007, 103), essentially a reaction to feminism. After the Nazi ascent to power in Germany, it became clear that proponents of the *Männerbund* saw theories – even mere suggestions – to the contrary as dissent from the *Volk*. A sharp division between male and female collectives was considered necessary, and men were exclusively afforded the civilization-generating, nation-building, and history-making powers (Davies 2007, 103). Anyone (male) who dissented from the theory suffered strong criticism, along the lines of being called 'feminine,' as was the case with the scholar Hermann Wirth, who, in the *Völkischer Beobachter* was called "eine öffentliche Gefahr für Deutschland [...] demokratisch, führerfeindlich, pazifistisch" (Davies 2007, 108).¹² Both the allegations of 'democratic' and 'pacifist' hint at his perceived feminism.

Pacifism is hardly revered in any of Donovan's writings. On pages 150–59 in *The Way of Men*, he speaks fondly about a hypothetical scenario where the USA is "a little bit more like Mexico," i.e., a society defined by gang violence, where even the police are gangsters (Donovan 2012, 150–59, particularly 151–54). In *Becoming a Barbarian*, the violent rhetoric is of course also present, but it can be observed that it is slowly pivoting towards Nietzschean *Herrenmoral* (Donovan 2016, 49). The application of *Herrenmoral* is more fully realized in *A More Complete Beast*. Nietzsche's *Herrenmoral* was certainly favored by both *völkisch*, fascist, and Nazi ideologues (Mees 2006, 188). Along with the incipient idea of *Herrenmoral*, Donovan expresses himself in opposition to the bourgeoisie in *Becoming a Barbarian*, casting what he considers unmasculine ideas and behavior as bourgeois and feminine: "The idea that a man should be 'secure in his masculinity' is a bourgeois fantasy invented by therapists and repeated by women" (Donovan 2016, 5). Consumer culture is also exploitative and bourgeois (Donovan 2016, 9), and what keeps men from living out their natural propensity to belong to a *Männerbund* is fear of losing "bourgeois respectability" (Donovan 2016, 6). In *The Way of Men* Donovan embarked on formulating a discourse that mirrors the radical and marginal language of *völkisch* and Nazi thinkers of the early twentieth century. In *Becoming a Barbarian*, this discourse is fully expressed. His sentiments go hand in hand with a negative view of democracy (Donovan 2012, 147; 2016, 24; 2018, 20).

Along with hints of *Herrenmoral* and *völkisch* anti-bourgeois rhetoric, *Becoming a Barbarian* also briefly touches on the concept of 'solar,' which later becomes central to Donovan's idealism. Here, he identifies 'solar' with the Old Norse realm of the gods, Ásgarðr, and says that this realm symbolizes the "apollonian or ordered, harmonious

¹² "[A] public danger to Germany [...] democratic, an enemy of the Führer, pacifist" (my translation).

and restrained world” (Donovan 2016, 66). As he leaves behind the *völkisch*, anti-bourgeois rhetoric in *A More Complete Beast*, the Nietzschean Apollonian order-thinking develops. Donovan leaves behind the wolves, the beasts, and the creatures he revered in *Becoming a Barbarian*. He writes:

The Dionysian force is the creature in man – earthly, intoxicated, lusty, impulsive, lost in the undulating, unified consciousness of the eternal. Apollo is the god of the sun, and of prophecy. Nietzsche associates him with “the plastic arts,” including sculpture and even poetry. The Apollonian reacts to the Dionysian disorder by dreaming his own world into existence, by giving it shape and putting it in order (Donovan 2018, 62).

The shift in mentality is clear. The band-of-wolves-thinking that informed his ideas in *Becoming a Barbarian* and *The Way of Men* have shifted towards Nietzschean ideals of nobility. Donovan is reintegrating a conception of social order into his thinking, certainly influenced by the early twentieth-century Italian traditionalist Julius Evola. Donovan does not reference him directly in context of his theories but does in one instance refer to him when he extorts “opposing ‘traditionalist’ groups” (Donovan 2018, 42). Evola’s writings seem to become an increasing influence on Donovan. One sentence in *The Way of Men* may hint at knowledge of traditionalism: “Humanity needs to go into a Dark Age for a few hundred years and think about what it’s done” (Donovan 2012, 142). This may be an echo of Evola’s and Guénon’s traditionalism. Donovan may be suggesting a dark age like the Kali Yuga in the cyclicity of traditionalist philosophy (Evola 2018).

By the time of writing *A More Complete Beast*, and in his most recent book *Fire in the Dark*, ‘solar idealism’ (Donovan 2021, 193–201) has become central to Donovan’s philosophy. A functional analogy for this ideological shift is moving from the dark periphery, inhabited by wolves, to the center, dominated by the light of the bonfire and inhabited by humans (Donovan 2021, 48–53).¹³ Around the time Donovan left the Wolves of Vinland in 2018, he began promoting the idea of ‘solar vision’ and more recently adopted the phrase ‘stay solar’ as something of a mantra (Donovan 2021, 245–52). He created a sun-wheel with an eye in the middle as a symbol for his book *A More Complete Beast* (Donovan website d 2021; Donovan 2018, 67). Donovan describes ‘solar idealism’ in the following way:

[A] synthesis of mythic and scientific understandings of the sun and the nature of the cosmos. To our ancient ancestors, the sun made its way across the sky and disappeared at night, giving a sense to some that it was forced to “endure” the darkness and the night, only to emerge triumphant each morning (Donovan 2018, 67).

In a kind of cosmogony that Donovan relates in *Fire in the Dark*, the First Men are creators who build a camp and make a fire in the middle of it. Their campfire is an imitation of the solar system (Donovan 2021, 51). It is a microcosm and, as Donovan writes, when a man builds a campfire: “when he builds his own sun – he imitates the work of a patriarchal god” (Donovan 2021, 55). Like Donovan, Julius Evola was fond of Nietzsche (Teitelbaum 2020, 90). Evola established hierarchies that reflected

¹³ Note also the diagram on page 67.

Nietzsche's Apollo-Dionysus dichotomy. Aside from a racial hierarchy that located white skin highest in an order with the darkest skin lowest, Evola also placed masculinity over femininity, the North over the South, spirit over the carnal, and he saw sun-worship as more virtuous than spiritualities oriented towards the ground (Teitelbaum 2020, 12). Finally, Evola had a patriarchal and racialist understanding of history. Teitelbaum writes:

[Evola] believed that Aryans were descended from a patriarchal society of ethereal, ghostly beings who lived in the Arctic and whose virtues declined as they migrated south and became incarnate. Alternately, he and others saw in modernity the rise of a dark age where democracy and communism proceeded from widespread contempt for the past and a corresponding faith in progress; where politics focused on economics, where the global population was darkening due to northward migration from the global south, and where feminism and secularism forged a culture that celebrates sexual hedonism and chaotic disregard for boundaries of all kinds (Teitelbaum 2020, 12–13).

Everything besides the concerns for the preservation of a white (Aryan) race and the fantasy of said race as ethereal Arctic beings is current in Jack Donovan's literature. The concepts are not stringently used and applied in the same way as Evola. Donovan does not strictly exhibit an idea of cyclicity as Evola does. On the contrary, until 2018, Donovan's preoccupations have been the local rather than the cosmic. He has only recently stepped into the light, so to speak, and begun speaking to notions of a creative force rather than a destructive one. However, disdain for what is perceived as progress, 'democracy and communism', 'feminism and secularism', not least a 'chaotic disregard for boundaries', is part of Donovan's literature as his rejection of the features of the Empire of Nothing.

In *Fire in the Dark*, Donovan, following his usual pattern of including an epilogue on women, surprisingly echoes perceived progressive language when he writes: "I would not, and cannot, know what it is to be a woman or to feel like a woman" (Donovan 2021, 238). While his rhetoric in this chapter called 'A Sky Without Goddesses' is only minimally softer in its tone compared to his previous literature, it is interesting to note that it explains why he has not included female deities in the pantheon that he created for this book. This is slightly different from the tirades against women in *The Way of Men* and *Becoming a Barbarian*. It is an explanation, rather than a rejection based on the idea that the perspectives of women are not valid. Donovan also includes a brief discourse about Aryans in *Fire in the Dark*. In the preface he writes:

There are all kinds of esoteric theories that were made up about the Aryans by various occultists in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. While some are very interesting and can even be inspiring, for the most part, they were fantasies dreamt up by kooky German parlor magicians based on limited information (Donovan 2021, 18).

While one could perhaps take the mention of "kooky German parlor magicians" as a reference to Guido List and Ariosophy (see Goodrick-Clark 1992), there is something to be said for this as a comment on the *völkisch* movements at large. Donovan recognizes the awkward past of Nordic-Germanic Neopaganism, just like he is aware of his own awkward past. In doing so, he is creating a new pantheon based on his

readings of Indo-European culture, not specifically a Germanic and Nordic culture. In the chapter called 'The Hliðskjálf Dilemma', apart from recognizing just how difficult it can be to sift through the endless stream of information that arrives at our fingertips through the internet (Donovan 2021, 34–35), Donovan explains:

This project will be an imperfect and incomplete synthesis of masculine gods and heroes and archetypes [...] I say "imperfect" and "incomplete" because I'm going to confine this survey for the most part to examples from Indo-European myths and stories. I'm a Western man and that's the material I am comfortable with, and it would take years of study for me to do justice to surviving myths from Asia, Africa, Australia, or the Americas [...] I am absolutely certain that parallel gods and heroes with similar functions can be found in cultures all over the world (Donovan 2021, 41).

Donovan's horizon has expanded beyond the scope of European-derived deities. He is still using (Indo-)European, Germanic, and Nordic vocabulary to create models for male imitation based in pre-Christian deities and mythic narratives, but here he signals that he is aware that they have counterparts in other cultures—and perhaps that men, whose cultural and ethnic attachments may not lead them to look to Europe, but instead to other continents and peoples, may be interested in his literature too. This is effectively an intellectual disbanding of the intimate *Männerbund* which mirrors Donovan's abandonment of the Wolves of Vinland and may point toward a future of civilization-building. Notably, *Fire in the Dark* is not only less chaotic in presenting thoughts and theories, it also carefully lists his sources of influence and provides timelines and endnotes. It appears that the author, to a degree, has conceded to commonly held formalities. Even his vision of male violence has become more restrained. Violence can now be a vice, unjust, and pointless (Donovan 2021, 169). It must be tempered so that it does not undo the righteous order: "The Lord of the Earth does the work to keep things going, to perpetuate life and to make life worth living and he attends to his fine and worthy work with an undying passion for excellence" (Donovan 2021, 171). With these civilization-building words, Donovan ends his description of the pantheon that he is creating for men in *Fire in the Dark*.

Conclusion

In *The Occult Roots of Nazism* (1992), Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke accurately diagnoses the motivations of the *völkisch* and Nazi occultists who delivered key ideological, pseudo-scientific, and pseudo-historical components to the emerging German and Austrian fascist movements in the 1920s: "All these thinkers were united by a profound reaction to the contemporary world. They perceived the German Republic as vulgar, corrupt, and the symbol of defeat" (Goodrick-Clarke 1992, 163). In my opinion, this is true for the alt-right movement too, not least Jack Donovan. As an author and opinion-maker with such a perspective on American society, Donovan has been negotiating his own position in (the rejection of) society.

In his literature, Donovan has partaken in the collective experiment of the alt-right and created a masculinist mythology that has addressed what he perceives as the male

condition in contemporary society. His view of contemporary society and thus civilization is distinctly pessimistic, framed by disdain for what he perceives as the feminine, a force that makes society vulgar and corrupt. The woman is a symbol of domestication and man's defeat. In this perspective on gender relations, man is both fragile and flawed. If the creation of the gang is motivated by the search for stability and protection, and the result of having stability and protection is that men become lazy and feminine, it follows that the gang itself is flawed and man is fragile. He is too weak to resist women. This is a perspective that mirrors *völkisch* and proto-Nazi thought: the feminine represents democracy, pacifism, promiscuity, laziness, domestication, and it dilutes the masculine. Therefore, the two must be kept apart. Where Donovan departs from *völkisch* ideas about the *Männerbund* is in his conception of civilization as a feminine construct in and of itself. However, when he has cleared the woods, so to speak, Donovan changes perspective on civilization: it can be attained and maintained by the noble man.

The noble man who steers creation is the solar ideal represented by Apollo. His degenerate antithesis is Dionysus. Apollo and the solar man are Donovan's expressions of Nietzschean *Herrenmoral*, the man who creates his own world and morality. *A More Complete Beast*, in that sense, may represent a point where Donovan realizes that men themselves carry the seed of the demise of his version of masculinity. This is an explanation for why conversations about the feminine nearly disappear in his following work, *Fire in the Dark*. Inspired by Nietzsche and Julius Evola, Donovan looks toward civilization-building in his later literature. The disdain for contemporary society, democracy – presumably also the feminine – is still present, but focus has shifted from the barbarian to the civilization-building, noble male figure. This seems to mirror Evola's spiritual hierarchies, based in Nietzsche's moral philosophy, buttressed by readings of Mircea Eliade, Victor Turner, and Joseph Campbell (Donovan 2021, 227).

As an experiment in identity, Donovan's literature develops based on different sources of influence. As a figure attached to the American alt-right, it is important to scrutinize these influences and developments in his perspectives, because such scrutiny will answer the important questions of why the alt-right came into existence in the first place. In the alt-right, Donovan found a willing audience who would read and listen to his version of Neopagan spirituality and European mythologies. However, that does not guarantee that author and audience fully shared an ideology or political vision. Neither was the alliance in any way stable. It appears that between Donovan and the alt-right, there have been – in the words of Benjamin Teitelbaum – genuinely-felt and socially-consequential ideological differences. The author and his audience found each other because there were extra-ideological forces that brought them together: contempt for modern society. To understand why countercultural groups and individuals emerge, scholars must improve their knowledge-base and repertoire for scrutinizing opinion-makers, their sources of influence, and the visions of the past that they draw inspiration from.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Blüher, Hans. 1917. *Die Rolle der Erotik in der männlichen Gesellschaft: Eine Theorie der menschlichen Staatsbildung nach Wesen und Wert*. Jena.
- Davies, Peter. 2007. "'Männerbund' und 'Mutterrecht': Hermann Wirth, Sophie Rogge-Börner and the Ura-Linda-Chronik." *German Life and Letters* 60:1, 98–115. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0483.2007.00375.x>
- Donovan, Jack. 2012. *The Way of Men*. Milwaukie (OR): Dissonant Hum.
- Donovan, Jack. 2016. *Becoming A Barbarian*. Cascadia: Dissonant Hum.
- Donovan, Jack. 2018. *A More Complete Beast*. Cascadia: Dissonant Hum.
- Donovan, Jack. 2021. *Fire in the Dark*. Utah: Dissonant Hum.
- Enright, Michael. 2013. *Lady with a Mead Cup: Ritual, Prophecy, and Lordship in the European Warband from La Tène to the Viking Age*. Dublin: SPRINT.
- Gardell, Mattias. 2003. *Gods of the Blood: The Pagan Revival and White Separatism*. Durham: Duke University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822384502>
- Goodrick-Clarke, Nicholas. 1992. *The Occult Roots of Nazism: Secret Aryan Cults and Their Influence on Nazi Ideology*. New York: New York University Press.
- Gregorius, Fredrik. 2015. "Modern Heathenism in Sweden: A Case Study in the Creation of a Traditional Religion." In *Contemporary Pagan and Native Faith Movements in Europe: Colonialist and Nationalist Impulses*, edited by Kathryn Roundtree, 64–85. New York: Berghahn. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt9qctm0.8>
- Hedeager, Lotte. 2012. "Scandinavia before the Viking Age." In *The Viking World*, edited by Stefan Brink with Neil Price, 11–22. New York: Routledge.
- Hirschbigel, Jan. 1992. "Die 'germanische Kontinuitätstheorie' Otto Höflers." *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteine Geschichte* 117: 181–98.
- Höfig, Verena. 2020. "Vinland and White Nationalism." In *From Iceland to the Americas: Vinland and Historical Imagination*, edited by Tim William Machan and Jón Karl Helgason, 77–100. Manchester: Manchester University Press. <https://doi.org/10.7765/9781526128768.00012>
- Höfler, Otto. 1934. *Kultische Geheimbünde der Germanen I*. Frankfurt am Main.
- Höfler, Otto. 1936. "Der germanische Totenkult und Sagen vom Wilden Heer," *Oberdeutsche Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 10: 33–49.
- Höfler, Otto. 1936. "Über germanische Verwandlungskulte." *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 73: 109–15.
- Höfler, Otto. 1938. "Das germanische Kontinuitätsproblem." *Historische Zeitschrift* 157: 1–265. <https://doi.org/10.1524/hzhz.1938.157.jg.1>
- Kershaw, Kris. 2000. *The One-Eyed God: Odin and the (Indo-)Germanic Männerbünde*. Journal of Indo-European Studies Monograph 36. Washington D.C.: Institute for the Study of Man.
- Lindow, John. 1975. *Comitatus, Individual, and Honor: Studies in North Germanic Institutional Vocabulary*. University of California Publications in Linguistics 83. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lyons, Matthew N. 2018. *Insurgent Supremacists: The U.S. Far Right's Challenge to State and Empire*. Ottawa: Kersplebedeb Publishing. (Kindle edition).

- Lyons, Matthew N. 2019. "Jack Donovan and Male Tribalism." In *Key Thinkers of the Radical Right: Behind the New Threat to Liberal Democracy*, edited by Mark Sedgwick, 242–57. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190877583.003.0015>
- Mees, Bernard. 2006. "Germanische Sturmflut: From the Old Norse Twilight to the Fascist New Dawn." *Studia Neophilologica* 78 (2): 184–198.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00393270601020799>
- Mitchell, Stephen A. 2011. *Witchcraft and Magic in the Nordic Middle Ages*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
<https://doi.org/10.9783/9780812203714>
- Nietzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm. 1886. *Jenseits von Gut und Böse: Vorspiel einer Philosophie der Zukunft*, edited by Volker Gerhardt. Leipzig: Reclam Verlag.
- Nordberg, Andreas. 2004. *Krigarna i Odins sal: Dödsföreställningar och krigarkult i fornnordisk religion*. Stockholm: Stockholms Universitet.
- Nordvig, Mathias. 2018. "Neo-Paganism." In *Handbook of Pre-Modern Nordic Memory Studies 1–2*, edited by Jürg Glauser, Pernille Hermann, and Stephen A. Mitchell, 727–33. Berlin: De Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110431360-080>
- Raudvere, Catharina. 2012. "Popular Religion in the Viking Age." In *The Viking World*, edited by Stefan Brink with Neil Price, 235–43. New York: Routledge.
- Rood, Josh. 2017. "Ascending the Steps to Hliðskjálf: The Cult of Óðinn in Early Scandinavian Aristocracy." MA thesis, University of Iceland.
- Schjødt, Jens Peter. 2008. *Initiation between Two Worlds*. The Viking Collection 17. Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark.
- Schjødt, Jens Peter. 2011. "The Warrior in Old Norse Religion" In *Ideology and Power in the Viking and Middle Ages: Scandinavia, Iceland, Ireland, Orkney, and the Faeroes*, edited by Gro Steinsland, Jón Viðar Sigurðsson, Jan Erik Rekdal, and Ian Beuermann, 269–96. Leiden: Brill.
<https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004205062.i-408.53>
- von Schnurbein, Stefanie. 1990. "Geheime kultische Männerbünde bei den Germanen: Eine Theorie im Spannungsfeld zwischen Wissenschaft und Ideologie." In *Männerbünde, Männerbände*, 2 vols., edited by Gisela Völger and Karin von Welck. Köln, 97–107. Köln: Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum.
- von Schnurbein, Stefanie. 2016. *Norse Revival: Transformations of Germanic Neopaganism*. Leiden: Brill. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004309517>
- Schurtz, Heinrich. 1902. *Altersklassen und Männerbünde: Eine Darstellung der Grundformen der Gesellschaft*. Berlin.
- von See, Klaus. 1990. "Politische Männerbund-Ideologie von der wilhelmischen Zeit bis zum Nationalsozialismus." In *Männerbünde, Männerbände*, 2 vols., edited by Gisela Völger and Karin von Welck, 93–102. Köln: Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum.
- Snook, Jennifer. 2015. *American Heathens: The Politics of Identity in a Pagan Religious Movement*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvrd42h>
- Strmiska, Michael F. 2018. "Pagan Politics in the 21st Century: 'Peace and Love' or 'Blood and Soil'?" *The Pomegranate* 20(1): 5–44.

<https://doi.org/10.1558/pome.35632>

- Stumpf, Robert. 1934. "Der Ursprung des Fastnachtspiels und die kultischen Männerbünde der Germanen." *Zeitschrift für Deutschkunde* 48: 286–97.
- Stumpf, Robert. 1936–37. *Kultspiele der Germanen als Ursprung des mittelalterlichen Dramas*. Berlin.
- Teitelbaum, Benjamin. 2017. *Lions of the North: Sounds of the New Nordic Radical Nationalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190212599.001.0001>
- Teitelbaum, Benjamin. 2020. *War for Eternity: Inside Bannon's Far-right Circle of Global Power Brokers*. New York: Dey St.
- Velkoborská, Kamila. 2015. "The Brotherhood of Wolves in the Czech Republic: From Ásatrú to Primitivism." In *Contemporary Pagan and Native Faith Movements in Europe: Colonialist and Nationalist Impulses*, edited by Kathryn Roundtree, 86–109. New York. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt9qctm0.9>
- Weiser, Lily. 1927. *Altgermanische Jünglingsweihen und Männerbünde*. Bühl in Baden-Württemberg: Verlag der Konkordia.
- Whitehead, Andrew, and Perry, Samuel L. 2020. *Taking Back America for God: Christian Nationalism in the United States*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190057886.001.0001>
- Wolfram, Richard. 1932. "Sword dances and secret societies." *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society* 1(1): pages 34–41.
- Wolfram, Richard. 1936. *Schwerttanz und Männerbund*. Kassel.

Websites

- Barr, Hillary. 1993. "An Exchange on Ernst Jünger." *The New York Review*, December 16, 1993. Accessed February 25, 2021.
<https://www.nybooks.com/articles/1993/12/16/an-exchange-on-ernst-junger/?pagination=false>.
- Burley, Shane. 2020. "Total Life Reform: The Real Consequences of the Far Right's Self-Help Grift." Political Research Associates. Accessed November 4, 2021.
https://www.politicalresearch.org/2020/11/09/total-life-reform#_ftn3
- Donovan, Jack, Web Archive. 2011. "Mighty White." Web Archive. Accessed November 4, 2021.
<http://web.archive.org/web/20170624133647/http://www.jack-donovan.com/axis/2011/12/mighty-white/>.
- Donovan, Jack, Web Archive. 2017. "Why I Am Not A White Nationalist." Web Archive. Accessed November 4, 2021.
<http://web.archive.org/web/20170623063707/http://www.jack-donovan.com/axis/2017/05/why-i-am-not-a-white-nationalist/>.
- Donovan, Jack, Donovan website a 2021. Accessed February 23, 2021.
<https://www.jack-donovan.com/sowilo/bio/positions>.
- Donovan, Jack, Donovan website b 2021. Accessed November 4, 2021.
<https://www.jack-donovan.com/sowilo/2020/06/02/it-would-be-cooler-if-we-all-stood-together-against-tyranny/>.
- Donovan, Jack, Donovan website c 2021. Accessed February 25, 2021.

<https://www.jack-donovan.com/sowilo/bio/positions>. <https://www.jack-donovan.com/sowilo/waldgang/#:~:text=Waldgang%20is%20an%20experimental%20ritual%20space%20for%20men,%E2%80%94but%20its%20purpose%20has%20transcended%20mere%20opposition>.

Donovan, Jack, Donovan website d 2021. Accessed February 25, 2021.

<https://www.jack-donovan.com/sowilo/bio/positions>. <https://www.jack-donovan.com/sowilo/2020/02/12/stay-solar/>.

Gervin, Cari Wade. 2017. "Vengeance Strength KvlT Gym in East Nashville Has Links to Alt-Right". Nashville Scene website. Accessed February 23, 2021.

<https://www.nashvillescene.com/news/pith-in-the-wind/article/20868176/strength-cult-gym-in-east-nashville-has-ties-to-altright>.

Hampton, Dean J. 2020. "After permit approved for whites-only church, small Minnesota town insists it isn't racist". Assessed November 4, 2021.

<https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/after-permit-approved-whites-only-church-small-minnesota-town-insists-n1251838>.

Instagram, "peterbeste." Accessed February 23, 2021.

Kersplebedeb website. n.d. "About". Accessed November 4, 2021.

<https://kersplebedeb.com/about/>.

Red Ice Radio website. 2017. "Wolves of Vinland: A Tribe Against the Modern World:" Accessed February 23, 2021. <https://redice.tv/red-ice-radio/wolves-of-vinland-a-tribe-against-the-modern-world>.

SPLC website a, SPLC: Southern Poverty Law Center. n.d. "David Lane." Accessed February 23, 2021. <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/david-lane>.

SPLC website b, SPLC: Southern Poverty Law Center. n.d. "Neo-Völkisch". Accessed February 23, 2021. <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/ideology/neo-volkisch>.

SPLC website c, SPLC: Southern Poverty Law Center. 2017. "A Chorus of Violence: Jack Donovan and the Organizing Power of Male Supremacy". Accessed February 23, 2021. <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2017/03/27/chorus-violence-jack-donovan-and-organizing-power-male-supremacy>.

Swan, Betsy. 2017. "Inside Virginias Church-Burning Werewolf White Supremacist Cult." The Daily Beast website. Accessed February 23, 2021.

<https://www.thedailybeast.com/inside-virginias-church-burning-werewolf-white-supremacist-cult>.

Three Way Fight website. 2021. Accessed February 23, 2021.

<http://threewayfight.blogspot.com>.

Vinlandian Lore website (blog). 2015. "The Wolves of Vinland." Accessed February 23, 2021. <https://vinlandianlore.wordpress.com/2015/10/09/the-wolves-of-vinland/>.

Wallace, Erik. 2015. "Eco Punks: The Wolves of Vinland Badasses Dare You to Re-Wild Yourself." Accessed February 23, 2021.

<https://web.archive.org/web/20151119022642/http://www.blueridgeoutdoors.com/go-outside/eco-punks-the-wolves-of-vinland-badasses-dare-you-to-re-wild-yourself/>. Repost of: Blue Ridge Outdoors website. Accessed February 23, 2021. blueridgeoutdoors.com: <https://www.blueridgeoutdoors.com/go->

[outside/eco-punks-the-wolves-of-vinland-badasses-dare-you-to-re-wild-yourself/](#).

Wallece-Wels, Benjamin. 2016. "Is the Alt-Right for Real?". The New Yorker online. Accessed November 4, 2021. <https://www.newyorker.com/news/benjamin-wallace-wells/is-the-alt-right-for-real>.

Wikipedia. 2021a. "Wolves of Vinland." Accessed February 23, 2021. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wolves_of_Vinland.

Wikipedia. 2021b. "Jack Donovan." Accessed November 4, 2021. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jack_Donovan.

Wildermuth, Rhyd. 2018. "Wolves of Vinland". Gods and Radicals website. n.d.: Accessed February 23, 2021. <https://godsandradsicals.org/tag/wolves-of-vinland/>