

THE AMERICAN MILITIA PHENOMENON: A PSYCHOLOGICAL  
PROFILE OF MILITANT THEOCRACIES

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A Thesis  
Presented  
to the Faculty of  
California State University, Chico

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In Partial Fulfillment  
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Master of Arts  
in  
Political Science

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by  
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Summer 2009

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Theodore C. Allen

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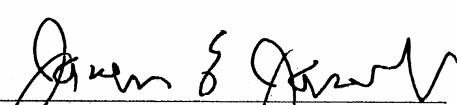


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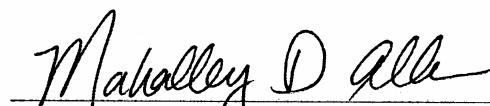
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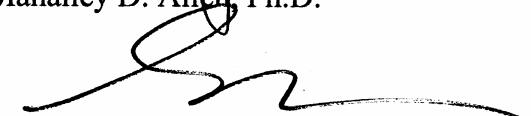
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## ABSTRACT

### THE AMERICAN MILITIA PHENOMENON: A PSYCHOLOGICAL PROFILE OF MILITANT THEOCRACIES

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The emergence of political and paramilitary action militias during the 1980s and beyond in the United States is not a phenomenon unique to contemporary America. Indeed, the roots of modern day American militias may be traced all the way back to colonial, pre-revolutionary, revolutionary, and post revolutionary examples. Moreover, 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century American militias have more in common with their predecessors than just political and paramilitary similarities. The colonial through post revolutionary militias were motivated by religious and racial attitudes in addition to their political resort to military violence as a means for redress of their grievances. The main qualitative premise of this paper is that the militias of contemporary America are also driven by many of the same historical, political, racial, religious, and economic perspectives of their early American forefathers. This historical, political, racial, religious, and

economic inquiry investigates the militia phenomenon from an academic political science perspective. Moreover, this paper will explore the details and parallels of those conjunctive intersections between 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Century militias and those of their 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> Century brethren. Moreover, the militia belief that, as a result of their zeal for their doctrine, they are fighting for the existence of their race, heritage, and culture in the country of their birth and consequently they believe they are being subjected to socio-political, religious, and racial marginalization and persecution at least will be examined. Finally, this paper will also investigate the departure of some militias from the original models of the American past and their metamorphosis into a source of domestic insurrection bent on cooperation with foreign enemies toward the destruction of the United States government and long held American socio-cultural values.

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

It is the intent of this paper to argue and substantiate that contemporary Militias in the United States today can trace their religious, racial, ideological, socio-cultural, and Constitutional roots all the way back to the earliest Colonial, pre-revolutionary, revolutionary, and post-revolutionary armed citizen groups that fought against what they perceived to be oppression from what ever direction it came at them. This historical, political, racial, religious, and economic inquiry investigates the militia phenomenon from an academic political science perspective. Through documented references to the political, religious, doctrinaire ideological and socio-cultural events of their day this study will provide the nexus between the basic issues of early American armed resistance to government oppression and repression in behalf of what they believed and that of the religious, racial, and socio-cultural motivations that still drive the majority of contemporary American militias today. This paper will combine historical, religious, and socio-political analysis as a means of understanding the meaning of the Biblical *Jubilee* with its deep religious, political, and economic meaning to the early Americans who formed the first militias of this nation and the relationship of those early perspectives to those of modern American militias and other individuals who are in sympathy with them. This investigation will present the reader with a contextual, modified emic perspective. That is, it will be presented from as close to an “insiders”

point of view as possible, without actually having been a member of any of the groups under consideration. This “inside looking out” vantage point was derived not only from extensive academic research, it was also the result of the author’s personal journeys into the world of gun shows, informal conversations with militia members, skin-heads, neo-Nazis, and some Ku Klux Klan members so as to gain intimate insight into the psychology of these individuals and groups. The motivation for this close contact was one of understanding in order to clearly explain in depth, the philosophies, doctrines and thought processes of the militias, their members, and others without the intent of converting the reader to those philosophical doctrines. This modified emic perspective is also employed in an effort to provide crucial insights into how that point of view relates to the militia movement and contemporary American society in this day of domestic terrorism and global Jihad.

It may have appeared that since the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Building in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma on April 19, 1995, and the events of September 11, 2001, with the assault on American citizens and society by foreign terrorist that the American militia movement and all of its permutations had disappeared. However, in light of recent events, the phenomenon of the militia and its fringe followers must be revisited. For example, the May 31, 2009, killing of abortion provider, Dr. George Tiller in Wichita, Kansas by anti-abortion activist Scott Roeder demonstrates that there are extreme domestic individuals who are willing to trade their lives for those who are providing a service with which the former do not agree. Moreover, Tiller’s murder was quickly followed by Federal murder charges being filed against 88 year old, white supremacist, James W. Von Brunn a day after the June 10, 2009, Holocaust Museum shooting for the

premeditated murder of Security Guard Stephen T. Johns. Indeed, the very next day, June 11, 2009, saw the murder of 23-year-old Army private, William Andrew Long outside a recruiting office in Arkansas along with the wounding of a fellow soldier, Pvt. Quinton Ezeagwula, 18, at the same time. Police arrested Abdulhakim Mujahid Muhammad, 23, of Little Rock shortly after the shooting. The suspect, a U.S. citizen and Muslim convert, has said he considers the killing justified because of the U.S. military presence in the Middle East. In order to gain important insight into the types of people who are still actively pursuing the principles and philosophies of the Twentieth Century militias, it is necessary to conduct an in depth examination of those organizations and their satellites in an effort to shed light on their reasoning and motivations in an effort to attempt to combat their violent resurgence.

With the rise of mainstream socio-political activism by members of more conservative American religious organizations, beginning during the late 1970s, there has also been a parallel rise in socio-political participation by militant religious sub-sets in extreme right wing groups. An amalgamation of overlapping organizations, such as Ku Klux Klan/neo-Nazis, patriot militia groups, anti-abortion groups, racist and anti-Semitic associations as well as other factions have attracted adherents from the religious right.

With their inclusion of *Christian Identity* theology or similar religious doctrines within their philosophical framework, the militant right wing groups are drawing from the well of eschatological beliefs, racist attitudes, and antigovernment feelings that are predominant among supporters of the religious groups. This movement includes: the Ku Klux Klan, Christian Identity adherents along with fundamentalist Christians who advocate the millennialist apocalyptic viewpoint (Dees, 1996; Flynn &

Gerhardt, 1990; Stern, 1997), Second Amendment advocates, anti-tax militants, a myriad of patriot groups and supporting militia members, militant survivalists, “Wise Usage,” Sage Brush rebels,” along with other anti-environmentalist groups, violent elements of anti-abortion movements, and *anti-New World Order* conspiracists.

Concurrently, these groups attract members and supporters from a common reservoir of recruits, as well. Extreme right-wing members are generally, white, heterosexual males, ranging in age from adolescence through their 70s and 80s, many with above average levels of education, and they may be discovered in urban as well as rural areas, with rural areas supplying the largest number of adherents (Dobratz & Shanks-Meille, 1988; Zook, 1996) and at all levels of social strata (Dobratz & Shanks-Meille, 1988; Ewen, 1998). However, each of these groups, differ in their degree of racism and the subtext of underlying religious or political basis of their ideologies (Dobratz & Shanks-Meille, 1988; Juergensmeyer, 2003; Schlatter, 2006).

There are also a number of common, uniting threads that consistently appear throughout these subdivisions of this right-wing movement. Primarily, there is the belief in a conspiracy of evil forces marshaled against the members. This takes the form of the *New World Order* (Bush 1990). There is also, an increasing sense of disenfranchisement concerning the United States government and the rights of the membership. Moreover, there is an over-riding endorsement of firearms, with a religious or secular belief in a future conflict centered on the dualism of good and evil. This paper evaluates the interrelated relationships of political and religious ideology, militancy, and racism that exist between the militias of colonial, pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary America and contemporary militias of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> Centuries in the United States. Utilizing

qualitative analysis, the contingencies between the groups' positions within the right-wing movement, along with the potential audience for each groups' messages are evaluated. Additional investigation includes the strength of the potential identification between the religious groups and the militant right wing of America's socio-political landscape.

In November of 1990, Signet Books, a subsidiary of the Penguin Group, published the first paperback issue of Kevin Flynn and Gary Gerhardt's book *The Silent Brotherhood*. For the superscription of the book, the publisher had included the provocative introductory sentence: "The chilling inside story of the secret, savage, Klan-like organization." Then in 1995, Signet books released the fourth paperback edition of the same book, *The Silent Brotherhood*, with the over-arching introduction of: "The chilling inside story of America's violent, anti-government militia movement." Generally speaking, it is true that author's often do not have much influence as to how their publisher packages their product. Kevin Flynn sheepishly admitted as much in a television interview regarding this subject. It was apparent that he was not entirely comfortable with the marketing strategy of Signet Books. Flynn's uneasy chagrin notwithstanding however, the sensationalized and disparate headlines presented by Signet Books marketing of the book's 473 pages of text plus bibliography, acknowledgements, and a 17 page index, is representative of the true lack of understanding and insight regarding the American Militia movement, the Ku Klux Klan, and any of a hundred or more movements on the far right of center in the American socio-political scene. Although the American Militia and the Ku Klux Klan hold similar and over-lapping interests, these two groups are not monolithic, unilateral, nor are they mutually exclusive.

With these points in mind, this review will counter that “outsider’s” viewpoint and lack of practical insight through a deliberate “insider’s” perspective of the militia movement, its brothers, first and second cousins, as well as distant relatives yet nonetheless members of this complex, interrelated, while at the same time fiercely independent amalgamation of movements. In order to accomplish this, a brief digression is necessary in order to place the militia movement within some contextual perspective.

Groups such as *Posse Comitatus*, the *Tax Protest Movement*, *The Patriot Movement*, *The Christian Patriot Movement*, *The Order* (also Known as *The Silent Brotherhood*), *The Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord*, *Elohim City*, an organization visited by Timothy McVeigh, *The Aryan Republican Army*, *Bruders Schweigen II*, *Louis Beam's Texas Emergency Reserve*, and *The Army of God* more closely fit the true profile of what the Citizens’ Militia Movement actually is. The Army of God nevertheless, is not a uniformed or even unorganized militia. It is mentioned in the context of militias as a result of its often violent and deadly results. The *Militia of Montana* and the *Michigan Militia* are “bridge units,” in that they are the intermediaries between the aforementioned advocates for the violent resistance to and/or the overthrow of the United States government and militias such as the 42<sup>nd</sup>, 58<sup>th</sup>, and 59<sup>th</sup>, 51<sup>st</sup>, and 52<sup>nd</sup> *Missouri Militias*. The latter are more concerned with public service and their public image than they are with shooting it out with units of the United States Army, the United States Marines, the FBI Hostage Rescue Team, or local law enforcement SWAT Teams. *The New Minutemen*, civilian border patrol units that police the U.S./Mexico border, also find common cause with the public service type of militias, although they may considered by some as being among the violent groups listed at the beginning of this summary because

of their armed activity against and arrest of illegal aliens and small-time drug runners who jump the border from Mexico into the United States. That controversy notwithstanding, The New Minutemen do not agitate for the overthrow of the United States government. Indeed, they only cry out for government enforcement of existing immigration laws and that the United States devise a more effective national policy with regard to immigration through more restrictive statutes. Some of the previously mentioned elements have been/are violent while others have not been and are not violent in their demeanor. Most militias do not champion the perspective of violent overthrow or resistance to the United States government.

Among the first cousins of the militias, but organizations that are not actually true paramilitary groups themselves, belong *Christian Identity, Aryan Nations, The Sons of Yahweh, White Aryan Resistance, Stormfront, The National Alliance*, and David Duke ([www.duke.org](http://www.duke.org)), *The National Vanguard, Vanguard News Network, White Alert, White Revolution, the Christian Defense League, the Liberty Lobby, The Spotlight*, and *Christian Constitutionalists*. Many of these groups oppose gun control, miscegenation, unfettered immigration, bussing, integration and abortion and are considered above ground, political action groups. They are the political activists who disseminate information from the right to the rest of America and the world either via the internet, through the print media or by radio and over shortwave. Recently, several groups, for example Resistance Records and ALLNAT Productions, have begun to distribute DVDs and music CDs. Some internet sites, the Vanguard News Network and the *Hal Turner Show* for instance, now include streaming video. There is a rumor circulating among right-wing websites that live broadcasting from some of the older websites is in the

offing. Then there are the second cousins of the movement like *The Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC)* and *VDARE*, which focus on immigration issues, *The American Renaissance (AR)* whose interests include immigration, affirmative action and *White Civil Rights*, and *The John Birch Society (JBS)* that focuses upon the New World Order, the United Nations, American sovereignty issues, and the intrusive acts and behavior of an increasingly left-leaning American government. The *AR*, *CCC*, *VDARE* and *JBS* are not, however, militias in that they do not bear arms in resistance to the government. Theirs is a political outreach concerning issues that are of primary concern to those of the militias, yet they do not necessarily seek the violent resistance to or the overthrow of the United States government. Their message is a moderated version of that of the first cousins of the militias. Then there are the distant relatives and other elements of the far right. This would include The Army of God, with its pro-life, yet violent activities against abortion providers and enablers, Eric Robert Rudolph being a prime example of a “member” of this Army, and the Westboro Baptist Church/God Hates Fags a group that publicly and through its website, protests the homosexual agenda in its many forms. Most of these groups adhere to what the controlled media characterize as virulent “anti-Semitic, racist, sexist, and homophobic” social, political and philosophical outlooks, while many do not. Moving to the ultra-extreme fringes of the far right occur individuals like Joseph Paul Franklin, the man to whom the late William Pierce, founder of The National Alliance, dedicated his 1989 book, *Hunter*. The books theme centers focuses on the fictional character, Oscar Yeager, a man who kills inter-racial couples. Franklin was arrested, tried and convicted for murdering inter-racial couples and white women he suspected of having sex with blacks. Rudolph and Franklin exemplified the

lone wolf, *Leaderless Resistance* practitioner that Louis Beam immortalized in his article that focused upon Leaderless Resistance as a tactic and strategy that could be brought to bear against *Zionist Occupation Government (ZOG)* and its forces. Other examples of individuals following this principle of following their own initiative include:

- William Krar, who is now in federal prison. Krar was convicted of possessing enough sodium cyanide to kill 30,000 people. Investigators report discovering material that suggests links to militias when they seized his personal effects.
- Stephen Jordi was sentenced to five years in federal prison plus five years probation. He was arrested after he bragged of his plans to firebomb abortion clinics. Jordi said he intended to become the next Eric Robert Rudolph. Federal prosecutors are seeking to extend his sentence by invoking the Patriot Act, according to his attorney.
- Sean Gillespie is facing federal charges in Oklahoma City for allegedly firebombing a synagogue in that city. A government public relations expert stated that he boasted of further plans to commit even more violent acts.
- The anthrax killer. This is the individual who began terrorizing America's citizens one month after September 11, 2001.

At the outer limits of the right wing, extremist galaxy, rogue dark stars such as Theodore John Kaczynski, The Unabomber, may orbit. While Kaczynski might arguably be considered an anarchist or some type of mutant, hybrid 20<sup>th</sup> Century Luddite, as The Unabomber he managed to elude Federal, State and local law enforcement officials for almost 18 years. While it is not known if Kaczynski actually read Beam's treatise, Kaczynski, through strict adherence to the principles that are discovered within Leaderless Resistance, eluded law enforcement's best efforts to apprehend and bring him

to justice for nearly a decade before his brother recognized his writing style in the published “Unabomber Manifesto.” To conclude this overview, some might insist that many elements of Evangelical Christianity should be included somewhere in this list. However, to do so would require a blatant disregard of the public support that most, if not all Evangelicals offer to the nation of Israel. This places Evangelicals in a position antithetical to that of the largest majority of the right wing and all of the extreme right wing. This précis is neither exhaustive nor definitive as to the boundaries and intermingling of the over 104 known militias in the United States and those who hold similar or overlapping viewpoints with those militias.

## CHAPTER II

### LITERATURE REVIEW OF THE MODERN MILITIA PHENOMENON

#### Government Sources

Although there are a small number of scholarly publications that display a remarkable sense of objectivity concerning the contemporary militia movement and the influences surrounding it, the largest majority of mainstream media and government literature regarding the militia phenomenon invariably approaches the subject from the most sensational and lurid perspective that can be demonstrated. This paper however, shuns that approach. Instead, this investigation of the militias will examine, through a close reading of available literature, the historical, religious, racial, economic, political (especially anti-federalist sentiment), and philosophic origins and influences on and by the early militias of America. This inquiry will also examine their contemporary counterparts' similarities in form and overall belief systems.

During the 1980s there appeared to be a cascade of news reports, scholarly articles, documentary films, movies and television adaptations, popular press and books that addressed the sensation of the neo-American right-wing militia in one form or another. Of course, because these right-wing militia groups advocated in behalf of the exercise of their Second Amendment rights, the right to keep and bear arms, and these groups espoused anti-government sentiment and disseminated literature that was close

akin to that of early American Colonial and revolutionary rhetoric, the United States government specifically the United States Department of Justice in the form of the Federal Bureau of Investigation took notice, as well as a closer look. One of the most prominent examples of that attention is the FBI report, Project Megiddo (October 20, 1999) as a case in point. The document is a strategic assessment undertaken by that agency in anticipation of the new millennium. The report focuses on domestic groups that manifest the potential for terrorism in the United States. This report has been likened to the type of internal reports by the FBI that was exposed during the Church Committee hearings in 1975. Officially identified as The United States Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities chaired by Senator Frank Church (D. ID) in 1975, the church Committee generated a minimum of seven government reports during its tenure with regard to radical domestic group activities:

- U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Internal Security. *Hearings on Domestic Intelligence Operations for Internal Security Purposes.* 93rd Cong., 2d sess, 1974.
- U.S. Congress. House. Select Committee on Intelligence. *Hearings on Domestic Intelligence Programs.* 94th Cong., 1st sess, 1975.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. *Committee on Government Operations. Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. Hearings on Riots, Civil and Criminal Disorders.* 90th Cong., 1st sess. - 91st Cong., 2d sess, 1967–1970.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities. *Hearings — The National Security Agency and Fourth Amendment Rights. Vol. 6.* 94th Cong., 1st sess, 1975.

- U.S. Congress. Senate. Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities. *Hearings — Federal Bureau of Investigation. Vol. 6.* 94th Cong., 1st sess, 1975.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities. *Final Report — Book II, Intelligence Activities and the Rights of Americans.* 94th Cong., 2d sess, 1976.
- U.S. Congress. Senate. Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities. *Final Report — Book III, Supplementary Detailed Staff Reports on Intelligence Activities and the Rights of Americans.* 94th Cong., 2d sess, 1976.

#### Historical and Scholarly Works

Anyone interested in the American militia movement will not have a problem accessing current peer reviewed academic articles or books that focus on this subject. Indeed, it may be that one might not know just what articles or books to choose from because of the sheer volume of material. From an historical standpoint, as a means for establishing the Colonial and revolutionary context for the early militias in America, Richard J. Hooker offers an excellent and detailed look at the Colonies just prior to the revolution. The text, *The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution: The Journal and Other Writings of Charles Woodmason, Anglican Itinerant* (1953), centers on the observations and sermons of an Anglican lay clergyman. *Carolina Backcountry* provides a rural religious context for that particular region that was not unlike that of other regions throughout the Colonies. A more academic approach to the religious

perspective of early American settlers/colonists, and revolutionary militia members, is found in Conrad Cherry's *God's New Israel: Religious Interpretations of American Destiny* (1971). Cherry's work provides a contextual bridge between the Biblical perspective of these early Americans and their literal interpretation and application of scripture to their circumstances at the time. It is an important work in that it provides the emic foundation for the religious attitudes of that day and provides the nexus between those early spiritual attitudes and the attitudes of a majority of contemporary militia members. From a political standpoint, *Revolutionary Politics in Massachusetts The Boston Committee of Correspondence and the Towns, 1772-2774* by Richard D. Brown (1970), establishes the political context that also merged with the religious activities of the people at that time. There was very little "separation of Church and state" during this early and tumultuous period of American history. Following the same thread of continuity between religious activities and other socio-cultural mores, Stephen R. Haynes contributes a substantial source of background with regard to slavery and the spiritual justification for that institution that colonists as well as post-revolutionary Americans subscribed to during their time period in his 2002 work, *Noah's Curse: The Biblical Justification of American Slavery*. *Noah's Curse* also serves as an indispensable link for the continuity of thought practiced in Colonial, revolutionary, and post-revolutionary America that survives through to this day. Along these same lines, the seven volume work of Dumas Malone that covers the life of Thomas Jefferson, the *Autobiography* (1829) by Jefferson himself, *The Wages of Whiteness* (Roediger 1999), *The Arrogance of Faith* (Wood 1990), and the 11 volume set written by Roy P. Basler chronicling the life of Abraham Lincoln (1955), carries the interested reader from 18<sup>th</sup> Century America

through the end of the War Between the States by the currents of race, religion, and politics as they were practiced during those periods of American history. Oswald Garrison Villard vividly demonstrates the violent religious zeal of John Brown in the 1943 work, *John Brown 1800-1859 – a Biography Fifty Years After*. Stephen B. Oates corroborates the portrait of Brown painted by Villard in Oates' book *To Purge This Land With Blood: A Biography of John Brown* (1984).

Subsequent to the Civil War, or as Southerners, many Klansmen and militia members of today know it, The War of Northern Aggression, the United States experienced that period of time known as “reconstruction,” wherein the North, with a firm and often brutal hand, enforced the reuniting of the nation. It was during this same period, and for over one hundred years afterwards, that the Southern policy of “Jim Crow” was instituted as a means for deconstructing all that the Northern government sought to rebuild and to resist integration. Within this apartheid like system of segregation between White and Black Southerners (which was also practiced in the North under the guise of “Black Laws,” sprang the *Ku Klux Klan*. Formed in Pulaski, Tennessee in 1866 (Bassett 1913, p. 627, 628) by Nathan Bedford Forrest, famous cavalry general of the Southern Army (Highsaw 1981, 49). The Klan, until the late 1950s and early 1960s was a racist force to be reckoned with at one point in time. The Klan boasted among its membership, members of the United States Senate and the highest court in the land, The United States Supreme Court. For example, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court from 1910 – 1921, Edward Douglass White openly stated his membership in the Klan (Highsaw 1981, 24). West Virginia Democratic Senator Robert Byrd was a *Kleagle*, a recruiter for the Klan when the Senator was in his 20s and 30s (Katznelson 2005, 81).

Recently the Supreme Court was the locus of Supreme Court justice Hugo Black. Black was a Klan member in the 1920s (Newman 1997, 94). However, the Klan began to decline after its peak in the early 1920s. When the FBI began to focus on the Klan the organizations days were numbered. Following an aggressive pursuit of the Klan by the FBI, by the early 1970s the Ku Klux Klan had become a mere shadow of its former self.

Although the Klan withered into an empty shell, the religious doctrine and political ideology that fueled its engine did not disappear. To the contrary, the embers of that source continued to smolder deep within the core of the national psyche. The Civil Rights movement as described in *Race* (Baker 1974) partially documents that slow burn. Richard Abanes (Abanes 1996) supplies the inescapable connection between the doctrines of racism and specific religious groups and their relationship to civil rights and resistance to those principles by militia groups of particular religious persuasions in the United States. Carol Swain, professor of Law and Political Science at Vanderbilt University provides a unique academic perspective of White Nationalism in relation to affirmative action in her 2002 book, *The New White Nationalism in America: Its Challenge to Integration*. In a second work by Swain, *Black Faces, Black Interests: The Representation of African Americans in Congress* (1993), the concepts of “descriptive representation” and “parity representation” are examined in order to offer insight when juxtaposed and contrasted to the concepts of “identity politics” and “White Nationalism” as espoused by militias and groups closely associated to the militias.

From a politically secular but explicitly racial perspective, a similar source provides insight into the thinking and activities of both militant groups as well as that of government agencies of the United States. Written in 1988 by Ward Churchill and James

Vanderwall, *Agents of Repression: The FBI's Secret Wars Against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement*, documents government excess against the American Indian Movement, The Black Panther Party for Self Defense and marginally, the *Ku Klux Klan* during the 1960s and 1970s, as exposed by the Church Committee in 1975. This publication may serve as a “prequel” to later academic works that focused on armed American groups which advocated in behalf of resistance to or overthrow of the repressive activities of the United States government. *Agents of Repression* is one that bridges the gap between government clearing houses and those of historical and academic sources. Although it is not nearly as objective in its tone and approach as that of other works by academics *Agents of Repression* maintains the continuity of the violent relationship between the Federal government and those groups and individuals who find fault with it to the extreme. *Agents of Repression* makes a strong case in behalf of any group, from the right or the left, with regard to the sometimes questionable and often violently illegal methods and tactics adopted and carried out by the Federal government.

On the other hand, Betty A. Dobratz and Stephanie Shanks-Meile Dobratz/Shanks-Meile, authors of, *The White Separatist Movement in the United States: “White Power, White Pride!”* (2000) produced one of the most balanced and far-reaching books that incorporated anthropological methodology and techniques to study the White Power movement in the United States. Their text provides in depth one-on-one interviews as well as focus group studies as a means for gaining access into the socio-cultural thought patterns and details of “White Pride.” White Pride itself is often an inseparable element, among many other core values, that is shared by members of the militias, be they right-wing or less radical in their approach to the government of the United States or society in

general. This is one of the compelling factors that draw the Social Sciences to studies of groups such as the militias because they are not monolithic nor are the lines of distinction between the militias and other groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, Tax Protesters, Pro-life groups or Neo-Nazis which are not primarily recognized as being a militia in the classic sense. Not all militia members are Klansmen but some Klansmen may be militia members. Similarly, some Neo-Nazis are militia members but not all militia members are Neo-Nazis, treatment by the media as though they are notwithstanding.

### Popular Media

At that time, the internet was just beginning to take hold across the mainstream of America. Bulletin Boards that supported every political persuasion sprang up by the hundreds overnight on a regular basis. Militia Through these outlets, the interested reader could keep abreast of the latest developments between one another and with their group de'jour. Media and literary sources exploded in a spectacular manner with huge volumes of information that focused on the right-wing militias. Blogs and web news sources have begun to eclipse the normative forms of media; newspapers, magazines, books, and even television. One can produce their own micro-media empire from their laptop computer and reach millions of reader, listeners, and viewers with the click of a mouse and at a fraction of the cost of that charged by traditional media outlets. The militias and their political action agencies have not been slow to capitalize on this phenomenon. It is through the internet that the American militia phenomenon began to gain power and influence as a result of the rapid and inexpensive means of communication between members and groups. Louis Beam, an active Ku Klux

Klansman, is also recognized throughout militias and extremist groups on the right as being one of the “founding fathers” of the militia movement. This is not only a result of his early involvement in forming and leading the Texas Emergency Reserve, but also because of his intellectual contributions to the strategies and tactics that would become important to the movement. Through his internet and direct mail newsletter, *The Seditionist*, Beam presented *Leaderless Resistance* (Beam 1992, 1). This essay was and is one of the most widely read documents by members of the right wing. It is posted on Beam’s internet website for easy access. Beam’s treatise, which decries the formalized structure of an organized militia as being too porous an entity, as a result of its vulnerability to infiltration, is second in popularity only to *The Turner Diaries* written by National Alliance founder, William Luther Pierce (9/11/1933-7/23/2002). Morris Seligman Dees, Jr., founder of the Southern Poverty Law Center in Montgomery, Alabama, beginning with the activities of Louis Beam and his Texas Emergency Reserve, documents Beam’s most significant activities. Dees also plots the 20<sup>th</sup> Century metamorphosis of the militias through his book, *Gathering Storm: America’s Militia Threat* (1996).

Still within the popular media genre, two other authors who tracked the activities of the most influential right-wing group, if not the most prominent extreme right wing militia in the United States at the time, Kevin Flynn and Gary Gerhardt presented their paperback publication, *The Silent Brotherhood* (1989), as their entry into the more traditional forms of the popular media. Their investigative journalism revealed that a number of circumstances should be considered as factors contributing to the sudden appearance of militias like the *Silent Brotherhood*. Flynn and Gerhardt believe that the

Brady Bill, affirmative action set-asides, other minority preference programs, the homosexual agenda, feminists, abortion, taxation, and home schooling, to name a few, were issues that generated the militia backlash in general and the formation of the Silent Brotherhood in specific.

The endangered species of the white, heterosexual male and female, who believed that they had become marginalized by the aforementioned groups and issues, yet were being forced to subsidize the same groups and programs, were beginning to express their frustration and rage over circumstances that they were less inclined to support. Lynda Ann Ewen addresses several aspects of that rage by White groups over being forced to subsidize programs that do not benefit them in her book *Social Stratification and Power in America: A View from Below* (1998). This view from below aptly describes the perception by many members of the extreme right-wing as well as that of some individuals and groups that were not very far from the center (Ewen 1998). The plot outlines of the popular sit-coms on TV during the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s such as *All in the Family*, *Laverne and Shirley*, *Happy Days*, and *Three's Company* did not interest white, heterosexual males and females because of their anti-White, pro-homosexual bias (Flynn & Gerhardt 1989; Durham 2007). Other prominent right wing figures (such as Tom Metzger, founder of White Aryan Resistance; John, David, and Randy Trochmann, founders of The Militia of Montana; The Michigan Militia founders, Norman Olson and Ray Southwell) confirm the conclusions of Flynn and Gerhardt and disseminate that message through their internet newsletters, direct mail pamphlets, and Internet blogs.

Kenneth S. Stern, author of, *A Force Upon the Plain: The American Militia Movement and the Politics of Hate* (1997), arrives at many of the same conclusions. His

in depth investigation focuses on the siege by agents of the federal government against the Weaver family in Ruby Ridge, Idaho as his starting point. Stern lists the tragedy at Ruby Ridge as the catalyst for the birth of the unorganized militia (Abanes 1996; Bock 1995; Crothers 2003). That new entity came into this world during the week of October 22 – 25, 1992 in Estes Park, Colorado during the Rocky Mountain Rendezvous. Major right wing figures attended the Rendezvous in order to formulate a strategy to counter the federal outrage at Ruby Ridge (Arendt 1968). The author also focuses upon the conflagration between federal agents and Branch Davidians of David Koresh in Waco, Texas as a contributing influence to the growth of the militia movement (Elshtain 2004). Stern's book has been widely discussed in on-line chat rooms and by members of multiple on-line discussion groups. Although Stern is perceived as an enemy or a "race traitor by many on the extreme right, these people are still able to acknowledge the validity of a number of his inferences. The development of the internet and the incorporation of that technology into their modes of communication helped solidify groups and individuals who otherwise would not have been "in the loop" of knowledge concerning many of these points.

The involvement of leaders from the Ku Klux Klan, the Christian Identity movement, and the Posse Comitatus tax protest movement through the use of the internet, are brought into focus. This creates a cross-pollination or hybridization process that is accomplished through common cause issues (Arendt 1990). Concerns over affirmative action, increasingly repressive taxes, desegregation of schools, bussing, gun control, increasing crime on the streets and in public schools and the increasing threat of minority

street gangs are brought into alignment with the more extremist racial and social positions of the radical right through internet contact (Dobratz & Shanks-Meile 2000).

Having completed this brief overview of some of the literature that focuses on the militias and their many facets, through qualitative analysis, this paper will offer an in-depth examination of the history, ideology, political, racial and religious philosophies of these groups as a means for illuminating the modified emic point of view, so as to understand why they believe as they do. Also, this paper will conduct a comparison of similarities and differences between the right-wing militias and groups that are positioned politically more toward the center and left of center along the political spectrum. In order to establish the nexus between the values and beliefs of contemporary militias and those values held by the founders of this nation, it is necessary to examine, in detail, the contextual historical, psychological, political, and religious mindset of the earliest American militias. This context is set forth and established in Chapter III.

## CHAPTER III

### THE HISTORY OF THE MILITIA IN AMERICA

In order to gain insight into the American Militia movement it is necessary to investigate the socio-cultural nexus early American groups have with their contemporary counter-parts. Within that early American socio-cultural context it is discovered that the militia finds common ties especially of racial perspectives, religion, political ideology, and of course just as importantly, firearms. An historical, chronological review of the early militias with a close reading of *The Jubilee Year* and its religious as well as economic implications of that doctrine and its application along with the above listed concepts and their manifestation during this time period follows.

With regard to race, taken within the social and cultural context of the day, it was understood implicitly as well as explicitly that when any document, article, or conversation referred to “free men” it was understood by all readers to mean “white” men. For example, the Preamble to the United States Constitution states:

*We the People of the United States [emphasis added], in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity [emphasis added], do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.*

The people who ordained and established that Constitution to themselves and their prosperity were white, British, and European Caucasians. Corroboration of the

thesis that race was an implicit as well as a conscious, explicit factor during the Colonial and Revolutionary War eras of the United States are expressed in the explicit remarks of the great Colonial American Statesman, member of the Constitutional Convention, and Ambassador to France, Benjamin Franklin. Franklin penned the following observations focusing on race in his *Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind, Peopling of Countries, etc.* in 1751. Writing of immigration, Franklin declared:

. . . the number of purely white people in the world is proportionably very small. All Africa is black or tawny. Asia chiefly tawney. . . . And in Europe the Spaniards, Italians, French, Russians and Swedes are generally of what we call a swarthy complexion; as are the Germans also, the Saxons only being excepted, who with the English make up the principal body of white people on the face of the earth. I could wish their numbers increased. And while we are, as I may call it, *scouring* our planet, by clearing America of woods, and so making our side of the globe reflect a brighter light to the inhabitants of Mars or Venus, why should we in the sight of superior beings darken its people? Why increase the sons of Africa by planting them in America, where we have an opportunity, by excluding all blacks and tawneys, of increasing the lovely white and red. (Franklin 1961-2008, 4:225)

Indeed, the text of the “Act to establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization” (March 26, 1790) (Bickford et al. 1972-2004, 6:1516-1522) is even more direct than Ambassador Franklin was. It is important that the full text of the act be included for consideration. In full, that Act reads as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That any Alien being *a free white person* [emphasis added], who shall have resided within the limits and under the jurisdiction of the United States for the term of two years, may be admitted to become a citizen thereof on application to any common law Court of record in any one of the States wherein he shall have resided for the term of one year at least, and making proof to the satisfaction of such Court that he is a person of good character, and taking the oath or affirmation prescribed by law to support the Constitution of the United States, which Oath or Affirmation such Court shall administer, and the Clerk of such Court shall record such Application, and the proceedings thereon; and thereupon such person shall be considered as a Citizen of the United States. And the children of such person so naturalized, dwelling within the United States, being under the age of twenty one years at the time of such naturalization, shall also be

considered as citizens of the United States. And the children of citizens of the United States that may be born beyond Sea, or out of the limits of the United States, shall be considered as natural born Citizens: Provided, that the right of citizenship shall not descend to persons whose fathers have never been resident in the United States: Provided also, that no person heretofore proscribed by any States, shall be admitted a citizen as aforesaid, except by an Act of the Legislature of the State in which such person was proscribed. (Bickford et al. 1972-2004, 6:1516-1522)

From March 26, 1790, until 1870, immigration into the United States remained restricted to “Free, White Persons.” In 1870, with the incorporation of the 14<sup>th</sup> amendment into the U.S. Constitution, that category was expanded to include “persons of African nativity and African descent.” In 1965, immigration laws were changed. One of the original criteria for emigration into the United States had been nation of origin. England and Western European nations enjoyed preference over all other nations of origin. Included in these statutes were provisions requiring assurances of gainful employment and sponsorship from a U.S. Citizen. Closely calculated ratios of foreign nationals in relation to numbers of emigrants admitted were maintained and monitored by immigration officials. Very few emigrants from Arabic, African, and Asian nations were allowed legal entry into the United States. In 1965, after an 80-year battle in and out of federal courts and the U. S. Congress, immigration reform advocates revised the laws, eliminating proportional admissions, employment prospects and nation of origin restrictions.

Implicit and explicit “racial idiom [and] coherent racial ideology” (Piker 2005, 3) such as the examples listed, appears in contexts throughout conversations and records of the time. Those interested in further research concerning the normative, openly racial attitudes and atmosphere of the colonial, Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary periods in the United States, may seek to review the 1999 work of David. Roediger, *The*

*Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class.* An additional source is, *A History of Hatfield, Massachusetts*, by Daniel White Wells, and Reuben Field Wells. Additionally, Forrest G. Wood has published his, *The Arrogance of Faith: Christianity and Race in America from the Colonial Era to the Twentieth Century* which also addresses the normative early American racial perspective.

Over and above these examples and inherent to citizenship in the early colonies was the practice of the taking of the oath of a freeman. The person taking this oath was to be 21 years of age or more, certainly a male, and not an indentured servant or bonded man. That the freeman could not be a slave was also implicit within this context. The next requirements were those of property ownership and church membership. These contingencies were characteristic of the theocratic provinces of New England. Only Freemen had the right to hold public office or vote in town meetings. The freeman's oath, first printed in Cambridge Massachusetts by Stephen Day in 1639, was ubiquitous in colonial America (Andrews 1934-1938). Lee Nathaniel Newcomer characterized the sentiment of the day in his observation that, "religious and racial differences combined to create a disturbing element" (Newcomer 1953, 19).

Although it was not written until many years after the colonial period of English settlement and involvement in American history, the Constitution of the United States alludes to the issue of freemen and slave. Article I, Section 2 dramatically and explicitly demonstrates the schism between freemen and slaves when it recounts that slaves count as three fifths of a person when determining state populations for the purposes of representation. Article I, Section 8, Clause 15, empowered Congress to call "forth the Militia" to "suppress Insurrections," including slave rebellions. This clause

would be implemented to help suppress Gabriel's rebellion, the Nat Turner Rebellion, and John Brown's attempts to make war on slavery in Virginia. These subjects will be addressed at length later in this investigation. Thomas Jefferson, writing on the subject of slavery and race declared:

Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free. Nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government. Nature, habit, opinion has drawn indelible lines of distinction between them. It is still in our power to direct the process of emancipation and deportation peaceably and in such slow degree as that the evil will wear off insensibly, and their place be pari passu filled up by free white laborers. (Jefferson 1821)

Article I, Section 9, Clause 5, Article I, Section 10, Clause.2, Article II, Section 1, Clause 2, Article IV, Section 3, Clause 1, Article IV, Section 4, Article V of the Constitution dealt either directly or indirectly with the issue of freemen and slaves, thus making clear distinctions between the two racial classes. Article V required a three-fourths majority of the states to ratify any amendment to the Constitution. This Article ensured that the slaveholding states would have a perpetual veto over any constitutional changes. Until 1850, there was a concerted effort to ensure and maintain almost an equal number of slave and free states.

With the preceding information in mind, it soon becomes necessary to question the origin of these racial perspectives and attitudes in early Americans. In close concert with racial issues in colonial America was that of the over-riding importance of religion to those early American citizens. The importance of religion, with its doctrines and articles of faith, was also the driving force behind the racial perspectives of the early Americans.

## The Nexus Between Religion and Race

### America, the New Israel

“For wee must consider that wee shall be as a citty upon a hill. The eies of all people are uppon us,” the Puritan John Winthrop declared in his famous sermon, *A Modell of Christian Charity* (1630). The Puritans who disembarked in Massachusetts in 1620 believed they were establishing the New Israel. Indeed, the whole colonial enterprise was believed to have been guided by God. “God has opened this passage unto us,” Alexander Whitaker preached from Virginia in 1613, “and led us by the hand unto this work” (Cherry 1971, 33).

Promised Land imagery figured prominently in shaping English colonial thought. The Pilgrims identified themselves with the ancient Hebrews. They viewed the New World and the New Canaan. They were God’s chosen people headed for the Promised Land. Other colonists believed they, too, had been divinely called. The settlers in Virginia were, John Rolfe said, “a peculiar people, marked and chosen by the finger of God” (Cherry 1971, 26).

This self-image of being God’s Chosen People called to establish the New Israel became an integral theme in America’s self interpretation. During the revolutionary period, it emerged with new force. “We cannot but acknowledge that God hath graciously patronized our cause and taken us under his special care, as he did his ancient covenant people” (Cherry 1971, 99) Samuel Langdon preached at Concord, New Hampshire in 1788. George Washington was the “American Joshua,” and “Never was the possession of arms used with more glory, or in a better cause, since the days of Joshua and the son of Nun” (Cherry 1971, 88), Ezra Stiles urged in Connecticut in 1783. In 1776, Benjamin

Franklin and Thomas Jefferson wanted Promised Land images for the new nation's Great Seal. Franklin proposed Moses dividing the Red (Reed) Sea with Pharaoh's army being overwhelmed by the closing waters. Jefferson urged a representation of the Israelites being led in the wilderness by the pillar of fire by night and the cloud by day (Cherry 1971, 65). Later, in his second inaugural address in 1805, Jefferson again recalled the Promised Land. "I shall need...the favor of that Being in whose hands we are, who led our fathers, as Israel of old, from their native land and planted them in a country flowing with all the necessities and comforts of life" (Cherry 1971, 65).

The sense of divine election and the identification of early Americans with ancient Canaan were used to justify expelling America's Indigenous Peoples from their land. The colonists saw themselves as confronting "satanic forces" in the Native Americans. They were Canaanites to be destroyed or thrown out.

Since the Europeans arrived in North America, Indigenous Peoples have lost millions of acres of land. Theft, murder and warfare, forced removal, deception, and official government land programs have deprived them of their territories. Land rights of Native Americans were never taken seriously. Rather, they were seen as obstacles to the colonists' need for land. The Puritans did not respect the farms of Native Americans. They sought "legal" (Koning 1993, 14) ways to get their land. If a Native American broke one of the rigid Puritan religious laws, the fine was paid by giving up land. In this manner, some Puritans were able to amass large landholdings through the Massachusetts courts. John Winthrop, for example, obtained some 1,260 acres along the Concord River (Koning 1993).

Most land was taken violently. First of all, Europeans brought diseases that killed several million Native Americans within a few years. These great killings left land “vacant” and “available” to the colonists. Then there was war. When the 1600s ended, most Native Americans in New England had been killed or driven away. In England, John Wesley, Methodism’s founder, was appalled by the atrocities Europeans committed against Native Americans. He poured out his moral outrage on European Christians, including the English colonists. In his sermon “A Caution Against Bigotry,” Wesley does not treat the colonists easily:

Even in cruelty and bloodshed, how little have the Christians come behind them! And not the Spaniards or the Portuguese alone, butchering thousands in South America; not the Dutch only in the East Indies, or the French in North America, following the Spaniards step by step: our own countrymen, too, have wantoned in blood, and exterminated whole nations; plainly proving thereby what spirit it is that dwells and works in the children of disobedience. ([1746] 1944, 432)

While the English were building the New Israel in North America, Spain and Portugal were conquering Central and South America. The conquest of Canaan was the model for their invasion of America. Mexican biblical scholar Elsa Támez explains:

The story of the conquest of Canaan is the most often used biblical foundation for the conquest of this continent. Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, a prominent and influential Spanish philosopher of the 16th century, used this biblical theme to legitimate the war against its inhabitants. He justified the conquest in order to punish blasphemy, but also because the continent was a special donation by God, as the promised-land; The Pope as Christ’s vicar had the authority to give the lands. God chose the Spanish to carry out this divine judgment against the infidels, and to conquer their lands. From this Sepúlveda affirmed that such a war besides being licit, was necessary because of the gravity of the people’s concerns. (1993, 12)

In South Africa, the Afrikaners were the Covenant People. Land was central to this self-image. An historian explains, “The very spine of Afrikaner history (no less than the historical sense of the Hebrew Scriptures upon which it is based) involves the

winning of the ‘the Land’ from alien, and indeed evil forces” (Akenson and du Toit 1992, 74). The land had to be redeemed. These alien and evil forces included the British, but especially the indigenous Africans. They were viewed as inferior. They were Canaanites destined to be the servants of the Afrikaners (Akenson and du Toit 1992, 75, 95). Over the years black Africans were thrown off their farms and grazing land so that extremely few continued to live in the rural areas as landholders.

This saga, viewed as sacred by the Afrikaners, Spanish, and early Americans, crystallized their cultural identity. In South Africa, it found its political expression and program in the National Party. In Colonial America and later the United States, this program was based on racial separateness and the belief that Afrikaners and Americans were set apart for a special mission in God’s designs for socio-political organization. Apartheid, the New World, and Promised Land went hand in hand.

#### Jefferson’s Wall of Separation

Religion and faith in God was a fundamental pillar of colonial American society and culture.

The Congregational minister had often taught school while yet a divinity student at Harvard University or Yale. Once ordained a preacher, he and his church were supported by public taxation, while tithing men could arrest Sabbath breakers and hale truants off to [church] meeting. (Newcomer 1953, 11)

Thomas Jefferson later wrote to the Danbury Baptist of a “wall of separation” between church and state. Jefferson wrote:

Mr. President

To messers Nehemiah Dodge, Ephraim Robbins, & Stephen S. Nelson a committee of the Danbury Baptist association in the state of Connecticut.  
Gentlemen

The affectionate sentiments of esteem & approbation which you are so good as to express towards me, on behalf of the Danbury Baptist association, give me the highest satisfaction. my duties dictate a faithful & zealous pursuit of the interests of my constituents, and in proportion as they are persuaded of my fidelity to those duties, the discharge of them becomes more & more pleasing.

Believing with you that religion is a matter which lies solely between man & his god, that he owes account to none other for his faith or his worship, that the legitimate powers of government reach actions only, and not opinions, I contemplate with sovereign reverence that act of the whole American people which declared that their legislature should make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, thus building a wall of separation between church and state. [Congress thus inhibited from acts respecting religion, and the Executive authorised only to execute their acts, I have refrained from presenting even occasional performances of devotion presented indeed legally where an Executive is the legal head of a national church, but subject here, as religious exercises only to the voluntary regulations and discipline of each respective sect.] Adhering to this expression of the supreme will of the nation in behalf of the rights of conscience, I shall see with sincere satisfaction the progress of those sentiments which tend to restore to man all his natural rights, convinced he has no natural right in opposition to his social duties.

I reciprocate your kind prayers for the protection and blessing of the common Father and creator of man, and tender you for yourselves and your religious association, assurances of my high respect & esteem. (signed) Thomas Jefferson, Jan. 1. 1801. (1984, 510)

The reality of day-to-day life in colonial and post-revolutionary America is more accurately reflected by the fact that public taxation actually supported the several religions of the various regions of which the American demography consisted. Jefferson's missive to the Danbury Baptists simultaneously addresses not only the issue of the overarching importance of religion in colonial, Revolutionary, and post Revolutionary American life by reflecting that of the originally intended relationship between religion and the state but that of the interpretation adopted by the modern militias as well. "Here was a remarkably homogenous and a profoundly religious people living in a comparatively simple, but expanding economy and imbued with some very definite ideas of local self-government...The school, the church, the farm, and the town meeting were

the realities" (Newcomer 1953, 14). Newcomer adds, "The church was a tremendously powerful social institution...Indeed, the newspaper was surpassed by the pulpit as a direct and effective method of reaching the masses" (Newcomer 1953, 48). During this period of American history, the local clergy were customarily and actively involved in community politics. Writing of the widespread presence and influence of Puritan Calvinism during the Great Awakening of the 1730s in New England, L. N. Newcomer reflects on the lack of separation between church and state at that time: "In central and western Massachusetts it was the church of the first-comers, willingly tax-supported by the bulk of their descendants. As an institution it contributed probably more than any other to the success of the Revolution" (Newcomer 1953, 139) Churches and towns were nearly indistinguishable from one another with the pastor operating as a religious and political functionary. So central to private and public life was religion in colonial America that "town meetings were usually opened with prayer" (Newcomer 1953, 89). This tremendous influence was carried over into and throughout the Revolutionary era as well.

#### Revolution and the Church

The concept of a universal militia, consisting of all free white men bearing their own arms, originated in England (American Bar Association 2003). The requirement that subjects bear arms, serve military duty dates back to at least the 12th century when King Henry II obligated all freemen to bear arms for public defense (Halbrook 1998). John Adams, lead defense attorney for the British soldiers on trial for the Boston Massacre stated at the trial: "Here every private person is authorized to arm himself, and on the strength of this authority, I do not deny the inhabitants had a right to arm

themselves at that time, for their defense, not for offence" (Wroth and Zobel 1965, 3:248). During the American Revolution, the right of the people to resist tyrants had been inculcated directly and indirectly for years by the church. The identification of and concurrence with religious and political philosophies from pulpits around the countryside was a common and widespread practice. Conventions offered ministers extensive opportunities to present their socio-religious viewpoints and they supplemented Sundays and fast days, election and muster days in their importance to the populace. Preachers of the time that lent a moral tone to muster days were not reluctant to counsel in favor of armed resistance. A convergence of radical socio-political and religious alliances resulted in militia ranks swollen with as large a number of deacons as that of military men. As a consequence, these soldiers of God were quite readily predisposed to preach faith in God along with a sufficient supply of ammunition. These church leaders were not timid concerning war. During the American Revolution, they assumed positions of leadership and, in the main, directed the control of that conflict. Of this influence Newcomer observes that "Psalm-singing fighting men swarmed over the roads" (Newcomer 1953, 104) leading to battles throughout the country. Even during the dark and trying times of the revolution, although many were impressed "with the thought that perhaps God was against their cause...the clergy did not despair, they continued to be indispensable, both as recruiting agents and as sustainers of civilian morale during trying times" (Newcomer 1953, 106). Just as modern militia pastors of Identity Christianity and Aryan Nations exhort their congregations concerning the encroachments of the contemporary Zionist Occupation Government, Reverend Joseph Lyman of Hatfield inspired his pastorate concerning the threats to their liberties. "In the pulpit he preached the doctrine of

resistance to the tyranny of the king and his ministers with burning words and in town meeting he raised his voice in favor of the cause of liberty” (Wells and Wells 1910, 181). Newcomer emphasizes the militia/religious historical nexus when he reflected that,

Military titles are found dotted through the records of these years; three quarters of the Hardwick officeholders during the 1770s had held commissions...Colonel Ebenezer Crafts, of Sturbridge [was a] trader, farmer, tavern-keeper, and ex-minister. The Colonel represented a common type of rural Whig leader. (1953, 83)

### Synthesis: Religion and Politics

With religion playing such an overarching role of influence in the American colonies, it is against this backdrop that the motivations which drove early rebellions in America are illustrated in stark relief.

In his book, *The Ballad of Daniel Shays*, Michael Paulin makes what most contemporary students of American history and its Revolution may consider most startling. Paulin declares, “Many people even mistakenly believed that their debts had been dismissed when the {Revolutionary} war ended” (Paulin 1986, 13). The people who fought against the Crown were called Whigs. The Whigs were the many who believed their debts were to be forgiven as a result of their service to the nation by bearing arms against Great Britain during the Revolutionary War. Those loyal to the King of England were known as Tories. The Tories, for the greater part, were Whig creditors. With this important political distinction explained, the most pressing question that arises from this statement is “Why would the Whigs think that their debts were to be forgiven?”

Following closely after that question is “Where could the Whigs have possibly conceived of such a notion?” The answer lay in the economic chaos following the Revolution and, more importantly, in the predominating influence within both Whig and Tory ranks that

religion and the Bible enjoyed during the Revolutionary and colonial eras of American history.

Paulin characterized the fiscal status of the Continental government as being close to bankruptcy. Moreover, the Continental Congress adopted an attitude close akin to that of Pontius Pilate when that Roman Governor of Judea reluctantly allowed an audience with Christ during that latter's trial by Jewish religious leaders:

Following the war, the continental congress...found it difficult to find money to pay the soldiers and finance the conflict. Except for some money gathered from foreign loans, Congress was practically bankrupt. Confronted with financial problems, it decided to transfer the burden of paying these debts to the states. (Paulin 1986, 13, 14)

The nascent federal system had its hands full paying for the recent, successfully concluded Revolutionary War. Victory over the British, however, did not readily translate into over-riding control of national financial matters. At this point in our nation's history, the federal government was less centralized, the majority of power residing with the states. Consequently, the Continental authority effectively washed its collective hands of the matter and was well rid of this financial tangle. In their attempts to fill the fiscal void left by the withdrawal of the central government, state and local governments set about raising revenues to meet their financial obligations to veterans of the War and the commercial constituencies who served the communities in which they lived. State legislatures and town counsels

were largely responsible for local financial administration; often they determined and assessed town taxes, supervised the common wood and pasture lands, let public contracts, sold town property, conducted town suits, and regulated the admission of new members to the community. In short, they were to all intents and purposes temporary dictators. (Newcomer 1953, 89)

As it has been demonstrated earlier in the introductory section of this paper, the people were profoundly religious (Newcomer 1953). Because town and city counsels were dominated by clergy and others vigorously and openly active in local churches these authorities demonstrated their faith by works in the community and their personal lives. Within this context exists the root of the schism between Tory and Whig. Although both groups were practitioners of their Biblical faith, as the two political groups did not see eye to eye on the issue of loyalty, neither could they agree on the interpretation and application of their Christian faith. George Richards Minot in his 1788 manuscript, *History of the Insurrections in Massachusetts in 1786*, explains that the local authorities attempted to solve their fiscal difficulties by means of the Tender Act, July 3, 1782 (Minot [1788] 1971, 15). This legal instrument provided for the settlement of private debts through the conveyance of chattel property, cattle and other “specie money” (Paulin 1986, 15) as specifically enumerated (Minot [1788] 1971). Complicating the issue, Minot declares “The multitude of debtors [Whigs} first felt from it [the Tender Act], in an hour when their perplexities might lead them to an undue use of any advantage, that their creditors [Tories] were under their control” ([1788] 1971, 15, 16). This attitude and its ensuing sentiment served to corroborate and reinforce the Whig attitude toward “interest” on debts: “the impatience of the people at paying interest money...was compared to a canker worm that consumed their substance without lessening their burdens...great fault was found with paying their interest money” (Minot [1788] 1971, 8, 20). Add to these circumstances the appearance of “a paper money system...[that] was held up as the price of every man’s freedom...[and that] had become a kind of currency at a depreciated value” (Minot [1788] 1971, 20, 21) and the result was disastrous. “Where a duty is

enjoined,” declares Minot, “with which compliance is made, at best, with reluctance, if the least grounds are afforded for the mind to suspect injustice or mistake, it produces positive disobedience” ([1788] 1971, 11). Thomas Paine captured the concurrent negative attitude of the people toward paper money when he wrote in *Dissertations on Government; the Affairs of the Bank; and Paper Money*: “I remember a German farmer expressing as much in a few words as the whole subject requires; ‘money is money and paper is paper.’—All the invention of man cannot make them otherwise” (Paine 1786, 44). It should have come as no surprise when insurrections and rebellions that involved taking over Courthouses to prevent foreclosure and forfeiture of farms and estates should occur as a consequence of worthless fiat money; that “fictitious capital” Karl Marx would disparage just over a century later. Civil disobedience of this type, called “sittings” (Minot [1788] 1971, 26) was the core tactic of the Ely and Shays’ Rebellions. However, these examples of economic turmoil and disenchantment offer only an effect explanation for the cause of the people’s notion that their debts had been forgiven. The payment of interest was an annual reminder to “the people of a pressure, which the change of their manners by the war had made them less able to bear” (Minot [1788] 1971, 8). The core of that answer lies in the pages of the Bible that nearly every American at that time read or was very familiar with as a result of Sunday school and Church attendance from their infancy to their graves.

American history recounts the ringing of the State House Bell hanging in Independence Hall in Philadelphia on July 8, 1776 (originally called the *State House Bell*, renamed the *Liberty Bell* by abolitionists) (National Science Foundation, Office of Legislative and Public Affairs 2003) to summon the citizens of Philadelphia to hear the

first public reading of the Declaration of Independence by Colonel John Nixon. The Pennsylvania Assembly ordered the Bell in 1751 to commemorate the 50-year anniversary of William Penn's 1701 Charter of Privileges, Pennsylvania's original Constitution. It speaks of the rights and freedoms valued by people the world over. Among the particularly unique concepts of Penn were his ideas concerning religious freedom.

Because the Bell was cast to mark the golden anniversary of Penn's Charter, the scriptural passage: "Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof," from Leviticus 25:10 [King James Bible], was uniquely appropriate. The line immediately preceding "proclaim liberty" in the Bible is, "And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year." There was no more fitting a way to pay homage to Penn and to hallow the 50th anniversary of his Charter than with a bell proclaiming liberty. As a result of the limited space on which an inscription could be placed, a major portion of entire verse, "And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof: It shall be a jubilee unto you; and ye shall return every man unto his possession, and ye shall return every man unto his family" (Leviticus 25:10) was omitted. Within this Biblical proclamation lays the key to Ely and Shays' Rebellions of 1786 and 1787.

The inscription on the State House Bell referred to the Year of Jubilee. John Wesley (1703–1791), English evangelical preacher, in his extensive commentary of the Bible, wrote of the Jubilee: "Understand such as were Israelites; principally to all servants, even to such as would not and did not go out at the seventh year, and to the poor, who now were acquitted from all their debts, and restored to their possessions"

(Wesley 1790, 854). The same understanding and interpretation that Wesley applied to the verse in Leviticus was exactly the same understanding and interpretation that people of 1786 and 1787 applied to that passage. Herein lay the crux of the matter. The men who fought, bled, and suffered through the birth of the nation interpreted the proclamation from Leviticus that was inscribed on the State House Bell literally. These men literally believed that they were the literal manifestation in the new world, of God's fulfillment of the ancient Israelites entering into the Promised Land as described in the Bible. Consequently, they also literally believed therefore, that debts they had incurred as a result of their efforts in behalf of the nation were to be forgiven at the cession of hostilities between the United States and Great Britain.

With regard to the issue of interest and the reluctance of many toward the payment of it, during this era of American history, interest was regarded as "usury." Usury was a term in common use at that time as a consequence of its appearance in scripture. Usury, as understood from Biblical text was the charging of interest for money lent. According to the scriptural directive in Deuteronomy 23:20 [New International Version Bible], the Hebrews "may charge a foreigner interest, but not a brother Israelite, so that the LORD your God may bless you in everything you put your hand to in the land you are entering to possess." A more complete understanding of the perspective that many post-Revolutionary Americans held concerning interest and usury is found in the Book of Nehemiah 5:1-7 [New International Version Bible]:

- 1) Now the men and their wives raised a great outcry against their Jewish brothers.
- 2) Some were saying, "We and our sons and daughters are numerous; in order for us to eat and stay alive, we must get grain."
- 3) Others were saying, "We are mortgaging our fields, our vineyards and our homes to get grain during the famine."
- 4) Still others were saying, "We have had to borrow money to pay the king's tax on

our fields and vineyards. 5) Although we are of the same flesh and blood as our countrymen and though our sons are as good as theirs, yet we have to subject our sons and daughters to slavery. Some of our daughters have already been enslaved, but we are powerless, because our fields and our vineyards belong to others.” 6) When I heard their outcry and these charges, I was very angry. 7) I pondered them in my mind and then accused the nobles and officials. I told them, “You are exacting usury from your own countrymen!” So I called together a large meeting to deal with them 8 and said: “As far as possible, we have bought back our Jewish brothers who were sold to the Gentiles. Now you are selling your brothers, only for them to be sold back to us!” They kept quiet, because they could find nothing to say.

It must always be kept in mind that the greatest majority of people during this time in American history believed the Bible to be the literal Word of God. Moreover, these believers also considered themselves to be the spiritual, if not literal, descendants of the ancient Israelites. Alexis de Tocqueville, cognizant of the history of the Ancient Hebrews and being aware that the Puritan’s believed theirs was one of many “signal demonstrations of God’s goodness, vis-à-vis, the first beginners of this plantation in New England” (de Tocqueville [1835] 2004, 35), making them the spiritual descendants of Abraham, wrote, it “appears to the reader as the germ of a great nation wafted by Providence to a predestined shore” (de Tocqueville [1835] 2004, 35). The idea that America had been providentially chosen for a special destiny was planted along with the first colonies, and it continues to find expression in our current so called “secular age.” Governing this aspect of the nation’s religious outlook is the belief by some, that the American people are God’s New Israel, his newly chosen people. Cherry allows that a sense of providential calling is not exclusively American, either. This accumulated tradition of civil religion is demonstrated by Conrad Cherry in his 1998 book, *God’s New Israel: Religious Interpretations of American Destiny*. Cherry documents an on going, and vital religious orientation in American life that persists into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.

Although for some contemporary Americans much of the symbolism of colonial, Revolutionary, and post-Revolutionary America has lost its clarity or specificity, and lacks uniform meaning, for just as many other Americans, terms such as freedom, democracy, providence, and even God, all of which are central principles of our national faith, are freighted with just as much import now as they carried for early Americans (Cherry 1998). Additional evidence of this religious orientation will also be demonstrated in the upcoming sections covering the modern right-wing militia in the United States. The Puritans and the amalgamation of other faiths of which the early settlers and builders of this nation consisted, are simply the prototypes and working models of their contemporary American counterparts.

The Puritans, indeed, all the religious emigrants, due to their constant study of scripture, their literal interpretation of Biblical precepts and analogous application of its examples to their lives, saw themselves as latter-day Israelites, moving into the promised-land wilderness (Cherry 1998). Therefore, there was no inconsistency in their overarching belief in the Biblical proscription concerning usury or the scriptural directive concerning forgiveness of debts.

Cherry expands on de Tocqueville's observations when, illuminating the economic and religious considerations of the era, he wrote:

The most self-conscious pursuit of destiny under God in the New World was enacted by the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay, and the most articulate colonial spokesmen for the theme of American destiny were the Puritans. Ecclesiastical and civic leaders in New England conceived of America as a place where a Protestant Reformation of church and society could be completed—a task that had not been carried out in England and Europe. They envisioned their journey to these shores less at an escape from religious persecution than as a positive mission for the construction of a model Christian society. They were on an “errand into the wilderness;” their purpose was to build a holy commonwealth in which the people

were covenanted together by their public profession of religious faith and were covenanted with God by their pledge to erect a Christian society, Their government also shared in this covenant since one of the roles of government was to protect their Congregational form of Church polity and safeguard their religion against dissident groups. (1998, 27)

First governor of Massachusetts Bay, John Winthrop, took it as a matter of course that the principles of nationhood found in the Bible concerning ancient Israel were explicitly and directly transferable to the Massachusetts Bay Company without explanation. Puritan interpretation of Scripture afforded an exalted status to their state and society, that of a New Israel. Old Testament law was the nearly exclusive context into which New England legal systems were incorporated. The “Body of Liberties” of 1641 in Massachusetts stated: “if any man after legal conviction shall have or worship any other god, but the lord god, he shall be put to death” (Noll 1989, 34, 35). Death was also the punishment prescribed for a plethora of activities that included: blasphemy, murder, sodomy, homosexuality, adultery, witchcraft, as well as kidnapping. Old Testament texts were transcribed, verbatim, directly as New England legal canon (Noll, Hatch, and Marsden 1989).

From this perspective, it is easy to understand why there would be so much contention and animosity concerning debts incurred as a consequence of the Revolutionary War. Indeed, this is especially so when it is recalled that only two thirds of the populace actually, actively participated in bearing arms during the Revolution. Those men and women who pledged their lives and honor to resist the King of England believed they were owed a debt with which many of the Tory Loyalists, who were their creditors, did not concur. Nevertheless, this schism and the new government’s inability to reconcile it (Minot [1788] 1971) was the precipitating cause of the rebellions at issue. Soon, the

new government would find itself embroiled in another rebellion that centered this time upon the people's perception that the government was interfering in matters of which it had no business concerning itself.

With this preliminary foundation of concepts now laid, the thesis of this paper will now be explored more carefully by conducting a close contextual reading and analysis utilizing the paradigms of race, religion, and ideology to interpret the major rebellions and uprisings that have occurred from colonial through post-revolutionary eras in the United States. This analysis will provide the religious, political, and racial nexus of the militias of 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Century America to that of the militias of 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> Century America.

### Colonial Rebellions

Throughout the history of the United States, the people of this nation have known an armed presence that extends into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. The British in 1776, then recognized as the most powerful nation on earth, believed that His Majesty's armed forces would be able to demonstrate the invincible power of disciplined, seasoned troops against the poorly trained and highly undisciplined militias that the rebellious Colonies were able to field. After the battle of Bunker Hill on June 17, 1775, where the British forces engaged American Militiamen positioned on Breed's Hill, the British were forced to reconsider America's fighting strength and the will of the people to resist. The Americans stubbornly refused to yield to the English forces until the American's ammunition was completely exhausted. After this engagement, the other American Colonies of New England produced an overwhelming outpouring of support that served

to underscore the widespread reach of the rebellion. Great Britain's resolve, based upon her earlier assumptions concerning the Americans was beginning to crumble. Although General Washington lost most of the military engagements he fought against the British, the American countryside and the guerilla tactics employed by the citizens therein, proved the hollowness of British hopes to quell the actions of its rebellious subjects. Throughout the conflict, the Patriot Militias forced the citizenry to choose a side. In the final analysis, history has shown that it was the refusal of armed citizens who refused to capitulate in the face of a, so-called superior force that carried the day. This armed citizen is the historical core that survives into the new millennium in the form of the new militia movement.

Throughout the Colonial period of America, there were colonial wars and rebellions. These wars and the separate rebellions were fought by American citizens who carried arms as a matter of survival and as a symbol of their freedom. Subjects are not allowed to go armed. They might resist a tyrannical government. Americans were different, however. They were free men and women who lived, not by the leave of a sovereign but through the agency of their free will and determination. It was a determination that manifested itself in the form of Bacon and Leisler's Rebellions. Driven by a desire for appropriate representation and self-government respectively, Bacon and Leisler "seized the day" and achieved their will at gunpoint. Freedom is a heady aphrodisiac. As a consequence, even slaves struggled for it as early as 1712 in the form of a slave rebellion outside New York City and as Cato's Rebellion in 1739.

Americans continued to assert their will through force of arms as an armed citizenry during the French and Indian Wars that lasted from 1754–1763. They also put

down Pontiac's Conspiracy between 1763 and 1766. In 1763, a group of Western Pennsylvanians known as the Paxton boys marched on the city of Philadelphia protesting the lack of legislative action concerning Indian attacks upon unprotected rural dwellers. Circa 1770, in North Carolina, tax protesters called "regulators" instigated violent action. The Governor of North Carolina, William Tryon, sent over 1,000 militia members to rout the 2,000 plus regulators. All of these armed belligerent encounters proved to be dress rehearsals for the coming Revolutionary War of Independence against Britain. In the following sections, several of the most significant of Colonial, Revolutionary, and post-Revolutionary rebellions will be reviewed briefly.

### 1676 Bacon's Rebellion

*Bacon's Rebellion* or the Virginia Rebellion, led by Nathaniel Bacon, was an uprising in the Virginia Colony during 1676. Later that same year, a similar uprising occurred in Maryland. Bacon's Rebellion was the first rebellion in the American colonies in which discontented frontiersmen participated. It was largely the indentured servants and poor farmers, many of whom were former indentured servants themselves or descendants of indentured servants, who rebelled. Prior to the rebellion, African slaves were a rarity in Virginia, this owing to their expense and the reduction in the number of slave traders who brought Africans to Virginia. Frequently, Africans were imported as indentured servants. They became free after their term of service was completed. Indentured servants from Europe continued to be a crucial element in the economic system of Virginia following the rebellion. Increasing demands for labor with a concomitant decrease in emigrants from England caused the importation of African slaves to grow rapidly. New legislation in Virginia created lifelong slavery. This same

legislation included the provision for inheritance of this chattel by one's children, thus creating a racially based, class system of distinction, with Africans at the lowest strata. Consequently, the poorest of European indentured servants were above the Africans. This dissolved the common social and economic interest that had existed between the poor English and indentured Africans of Virginia that had existed at the time of Bacon's Rebellion (Wiseman and Oberg 2005).

The uprising was a protest against the inequitable policy that favored Indians over Whites by the Governor of Jamestown, Sir William Berkeley. Nathaniel Bacon demanded an aggressive policy of control over the Indians (Wiseman and Oberg 2005). Moreover, Bacon's Rebellion was the result of discontent among backcountry farmers who were driven to take the law into their own hands in an effort to end government corruption and oppression. Most Virginians, owing to their lower social status, were debtors. Borrowing on the strength of fiat money was ended by the British Government. Consequently, there was increasing discontent toward the merchant classes. Bacon emerged as a leader of the most vocal opposition to the policies being pursued by Berkeley and he became the elected "general" of a group of local volunteer Indian fighters. Bacon had previously agreed to absorb the costs of the campaigns himself. Despite Bacon's leadership and management skills, the governor nonetheless declared Bacon a rebel during the campaigns against the Indians (Wiseman and Oberg 2005).

In the Chesapeake Bay area, by the end of the seventeenth century, the "Tidewater gentry," elite farmers on the Atlantic coast, owned the majority of the best farmland in that area. This landed gentry exercised political power out of all proportion to their numbers. The majority of residents in the Tidewater area were either indentured

servants and slaves or small farmers, many who had a plethora of reasons for their discontent. Small farmers, economically incapable of affording the best lands, were effectively banished to backcountry lands where they were always vulnerable to Indian attacks. Also, after 1660, as Virginia's economy stalled, backcountry farmers experienced difficulty in moving goods from their rural farms to urban markets (Wiseman and Oberg 2005).

Continual aggravation of the local economy by restrictive features of the Navigation Acts and perpetual overproduction of inferior quality of tobacco effectively drove the price of tobacco down in Virginia. The regional need for defense against the Dutch and the Indians, coupled with costly experimental methods for diversifying the economy, resulted in higher local taxes. In 1674, the Provincial and the local governments taxed the colonists in order to send agents to London in order to lobby against the proprietary land grants extended to Lord Arlington and Lord Culpepper. Circumstances conspired that would exacerbate the planters' miseries. Coupled with the effete leadership of the colonial governor of Virginia, Sir William Berkeley, these events led to a general disaffection with the government (Wiseman and Oberg 2005).

Throughout the crisis, Governor Berkeley would order military forces into the region. Instead, he continually pleaded for restraint from the colonists. Many Virginians claimed Berkeley had a monopoly on the Indian trade and was enjoying sizeable profits from the Indians. Consequently, most Virginians believed his call for restraint to be disingenuous and self-serving. Bacon ignored Berkeley's direct orders by detaining a small number of the friendly Appomattox tribe for the alleged theft of a quantity of corn. In a compromise measure, Berkeley then supplied the Indians with powder and

ammunition. At the same time, the Governor called for the “Long Assembly” in March 1676. The result of the Long Assembly was the declaration of war on all “bad Indians” and the setting up of a defensive perimeter around the state. To accomplish these ends, more taxes were levied on the frontiersmen, who were already over-burdened with taxes. There was animosity between the middle and lower classes. It was believed that “favored traders” were permitted to trade with the Indians at the expense of those traders who had been conducting commerce for generations with the Indians (Wiseman and Oberg 2005).

Later that same spring, one of the roving bands of Indians killed Bacon’s plantation manager. Bacon demanded the authority to raise and command a militia in order to fight the Indians. After considerable political haggling, Bacon was granted the necessary commission. Thereafter he led a campaign against some of the tribes on the northwestern frontier of the Virginia colony. After returning to Jamestown, conflicts arose between Bacon and Berkeley and their followers. The “Baconites” easily subdued Berkeley’s followers. Berkeley subsequently fled to the Eastern Shore. Bacon’s followers plundered and pillaged the capital for three months, destroying aristocratic symbols of the government (Wiseman and Oberg 2005).

Bacon’s Rebellion may be attributed to several causes. Increased declines in tobacco prices, linked with growing commercial competition from Maryland and the Carolinas, as well as increasingly restricted English markets coupled with the burgeoning mercantilism compounded already difficult economic problems for Virginians. Other problems created by several natural disasters including hailstorms, floods, drought and hurricanes battered the colony in one year. Bacon’s Rebellion also was partly the result of retaliatory attacks by the colonists against the Susquehannocks, the wrong tribe of

Indians. This attack caused large a large number of Indian raids in reprisal. Bacon was reprimanded for the attacks and fellow farmers were outraged at the apparent inequity (Wiseman and Oberg 2005).

Historians have emphasized that a crucial reform resulting from Bacon's rebellion against the government was the recognition of the right to keep and bear arms, enabling rural farmers to defend themselves from hostile Indians and to resist the despotic regime of Berkeley. After Berkeley resumed power, this right was the first one he repealed. Miller insists that it was Bacon's Rebellion that served as a motivating factor in later colonists' demands that the right to bear arms be included in the constitution. Historian Stephen Saunders Webb believes that Bacon's Rebellion was more a revolution, one whose genesis could be found in the English Civil War. He also concludes that the rebellion's consequence was the American War for Independence (Wiseman and Oberg 2005).

Bacon's Rebellion improved and strengthened ties between the area of Virginia south of the James River and the Albemarle Settlements in present-day North Carolina. Additionally, it created a long-lived acrimony between the two colonial governments. The Albemarle region provided refuge for the rebels in the aftermath. On the other hand, for those colonists who were soured on the environs of Virginia, North Carolina offered an attractive alternative (Wiseman and Oberg 2005).

### 1763 The Paxton Boys

The *Paxton Boys Rebellion* is an example of the tumultuous relationship between Whites and minority races that has waxed and waned throughout American history. The Paxton Boys, named so after the village of Paxton (also known as Paxtang),

fomented rebellion and racially directed violence in response to Pontiac's Rebellion. These Scots-Irish immigrants, though long suffering, had been tested beyond their ability to endure by the Colonial Pennsylvania assembly's inattention to their increasing plight and vulnerability to attack. The violence and terror of Pontiac's Rebellion, named after Ottawa Indian leader, Pontiac, began in 1763. The Ottowan Indians were dissatisfied with British policies in the Great Lakes region after the British victory in the French and Indian War (Seven Years' War 1754–1763) (Isaacson 2004). Warriors from a number of tribes participated in the rebellion in an effort to drive British soldiers and settlers out of the region. Pontiac's Rebellion was instrumental in convincing the majority of Western Pennsylvania residents that the local government was incapable of protecting them from the Indians. Government inefficacy resulted in discontent manifested most seriously by vigilante actions that were led by the group of men who became known as the Paxton Boys. The Paxton Boys had become outraged as a consequence of government tax levies being spent for the protection of Indians while at the same time the government would not provide anything for the defense of local citizens (Isaacson 2004). Repeated, requests for soldiers and urgent please for guns, powder and lead were continuously ignored by legislators. Many of those legislators were Quakers adhering to strong pacifist convictions.

Consequently the Paxton Boys vented their frustration and anger towards the government on American Indians. A large number of these Indians had become Christians and had been living peacefully in small enclaves among the white Pennsylvania settlers. Rumors circulated that an Indian war party was seen at the Indian village of Conestoga. On December 14, 1763, a contingency of 50 Paxton Boys assaulted

the village and summarily executed six Susquehannock Indians that were present. As a consequence of the attack by the Paxton boys, Pennsylvania officials placed 14 remaining Susquehannock Indians in protective custody at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. However on December 27, 1763 the Paxton Boys raided the jail where the Indians were being held and slaughtered them. Governor John Penn issued bounties for the arrest of the perpetrators. Nevertheless, as a result of local sympathy, not a single individual responded by identifying those responsible for the slaughter of the Indians (Isaacson 2004).

Emboldened by their success, the Paxton Boys then proceeded to attack other Indians living within eastern Pennsylvania. The vigilantes focused on a group of Moravian Indians living near Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. A large portion of the Indians evaded these attacks by fleeing to Philadelphia; then the capital city of Pennsylvania, for protection.. It was also the headquarters of a contingent of British soldiers. The Moravian Indians remained under the protection of Philadelphia authorities and British troops for more than a year.

In January 1764, a group of Paxton Boys marched on the capital. The number of participants was estimated at between 600 and 1,500 men. As this large contingency of armed men neared Philadelphia, a sense of panic overtook the community. The surreal spectacle of armed pacifists shouldering muskets and rolling cannon into public squares was an unexpected sight. The citizenry were alerted by Church bells sounding the alarm. The presence of British troops and the Philadelphia militia forestalled their violent intentions. Benjamin Franklin, mentioned previously in this work, had helped organize the local militia. He also negotiated with the leaders of the Paxton Boys and successfully

negotiated an end to the immediate crisis. They dispersed peacefully when Benjamin Franklin promised a bounty being placed on Indian scalps. Ironically after the cession of hostilities, Franklin published scathing chastisement of the Paxton Boys. In his remarks Franklin asked, “If an *Indian* injures me, does it follow that I may revenge that Injury on all *Indians*?” (Isaacson 2004, 211).

An accommodation was reached when the Paxton Boys agreed that their march would disband in return for the arraignment of a meeting between Paxton leaders and Pennsylvania officials. This airing of Paxton grievances took place. However, very little was accomplished in behalf of the plight of the frontiersmen.

This rebellion was of significance for two reasons. In the first place, it was a yardstick of the hostility that had escalated between the frontiersman and the Native Americans. A majority of white settlers concluded during Pontiac’s Rebellion that the two races could not peaceably coexist. Removal of one or the other race or extinction was the only apparent solutions. The second consideration was the march on Philadelphia by the Paxton Boys was an early example of common racial and social tension. Subsequent American history would reflect continuing examples of the ever-present strain between the white settlers and rural Native Americans.

### Pre-Revolutionary America Rebellions

The year 1764 realized the first of many *Committees of Correspondence*, groups that were formed to act and react to oppressive governmental regulations and tariffs. Precursors of the modern internet, each Committee kept itself and others, including the rest of the world, abreast of the British government’s restrictive

enforcement of prohibitive tariffs and the prevention of the Colonies from printing their own money. The Committees greatly influenced the calling of the 1774 Continental Congress. Organized as a resistance movement against the 1765 Stamp Act, The Sons of Liberty developed from spontaneous resistance to specific episodes that frequently occurred during those unstable times. The Sons were organized for the intent of political agitation. They were however, also known to cooperate with more violent “extralegal” groups that resorted to violent means to accomplish their ends. When the Stamp Act was repealed, the movement dissipated. Later, in 1768 however, the group reformed following the Townshend Acts. In 1770 the Boston Massacre Following the murder of five Americans, as a result of British troops firing upon a group of snowball hecklers, mounting public outrage brought the threat of violent retaliation against the English soldiers in their midst. Only the removal of British forces from the area and the branding on the hands of two British troopers for manslaughter prevented more bloodshed. It also demonstrated the growing influence that Americans willing to take up arms against the British were developing. Other incidents such as the Boston Tea Party, although no one was killed, served to reinforce the growing boldness of Americans who would rise up against their oppressors, regardless of the presumed power that oppressor wielded. All throughout this period of American history, arms and the willingness to use them by American citizens would play a crucial role in the winning of independence for a proud and brave people. Lexington, Valley Forge, Trenton, and Yorktown are replete with armed citizen, militias fighting, suffering, and dying for the common cause of freedom.

### 1764 The Green Mountain Boys

The *Green Mountain Boys* was the popular name of armed bands formed circa 1770 under the auspices and direction of Ethan Allen. They ranged throughout the Green Mountains of what is modern day Vermont. Known then as the New Hampshire Grants, the intent and purpose of the group was to prevent the Green Mountains from becoming part of New York, despite that area having been awarded to New York by the British. Land speculators, such as Allen and his brothers, and settlers banded together in armed groups to defend their lands. They incorporated methods that would be considered today as terrorist tactics. These tactics of terrorism included threat, intimidation, and actual violence against New Yorkers. Through this strategy of terrorism enabled them to keep the region free from the control of New York. In 1777, they were successful in establishing a separate government that ultimately achieved statehood for Vermont in 1791. During the American Revolution, *The Green Mountain Boys* figured prominently. In 1775 under Allen's leadership, *The Green Mountain Boys* captured Ticonderoga. One of the notable achievements of the revolutionaries in the Saratoga campaign took place in 1777 when Seth Warner and John Stark led them to victory at Bennington, Vermont.

### 1764 Committees of Correspondence

As formal political institutions the committees of correspondence were seen as vital sources of radical agitation. Identified by John C. Miller, late Emeritus Professor, Stanford University as "revolutionary cells" (1936, 42) are generally identified within the context of their most famous participant, Samuel Adams. Subsumed under the common name, there lay a considerable variety of organizations with a common symmetry. Committees of Correspondence were recognized on two levels, the Provincial and the

local. *Committees of Correspondence* were recognized as central institutions in the American revolutionary movement (Brown 1970).

In a time prior to modern telephone, radio and television communications, news was generally dispatched via hand-written letters. These were hand carried aboard ships or by mounted couriers. It was by those means that critics of British imperial policy in the America Colonies spread their perspectives concerning current events. Committees of Correspondence, as they were named, were formed in colonial assemblies as well as in various subordinate arms of local government. The Committees were tasked with the duty of committing the sense of a particular issue expressed by their parent body into written form and then disseminating that particular viewpoint to the other Committees of Correspondence. Prior to and during the early years of the Revolution, committees were formed to address a specific problem. Following the resolution of that particular problem, the Committee formed to address and conclude the issue would then be disbanded. Many of the correspondents themselves also held seats as colonial assembly members while actively participating in the secret Sons of Liberty organizations. If the Committees of Correspondence were the strictly political operatives of the day, that is they did not participate in open, violent, armed resistance to the British government, then the Sons of Liberty were the purely operational element of the symbiosis of the two organizations (Brown 1970).

The first informal chapter of that group to be formed was the New York City chapter of the *Sons of Liberty*. It was organized late in 1765 and was lead by two prosperous, self-made men; Isaac Sears and Alexander McDougall. Both of the men, not having inherited his wealth, earned their fortunes the hard way. Sears and Alexander

enjoyed widespread loyalty among New York's middle-class blue-collar elements. One of their first contributions was in opposition to the Stamp Act. They sought to enforce non-importation agreements. Avaristic merchants would opportunistically trade in verboten products, if the price was right. If this illegal activity was discovered, the New York Sons of Liberty would then force guilty merchants into making humiliating public confessions. Public pressure and humiliation of this type assured very few repeat offenders. The New Yorkers Sons were also active by contacting other colonies and provoking resistance through that region's Committees of Correspondence (Brown 1970).

Although New York had informally formed its Committee of Correspondence in 1765, Boston had created the first formal Committee of Correspondence. The Boston Committee was chartered in 1764. This chapter was tasked with fomenting opposition to recent Currency Act legislation as well as other unpopular reforms imposed by the customs service. In 1765, New York seized the initiative and rallied neighboring colonies to the common cause of resistance to the Stamp Act. Massachusetts Correspondents, many of them Sons of Liberty, rose to the challenge as it urged the other colonies to commit their delegates to the Stamp Act Congress during the fall of that same year (Brown 1970).

At the direction of chief propagandist Samuel Adams, in 1772, a committee was formed in protest of the recent decision to have the salaries of the royal governor and judges be paid by the Crown, rather than the colonial assembly. Adams and his fellow correspondents rallied their neighbors to oppose this measure because it had cost the colony its only means for control of public officials. A Committee of Correspondence for the House of Burgesses in Virginia was formed in 1773. This Committee wrote to the

other assemblies suggesting that there be formed permanent committees. This suggestion, and the follow through on it, provided a clear indication that the crisis between Great Britain and its American colonies was deepening. Perhaps the Committees of Correspondence most important contribution was the planning involved with the First Continental Congress. The First Continental Congress convened in the fall of 1774. The Second Continental Congress capitalized upon the success of its predecessor by creating its own correspondence committee to disseminate the Colonial American interpretation and viewpoint to foreign powers that were closely observing recent events around the world. More than 100 additional Committees were formed throughout towns and villages of rural Massachusetts, in the following months (Brown 1970).

The Continental Congress from 1774 onward urged the creation of committees of correspondence at the local level in towns and villages. As a result, hundreds of them were established. Some state legislatures maintained committees of correspondence for a variety of purposes and periods of time. Their functions were generally limited and their life spans ranged in duration from months to several years. The provincial committees were largely perfunctory bodies that received and wrote correspondence on behalf of the provincial legislatures. They never exhibited independence or initiative. Surviving committee records reveal very little information of any significance. The Virginia and other colonial assemblies were known to use such committees occasionally to administer their correspondence (Brown 1970).

On the other hand, the Boston Committee of Correspondence not only designed and incorporated the innovative use of local committees of correspondence, it

had gone on to develop an extensive and crucially influential political role during the revolution, as well.

Moreover, the Boston Committee functioned in a unique capacity. Samuel Adams, an early master of propaganda in the American Revolution, commanded the Boston Committee and the committee commanded the Massachusetts countryside through the adroit manipulation and flow of information. The importance of ideology in the American Revolution clearly demonstrates the necessity for Committees of Correspondence and the extent to which Revolutionary ideas were disseminated to the countryside, and the extent to which these ideas exercised an influence and impact on the actual behavior of the colonists who assimilated that information (Brown 1970).

Within this context, the story of the Boston Committee of Correspondence and of those in the towns of Massachusetts may serve as examples of the process for the integration of political information among a people locked in a struggle for independence and as an emerging nation. From such a viewpoint, this account of revolutionary politics in Massachusetts provides a prescient historical methodology from which to draw inferences for a case study of the development of the radical militias of today. The parallels of political and ideological activity between the Committees of Correspondence with those of the 20th and 21st century right-wing militia phenomena are so closely related as to be nearly indistinguishable (Brown 1970).

The Boston Committee presented only a small fraction of the entire socio-political, colonial framework. Nevertheless, it was a pivotal fraction of that infrastructure for it was directed by political experts at both the local and provincial levels. Indeed, it was the locus of a vital intersection in Massachusetts public life. The overarching

influence of the Boston Committee, with its emergence at such a critical juncture, demonstrates the attitudes, hopes, and assumptions of the citizens of Massachusetts with regard to the imperial designs of Britain, in addition to the more pressing question of active participation in politics extending beyond the local level. The committee's activities and the behavior of the towns it influenced illustrate the ways in which communication and leadership operated, and they illustrate the interaction between political behavior and ideology (Brown 1970).

As a result of the influence that the Committees of Correspondence carried with the people and the trust the Committees enjoyed from the populace, one of the most important sources of information for the Committees of Correspondence, as it relates to the central thesis of this investigation, is that of the “election sermons.” Richard D. Brown, Director, University of Connecticut Humanities Institute and Distinguished Professor of History at the University of Connecticut, addresses this topic at length in his 1970 book, *Revolutionary Politics in Massachusetts The Boston Committee of Correspondence and the Towns, 1772-2774*. Because of the close nexus between early church/state relationship and the impact of that relationship with that of the perspective of contemporary political operatives such as the Committees of Correspondence, and their suspension of disbelief with regard to the separation of Church and state, egalitarianism, and their explicit as well as implicit trust in the efficacy of Holy Writ as a blueprint for their socio-political structure, it is necessary to include an extended excerpt of Brown’s observations concerning those sermons. Brown wrote:

These sermons, offered by a different clergyman every year, were given in the assembled presence of the three branches of government on the occasion of the election of the new Council. Normally they began with an exposition of the biblical

foundation of government and then proceeded to a lesson in morality, finally concluding with an application of the lesson to the governor, councilors [sic], representatives, and, on occasion, the people in general. Although the sermons varied from year to year, depending on the personal opinions of the minister and political circumstances, in most respects they represented a ritual incantation of the ideal toward which the province strove. This political ideal, an amalgam of Puritan political doctrine and old-fashioned Whiggery, was founded on a conception of natural and social inequality. ‘The Notion of Levelism,’ William Cooper declared in 1740, ‘has as little Foundation in Nature as in Scripture. If we look up to the Heavens, there is one Glory of the Sun, and another Glory of the Moon, and another Glory of the Stars; neither are these of the same Magnitude and Lustre, but one Star differeth from another Star in Glory.’ Cooper went on to explain that the heavenly order had its counterparts here below:

If we look round the Earth, we see it is not cast into a Level; it has Mountains and Plains, Hills and Vallies. Even so in the political World, there are the Distinctions of Superiours and Inferiours, Rulers and Ruled, publick and private Orders of Men: Some sit on the Throne of Majesty, some at the Council Table, and some on the Bench of Justice; and some hold subordinate Places of Power; while others serve their Generation only in a private Capacity. The Presence of the Great God in the assembly of political rulers led representatives to apply these standards immediately in choosing councilors. Certainly, they agreed, it was desirable that councilors ‘be Gentlemen of good Extract, and of large Interests,’ but their family name and economic interests were less important than their personal character. Councillors, they said: must be Men of Capacity, wise and understanding, i.e. who know the World, Men and Things; the Constitution, the civil and religious Interests of their Country; of a Genius for Government, of real, exemplary Virtue and Religion; of inflexible Integrity, who dare to be honest in all Times; act vote and advise, agreeable to the inward Sentiments of their Souls, in every Case; undaunted by Frowns on the one Hand, and Clamours on the other; not of a mean and sordid, selfish and worldly Spirit, but of a truly generous and public Spirit: In a Word, Men who are known to be such, tried Men, and generally approved of. They should be independent servants of the common good, judging according to their “inward Sentiments” and not in response to the political desires of either the few or the many. The ideal was a kind of detached leader, a Moses consulting privately with God and coming back to deliver judgment. *Government was one of God’s institutions, to be reverenced, and magistrates, however they might err, remained “Christ’s ministers”* [emphasis added]. Rulers were temporal fathers and should be obeyed according to the Fifth Commandment as children obeyed parents. Yet as Jonathan Mayhew pointed out, this regular obedience was not unlimited. Obedience was an essential duty but it did not extend beyond the bounds of law. None of the election sermons treated the right of resistance as fully as Mayhew did in his famous 1750 Discourse Concerning Unlimited Submission, but allusions to the Glorious Revolution and the limits on rulers were common. (1970, 9-11)

This offers a common example of the inextricably close relationship between the Church of the day and the state at that time; hence, the delivery of election sermons and the explicit rejection of egalitarianism by American colonists. The tradition of the election sermons' conservative ideal was effectively mirrored in practice, and the populace of Massachusetts did not seek a reformation of this normative institution. Similar social and cultural institutions, both formal and informal, maintained wide popular acceptance. Robert Zemsky, Professor of Education at the University of Pennsylvania, in his analysis of "The Massachusetts Assembly, 1730-1755," has inferred a similar conclusion (Brown 1970).

Another example of the relationship between political activity and the Committees of Correspondence appears at the juncture of organized popular demonstrations of resistance and violent confrontation. Here an aggressive assembly of citizens would express their views influence in defense of their political views. In these collective exertions of their individual will, the colonists declared the only means possible to avoid a suicidal submission to the Massachusetts Governor's demand that they obey tax ordinances. To the colonists, submission as recommended by the Provincial government would result in their self-destruction. In their estimation, submission would encourage not discourage further encroachments on their constitutional rights (Brown 1970).

### 1765 Sons of Liberty

The *Sons of Liberty* and their sympathizers in Boston celebrated the demonstrations while ignoring the destruction of property that invariably accompanied these demonstrations. Instead, the Sons of Liberty chose to regard them as examples of

proper expressions of political frustration declared by the *vox populi* (voice of the people). On the other hand, they denied moral or ethical responsibility for an earlier assault on Governor Hutchinson's house. The Sons condemned the attack as violent mob activity that resulted in a riotous, mass destruction of property. The residents of Boston, who not only permitted the behavior, also appeared to justify the behavior that was widely characterized in England as seditious. Moreover, to the governor's increasing chagrin, provincial reactions were much more sympathetic in that the people of Massachusetts not only shared in the spirit of opposition; they also refused to condemn Boston (Brown 1970).

Local affairs continued in their role as the primary focus of political activity. Involvement in provincial politics remained an occasional, sporadic phenomenon. A very limited group of politicians were continuously engaged in public affairs at the provincial level. Within this limited sphere of activity, those leaders commanded the respect and enjoyed the deference of their constituencies (Weslager 1976).

Membership in the Sons was largely middle class with a wider dispensation of representation among the upper class than that of the lower class. Relationships were often negotiated with street elements, which sometimes conducted violent actions. This frequently occurred without the approval of the Sons of Liberty. A hallmark of the Sons of Liberty was a strong bias toward conservatism remained until the 1770s. Initially they perceived their role as one of organizers of protests against specific government policies. They did not view themselves as the enemies of royal authority (Alderman 1962).

Early in the summer of 1765, in Boston, a collective of artisans and shopkeepers, known as The Loyal Nine, began preparations for agitation against the

Stamp Act. That group of political protestors came to be known as the Sons of Liberty. These were workers and tradesmen, blue-collar workers of their day, not the leading elite of Boston. Included among the membership were two men; a printer named Benjamin Edes, and John Gill a newspaperman at the *Boston Gazette*. Both of these individuals were able to generate increasing public sentiment concerning the Act. Both generated a prolific stream of sensational news and inflammatory opinion. Very quickly, South Boston cobbler, Ebenezer McIntosh organized a group of some two thousand men, to protest against the Stamp Act. The original New York City and Boston Sons of Liberty organizations quickly established extensive correspondence and communications networks with the continually emerging Sons of Liberty groups throughout New England, and the Southern colonies of Virginia, Georgia, and North and South Carolina. Although the movement was founded, of necessity, as a secret society, the organization quickly engaged a broad, public base of political support among the colonists. Although the Sons of Liberty seldom sought out violent solutions, their agitations did, more often than not, elicit and promote political upheaval that tended to favor crowd action that precipitated confrontation and social eruptions of with varying degrees of civil disobedience. Cooperation and coordination with undisciplined and supra-legal city gangs was frequent. Violent action became the order of the day. Some believed it to be unseemly that this group could be so perplexed as a result of a parliamentary act (Weslager 1976; Alderman 1962).

Although their numbers did not include Samuel and John Adams, this may have been the fortuitous result of an agreement that would be mutually beneficial to all parties involved. Samuel and John Adams, as well as other radical personalities in the

legislature, were extremely high profile individuals. None of them could afford to be perceived to be too closely associated with the violence that often resulted from the agitation created by the Sons of Liberty. By the same token, neither the secretive Sons of Liberty could not afford the risk of or survive as a result of overt public exposure (Alderman 1962).

British officials, however, continually accused the Sons of Liberty of plotting the overthrow of the legitimate and true government of the American colonies.

Regardless of British accusations, the Sons of Liberty perceived their official aims from a more parochial viewpoint. Although they organized and sanctioned resistance to the Stamp Act, outwardly they declared their unwavering allegiance and loyalty to the King of England. Furthermore, the Sons of Liberty emphasized their fealty to the English Constitution and their disapprobation of the usurpation of royal officials. Indeed, from 1765 to 1776, many of America's colonists perceived the British Parliament as being the source of their irritation rather than King George III (Alderman 1962).

The Stamp Act of March 1765 was parliamentary legislation designed to defray the British expenses of maintaining Royal troops in the American colonies. The legislation authorized the issuing of tax stamps for a wide range of public documents. These included customs documents, newspapers, legal papers, and various licenses. The British Parliament believed that the stamp tax, legislated specifically for the empires American colonies, was equitable and just in that it was a means for the colonies to help pay their share of the huge national debt resulting from the Seven Years War. Parliament reasoned that the colonies were the direct beneficiaries from that war, one that resulted in the elimination of the French threat from Canada. Although Parliament believed in the

logic that the American colonies should willingly and furthermore, gladly carry their fair burden of the war debt, colonists responded with indignation, outrage, and violence (Alderman 1962).

The colonists reasoned that the Stamp Act, just like the Sugar Act before it, was yet another egregious example of the British Parliament usurping the colonial legislature's right to levy taxes on their own people. The attitudes and actions of the colonists concerning perceived British monetary indignities against their well being created the basis for the rallying cry of American patriots throughout the land; "No taxation without representation" was expressed with one voice. The American colonists had no physical representation or spokesman in the London Parliament. Neither, according to many historians, did they ever have the desire for such a spokesman. With the presence of an actual American representative in Parliament, the need for seeking independence would be absent (Weslager 1976).

The first prominent activity of the Sons of Liberty took place on August 14, 1765, when an effigy of Andrew Oliver was found hanging in a tree on Newbury Street in Boston. Included with the effigy was a large boot with a devil climbing out of it. The boot was a send up of the name of the Earl of Bute. The entire display was intended to establish the evil connection between Mr. Oliver and the Stamp Act. Oliver had been commissioned as Distributor of Stamps for Massachusetts. Local sheriffs were ordered to remove the display. However, the deputies protested the removal for fear of their lives. As it turned out, a large crowd had formed at the scene. Before that same evening an angry mob burned Oliver's property on Kilby Street. The mob then assaulted the Commissioner's house. As the occupants of the house stared in disbelief and abject

horror, the protestors quickly beheaded the effigy and stoned Oliver's house. From this point, the group rapidly moved on to neighboring, Fort Hill. In Fort Hill, they ignited a large bonfire and burned the remains of the effigy. It was at this point that most of the crowd dissipated. However, a group led by a man named McIntosh, under the cover of darkness, then ransacked and looted Oliver's abandoned home until midnight. The actions of the mob, that evening, sent a clear message as to who ruled the streets and neighborhoods of Boston. All the while, British Militia, the Sheriffs and Justices, maintained a low profile. None of them, to a man, dared respond to this blatant, violent display of force (Alderman 1962; Welslager 1976).

Violence alone was not the true element for the success these movements realized in undermining the Stamp Act. The most effective work carried out by the sons of Liberty was that which appeared in newsprint. A large majority of the Sons were printers and also publishers themselves. Those who were not included in these two categories were nonetheless sympathetic to the cause; ultimately, they were the ones who would pay the highest price in duties. One of the most remarkable publications recounted the Virginia Stamp Act Resolutions. This account was published and disseminated to the farthest reaches of the colonies and outlying territories. It is unclear how many of the editors who reprinted it was actually aware of the status of the resolutions. Nevertheless, seven of the resolutions were printed, although only five actually passed. In fact, the fifth resolution was rescinded the day after its adoption. Ultimately, such propaganda served to embolden both the populous and the Legislatures in all of the colonies. On the 1st of November, 1765, when the Stamp Act became effective, almost all of the colonial papers continued to publish without the benefit of the

required Stamp. Throughout the colonies, almost every newspaper published daily reports that tracked the activities of the Sons. Dramatic accounts of the most daring escapades spread far and wide throughout the colonies (Weslager 1976).

It is one of history's supreme examples of irony as to the source from which the Sons of Liberty ultimately took their name. In 1765, during a debate on the Stamp Act in Parliament, Charles Townshend, while expressing his support for the act, spoke with extreme contempt of the American colonists. Townshend characterized them as being "children planted by our care, nourished up by our indulgence...and protected by our arms" (Lee and Thorpe 1904, 482). During this same session of Parliament, and to counter with severe reprimand, Isaac Barre, also a member of Parliament, leaped to his feet in outrage and spoke in defense of the American colonists. Fervently, Barre referred to the American colonists as "those Sons of Liberty" (Lee and Thorpe 1904, 482). Indeed, American colonists enjoyed the favor of several friends who supported their views on the issue of taxation; these included William Pitt (the Elder), Charles James Fox, Edmund Burk, and others (Alderman 1962).

By the end of 1765, the Sons of Liberty enjoyed significant membership in every colony. The singular, popular objective was one of forcing the resignation of Stamp Distributors throughout the colonies. The Sons of Liberty also brought pressure to bear against any Merchants that would not acquiesce to the demands of the non-importation associations. Regardless of their locale, leading men in the community either directed in secret or actually lead each chapter of the Sons of Liberty. Opportunists also abounded everywhere. They too who would expropriate the name of the Sons of Liberty and then carry out vengeful acts and other violence that had little or nothing to do with the cause.

An example of this opportunism occurred in South Carolina. There, a group of sailors, who called themselves the Sons of Liberty, formed a mob. Their intent was to strong-arm money from passersby. This type of behavior would certainly undermine the image and the cause. Consequently, the actual Sons of Liberty spent a significant amount of time policing any interlopers and themselves. This was the genesis of the names of such groups as True Sons and True-born Sons of Liberty (Weslager 1976).

During the early months of 1766, chaos reigned. Many of the royal governors were incognito, persona non-grata; many of the Sheriffs and Militia that the governors may have relied upon to maintain the peace were actual members of the Sons of Liberty. As a consequence, Governors were unwilling to unlock the weapons stores. The few available royal troops were vastly outnumbered. The royal government had been displaced in nearly every colony by the Sons of Liberty (Weslager 1976).

With the conclusion of the Stamp Act Congress's business, there was very little hope that the petition it had sent to Great Britain would be effective. Correspondence between the various elements of the Sons of Liberty was focused toward the mutual support and defense of the cause. Each group expected that British troops would eventually be brought to bear in an attempt by Britain to reassert control. As a consequence, it was not the Legislatures of the respective colonies that underwrote the first efforts to unite the colonies. Instead, it was through the activities of these independent, radical groups. The various chapters of the Sons of Liberty throughout the colonies initiated correspondence that assisted in the development of the larger organization (Weslager 1976).

Tradition holds that the Boston chapter of the Sons of Liberty gathered beneath the Liberty Tree to conduct their meetings. On the other hand, the New York City chapter was said to meet at the foot of the Liberty Pole. For reasons of expediency, Sons of Liberty groups were prone to meet in the dead of night as a means of escaping the attention and detection of the American Loyalist supporters of the British Crown, as well as that of British officials. This secret patriotic society of the Sons of Liberty drew its sustenance through the roots of the Committees of Correspondence (Alderman 1962).

It was the Boston Committee of Correspondence that, on December 16, 1773, formulated, organized, and executed the Boston Tea Party uprising. Committee members were angered over the new tax on tea established by the British government for importation of that commodity into Boston and the lack of redress concerning that taxation. As a result of the indifference of the British Parliament with regard to those issues, a small contingency of the Boston Committee of Correspondence, led by Samuel Adams, proceeded to off-load 342 chests of tea stored on three ships into Boston Harbor as a means of registering their protest (Weslager 1976).

The Sons of Liberty first ceased operations as a viable movement with the repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766. However, this same organizational network was resurrected in 1768. The Sons of Liberty were responding to the Townshend Acts; a series of excise duties on glass, lead, paints, paper, and tea imported into the colonies. During 1768 through the end of the American Revolution, Sons of Liberty groups remained in active correspondence with one another throughout the thirteen American colonies. Each individual group remained autonomous. They assumed the responsibility of organizing and effecting resistance movements concerning what they perceived as

unfair British taxation and Parliamentary financial strangulation within the several, respective colonies. The Sons of Liberty as an active movement disbanded in late 1783 (Weslager 1976).

It has often been asked, “Were the Sons of Liberty terrorist organizations?” Some are of the opinion that no universal conclusions, judgments or definitive statements can be made concerning the legal Sons of Liberty. History indicates that the British Empire certainly believed them to be terrorists. From the British perspective, the Sons advocated in behalf of the overthrow of the status quo government. Indeed, the Sons of Liberty championed the cause of liberty and independence for the thirteen colonies. On the other hand, many American colonists certainly believed they were a patriotic organization. The Sons of Liberty personified the American freedom fighter. They fought for their rights and the ultimate independence of the colonies. In contrast, it must be noted that the Loyalists also had their version of Committees of Correspondence and Sons of Liberty. The United Empire Loyalists were the Tory counterparts of the Whig Committees of Correspondence and the Sons of Liberty (Alderman 1962).

### 1770 Regulator War

This review of the period known as the Regulator Wars will briefly investigate how these rural men and women thought about the world of their time and what they hoped for. Many North Carolina farmers were inspired and sustained in their rebellion by popular religion. This review will demonstrate the connection between religious faith and the Rebellion, as well as the social unrest in eighteenth-century American colonies generally, and the American Revolution specifically (Kars 2002).

Chronology of Events. The Regulation itself and the activities of Piedmont farmers has been compared to those of the more well known more elite Sons of Liberty. The Sons of Liberty also sought to obtain redress for their grievances, first by legal, and eventually by supra-legal means. During the first four years of the Regulation, the Regulators tenaciously pursued three legal strategies suggested to them repeatedly by North Carolina authorities as a means for “regulating” as well as reforming widespread government abuse. Following the explicit directions of those authorities, the farmers petitioned the governor and assembly. They also subpoenaed officials into court in their attempts to obtain convictions for extortion. Finally, the farmers called continually for legislative change. Initially, these efforts were met with indifference and then with stalling and obfuscation by North Carolina representatives which ultimately led to an intensification of the conflict. As the efforts for legal change by the Regulators were continually and systematically stymied, the group resorted to extra-legal means of redress, such as closing courts. The governor, alarmed by the farmers’ growing strength and boldness, became increasingly anxious to subdue the uprising with military force. The result, of course, was the Battle of Alamance and the subsequent punitive march and hangings (Kars 2002).

In the North Carolina Piedmont village of Hillsborough, six prisoners were taken out of jail in the early morning of Wednesday June 19, 1771. The six men had been tried for sedition, were convicted, and subsequently condemned to death by hanging, for taking part in the Regulation; a farmers’ reform movement. Because their legal efforts to draw attention to their grievances had been ignored by Governor William Tryon, the yeomen had resorted to extra-legal means to publicize their circumstances. Tryon, at first,

had attempted to ignore the farmers' grievances. After years of indifference and neglect, and, he had mounted a vigorous and more violent opposition to the Regulators. The Governor had contributed much to the escalation of the conflict. Prominent in the aggravation of circumstances, were many figures of the eastern North Carolina elite establishment (Kars 2002).

This movement had just suffered defeat by militia forces mustered by Governor William Tryon in a battle at Alamance Creek, North Carolina. Militiamen marched these six condemned prisoners to a small hill in a field overlooking the Eno River east of Hillsborough. Earlier, the area had been carefully cleared of trees and undergrowth in order to provide an unrestricted view for the spectators, who had been compelled by Governor's edict, to witness the condemned men's executions. At the Governor's command, the militiamen positioned themselves in a circle around a crudely erected gallows. In the presence of the muted and captive audience, some of whom were wives and children of the condemned men, all of the six farmers were hanged (Kars 2002).

Included among those who witnessed the executions stood many of the major leaders, planners, and participants in the pivotal actions of the Regulator Wars; events that had unfolded over the previous five years. These witnesses, men who had violently opposed the Stamp Act, were soon destined to emerge as leaders of the movement for independence that would sweep the nation. Most of them had marched west with the Governor's contingent to crush the Piedmont farmers with overwhelming military force. Standing in front of the crowd was short-tempered and prideful Governor Tryon. Born in 1729, Tyron began life the same year that North Carolina became a crown colony. In

1765, Tryon was assisted by Lord Hillsborough, his influential in-law who was a member of the Board of Trade and a later secretary for the colonies, in being elected as Governor of the province (Kars 2002).

Among the Regulators' main antagonists was a second group of individuals consisting of Piedmont public officials and merchants. Foremost among them was one Colonel Edmund Fanning of Hillsborough. Thirty-four years old, Fanning was the most powerful man in the Piedmont. Fanning, having been educated at Yale and Harvard migrated to Hillsborough in 1760. Later that same year he was appointed to a position on the town commission. Soon he was elected to represent Orange County in the North Carolina General Assembly. Fanning, ever the practiced, accomplished lawyer, and shrewd businessman established himself without delay as a prominent and increasingly wealthy local figure. He held multiple influential seats of authority in Orange County. Most importantly, he was a close friend of Governor William Tryon (Kars 2002).

Among the majority of the captive spectators gathered were farming men and women who had participated in the Regulation or were sympathetic to its aims. A majority of this audience would have known the hanged men well or been close friends. All of these people had begun their organized activities and extra-legal activities in 1766. These recent emigrants to the colony had formed the Sandy Creek Association. The primary goals of the Association were to expose widespread corruption among local officials and the increased participation of Piedmont farmers in the political system. The core membership of the Association was comprised of numerous radical Protestants, mostly Quakers. Their Commander was a prosperous transplant farmer from Maryland, Herman Husband. Husband had first traveled to the Piedmont around the mid 1750s. He

had settled in the Sandy Creek bottom permanently in 1762. Husband rapidly established himself as the main spokesman for the farmers' movement. Moreover, he was the Association's chief chronicler and ideologue. Husband's powerful messages focusing on social justice held tremendous sway and influence among his Piedmont farmer neighbors. Inside two years of the Association's formation, the Sandy Creek Association was dissolved. Nevertheless, the seeds for a farther reaching and more powerful resistance had been sown. By the early part of 1768, many of the former Association's members joined forces with other reformist farmers. This group assumed the name of Regulators. These Regulators were determined to "regulate" as well as reform government widespread government abuse. The term "Regulator" was first used in 17<sup>th</sup> Century England. Appearing in the vernacular of 1655, the term had since enjoyed popular, common usage. Regulators organized in Orange, Anson, Rowan, and Mecklenburg Counties (Kars 2002).

Initially, Regulators pursued legal means to end corrupt practices by local officials. Later in their activities, as a consequence of government apathy and disinterest, the farmers believed that they had been left no alternative except extralegal measures to end government abuses that they considered extortionate. Following repeated petitions to the Governor and the assembly, the Regulators attempted to set up meetings with local officials in an effort to have their grievances addressed. Moreover, the farmers brought suits against public officials as a means of publicizing their circumstances. When these legal measures did not have the desired result, the Piedmont group began to resort to multiple extralegal actions. Initially they refused to pay taxes. Close on the heels of that tactic, they repossessed property seized for to satisfy debts and taxes at public sale and

disrupted court proceedings through “sittings.” Governor Tryon mustered the militia and confronted a large number of Regulators outside of Hillsborough in September 1768.

Although violence was avoided at this time, two years later, a large group of Regulators disrupted the superior court proceedings in Hillsborough. The farmers physically assaulted a contingent of local officials, lawyers, and merchants. At the same time, the *Regulators* destroyed Edmund Fanning’s home. As a consequence of these actions, the local authorities retaliated in force (Kars 2002).

Almost immediately after the assembly re-convened later that fall, it took punitive action against the Regulators. Newly elected legislator for Orange County, Herman Husband, was indicted and charged with libel, expelled from the assembly, and jailed. Following this action, the North Carolina Assemblymen passed the sweeping Riot Act. The Riot Act empowered Governor Tryon with the authority and financial means necessary to raise the militia and march against the Regulators. Shortly after daylight on May 16, 1771, about twenty miles west of Hillsborough, an estimated 1,100 militiamen confronted approximately 2,000 farmers in a field near Alamance Creek. Within two hours of the first shot being fired, some 17 to 20 farmers lay dead. Nine militiamen also perished in the battle. Over 150 men on both sides were wounded. One Regulator was summarily hanged without benefit of trial. After a hasty trial, the six men mentioned earlier in this review were executed on June 19. Although more than 6,000 Regulators and those sympathetic to their cause took an oath of allegiance as the Governor’s militia pursued the punitive march through backcountry settlements, some of the most prominent Regulator leaders hastily exited the Orange County. By mid-summer, the Regulation War was suppressed (Kars 2002).

Socio-Political Motivations. Historians who have studied the Regulation most recently have explained the rebellion via several socio-political paradigms. The first was perceived to be a logical outgrowth of class conflict (Kars 2002). However, this methodology for analysis depends upon the historically failed and discounted principles of Marxism. Class conflict, in any form, does not inevitably lead to rebellion as a matter of automatic response. A second explanation rests in the psychoanalytical techniques of Freudian Analysis. It has been suggested that as a result of frustration over their thwarted upward mobility, the Piedmont Farmer's paranoia fueled their resistance to existing authority. However, this hypothesis overlooks the more exact and fitting influence of the mixture of religious faith and political action. Explanations that depend upon paranoia or simple frustration as a reasons for five years of struggle that led to the spending of blood and treasure dramatically fail to take seriously enough the legitimate grievances of past Americans.

The writings of Herman Husband, Regulator spokesman and evidence available in Quaker and Moravian records, the diaries of itinerant preachers, along with ministers' correspondence, and petitions filed by Regulators provide documentation that strongly infers that the climate of insurgency created by the Great Awakening prompted Piedmont farmers to move with self-confidence in their attempts to reform their government and to purge corrupt practices from it (Kars 2002). Marjoleine Kars, writing in her 2002 book, *Breaking Loose Together: The Regulator Rebellion in Pre-Revolutionary North Carolina* of the religious fervor of the time observes in Chapter Five, "Fashioning Christ's Coat: Beyond Denomination," that:

The diaries of itinerant ministers like Anglican Charles Woodmason, Moravian George Soelle, and various Quakers and Presbyterians provide quite extraordinary insight into popular religiosity. When combined with the letters of Anglican ministers of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (spg), extant church minutes, Baptist records compiled by contemporary historians like Morgan Edwards, and secondary sources, we can at least begin to understand the popular religious climate in the Piedmont. (94)

By directing the focus onto the religious sentiment and atmosphere of the era, the religious experience of the everyday farmer and his family, as opposed to those of the ministers and other church leaders, a more realistic insight into the public religious temperament will be gained. Furthermore, this same focus cuts across sectarian lines of division. By doing so, a truer representation of the unifying principles that bound people together and assesses their communal strengths is provided. However, this does not deny that there were differences among rural dissenters. Of course, there were differences, for there will always be contrasting and conflicting viewpoints and opinions, regardless of the subject matter. Be that as it may, the similarities between the religious and social goals of the many and varied participants, and the opposition to the established church they held in common, very often led the members of the community at large to coalition politics and shared worship. By limiting 18<sup>th</sup> Century rural Protestantism to strictly denominational terms would be to overlook the essence of the people's religious understanding. Itinerant preachers in the Piedmont of North Carolina attracted huge audiences that represented a broad diversity of religious viewpoints. In spite of the extended distances between farms and the small number of towns, crowds approximating several hundred people were not uncommon. Separate Baptist, Shubal Stearns wrote in 1765 of a mass meeting on the Haw River, west of Hillsborough, that lasted for six days and was attended by 700 people. The popular Moravian itinerant preacher, Brother Soelle

spoke repeatedly to meetings of 200 people or more, despite inclement weather or the presence of other preachers who conducted services nearby, at the same time.

Far from being irreligious many backcountry farmers combined faith with lived experience to create in the Piedmont an ecumenical, pragmatic, and subversive religious climate that empowered common people to rely on their own consciences, trust their own judgments, and reject the authority and ways of the gentry. (Kars 2002, 94)

Charles Woodmason, as noted by Marjoline Kars, “had exchanged his life as a well-to-do planter and Charleston officeholder for that of an itinerant preacher” (2002, 94). A chronicle written in 1953 of Woodmason’s extensive labors notes that, “he reportedly rode ‘Near Six thousand Miles, almost on one Horse [and] Wore my Self to a Skeleton’ ” (Hooker 1953, 16, 63). *The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution*, edited by Richard J. Hooker, presents documented proof of the vibrant popularity of religion in southern rural areas “and testifies to the obvious enthusiasm and creativity with which many Piedmont men and women wore ‘Christ’s Coat’ ” (Kars 2002, 94).

Drawing further inspiration from the increasingly vocal and violent protests against Great Britain, leaders of the Regulator movement successfully combined religious and political principles as justification for their cause. The Protestant necessity of individual, moral truth was coupled with radical Whig political ideals as a means of uniting the farmers of the Piedmont. The moral right and political duty of citizens to resist unjust government was the fuel that fired their rebellion. A third motivating principle the Regulators brought to bear in their struggle was that of being “reluctant revolutionaries” (Kars 2002, 5). Indeed, following in the footsteps of many eighteenth-century protesters, the Regulators proved themselves to be reluctant revolutionaries

through their actions. They firmly believed and strictly adhered to the principle of the redress of grievances through all legal means available as a means of correcting the malfunctions of their government. It was only after the governing authorities had repeatedly thwarted them in their efforts toward the peaceful and legal redress of their grievances that the Regulators began to understand the need for supra-legal action, as a legitimate alternative for them. In this instance, the political history of the Regulators closely mirrors that of the more historically prominent and more widely studied Sons of Liberty. The latter group led many of the patriot movements throughout the colonies. Nevertheless, the existing records of the North Carolina Regulation permit an equally careful study of the means “by which rural, non-elite, free people—the great majority of white colonists—became politically active in the pre-Revolutionary decades” (Kars 2002, 6). This “intellectual history adds an important dimension to our understanding of popular ideology, of the elusive ‘revolution from below’ and thus of the American Revolution itself” (Kars 2002, 6). Moreover, a large majority of the men who most actively resisted the activities of the Regulators, both in the assembly or on the field of battle, included many of the very same men who drove the colony of North Carolina into the War for Independence from Great Britain. It may be safely inferred from this distinction that there existed a profound difference between elite notions of independence and those of the wider masses (Kars 2002). Kars observes that it is her belief:

. . . that the Regulation represents a moment of protest against the slow separation of morality from economics that characterized (and enabled) the development of the emerging capitalist order. The North Carolina Regulation allows us to view this process as it worked itself out in the lives of common people on the southern frontier. Regulators were certainly not opposed to private property or economic development, both of which were essential to their vision of a society of independent yeoman farmers. *Yet their religious beliefs provided Piedmont farmers*

*with a subtle critique of what they considered the selfish and relentless pursuit of unlimited material gain which increasingly became the norm in the eighteenth century and which they believed corrupted civil society* [emphasis added] (2002, 6).

It was the insistence of the Regulators that social behavior, be it within the confines of family, out in the local community, within government, or in the marketplace, must adhere to the same principles that were being challenged by the growing separation between the private and the public realms. They also believed that it was incumbent upon them as Christian citizens to relegate the morality of the former in order to insure the positive functioning of the latter. Consequently, the attempt of the farmers to “regulate” their social structure constitutes the motivation for their instance of rebellion against the slow yet discernable, massive shift in the social conscience they saw occurring in relation to the transition from entrepreneurial agrarian markets to that of market economics (Kars 2002).

This brief social history has explored the motivations driving the Piedmont farmers to fight the War of the Regulation, while risking their farms, the well-being of their families, and even their lives. Historical and anecdotal chronicles of the Great Awakening in the Piedmont examine the crucial role religion played in the Regulation. Church minutes and the conversations among lay people recorded in the diaries of local Piedmont ministers revealed a world where it seemed inconceivable that the Regulator Rebellion occurred in the midst of this creative, religious climate by accident. Farming men and women were deeply influenced by revivalist Protestantism and struggled actively with crucial moral and political questions in their local communities. It is necessary to examine the socio-political economic context of the Piedmont in order to understand what the farming families of that demographic were rebelling against as a

means of contrasting the socio-political and religious sentiments of that era to those sentiments of the militias of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> Centuries.

### 1772 The Boston Tea Party

*The Boston Tea Party*, executed on Thursday, December 16, 1773, was a direct action by the American colonists against Great Britain. American patriots destroyed over 342 casks of tea bricks on ships in Boston Harbor. This incident has been viewed as one of several signal events that helped spark the American Revolution (Labaree 1964).

The Stamp Act of 1765 and the Townshend Acts of 1767 had served as fuel on the flames of outrage that were increasing throughout the colonies. British Parliamentary tax legislation levied on tea shipped to the American colonies, in spite of the lack of colonial representation in the Westminster Parliament, further incensed American colonists. One well known protester was John Hancock. Hancock's ship *Liberty* was seized in 1768 by customs officials. Hancock was charged with smuggling. His defense attorney was John Adams. After a period of time the charges were eventually dropped. Nevertheless, Hancock later faced a myriad of indictments as a result of his revolutionary activities (Labaree 1964).

Hancock was instrumental in organizing a boycott on tea imported from China that was sold by the British East India Company. As a consequence of the boycott, tea sales in the American colonies plummeted from 320,000 pounds to 520 pounds, over a period of several years (Labaree 1964, 39-40). By 1773, as a result of smugglers like Hancock who were importing tea from Holland without paying import duties, the British East India Company had incurred extensive debts and huge stocks of tea in its

warehouses with no long term prospects for selling their product. In an effort to offset these financial encumbrances, the British Parliament passed the Tea Act. This Act provided the means for the East India Company to sell tea to the colonies directly. This also side-stepped payment of duties or customs in Britain while paying the much lower American duty. This tax windfall allowed the East India Company to sell tea cheaper than the price of tea in England and for half the old price in the colonies. This enabled the company to undermine the price of tea then offered by the colonial merchants and smugglers (Labaree 1964).

Such favored treatment of a major company, one that employed lobbyists and wielded great influence in the British Parliament, particularly incensed the wealthy smugglers among American colonists. Protests erupted both in Philadelphia and New York. However, it was the militants of Boston that truly made their mark in history. While still recovering from the effects of a series of letters by Royal Governor Thomas Hutchinson in 1772. In these letters, Hutchinson implored that his superiors to send more troops to Boston to fight the American rebels (Labaree 1964).

Bostonians were suspicious. They suspected that the removal of the Tea Tax was simply another attempt by the British parliament to crush American freedom. Well to do smugglers, Samuel Adams, and others who had profited from smuggling tea ordered consignees and agents of the East India Company to abandon their positions. Those consignees who resisted were subjected to terrorization in the form of attacks on their warehouses and even their homes (Labaree 1964).

In late November, 1773 the *Dartmouth* was first of a convoy of ships which arrived at Boston harbor carrying the East India Company tea. The Sons of Liberty

provoked a standoff with Boston port authorities. Samuel Adams, a master wordsmith, whipped the growing crowd into a growing frenzy by calling for a series of protest meetings. Thousands, both from the city and the outlying areas attended the meetings. Each meeting was progressively larger than the previous one. Angry crowds shouted belligerant defiance, directed not only toward the British Parliament, the East India Company, and *Dartmouth*, but at Governor Thomas Hutchinson as well. Hutchinson struggled in his attempts to have the tea landed., A protest meeting, held at Boston's Old South Meeting House, on the night of December 16, was the largest gathering yet seen. 8,000 people were estimated to have been in attendance. The *Dartmouth*'s owner and its captain quickly agreed to return the tea to England. During the course of the evening similar concessions were obtained from the owners of the *Eleanor* and the *Beaver*, two other vessels that were en-route to boston harbor. Governor Hutchinson ordered the harbor to be blocked, despite these agreements. He ordered any tea-bearing vessels to be unloaded before allowing them to leave (Labaree 1964).

The evening before the tea was due to be landed, on Thursday, December 16, 1773, one of the ships's Captain's appealed to Governor Hutchinson to allow his ship to leave without benefit of offloading its consignment of tea. Hutchinson refused. The Captain returned and reported the governor's refusal to the massive protest meeting. Samuel Adams addressed the assembly and inspired the group with the message "This meeting can do nothing more to save the country" (Shattuck 1878, 18). Moving in unison, the Sons of Liberty barely disguised as Narragansett Indians, armed with clubs and small hatchets, moved toward Griffin's Wharf in Boston Harbor. Here lay the *Dartmouth* and the newly docked *Beaver* and *Eleanour*. With speed and efficiency, casks

of tea were brought up from the ships' holds to the their decks. The casks were split open and the tea was summarliy dumped into the sea water harbor. By dawn, more than 342 casks or 90,000 pounds (45 tons) of tea worth an estimated £10,000 had been dropped into the waters of Boston harbor. Correcting for contemporary rates of inflation, those 45 tons of tea were worth approximately £953,000, or \$1.87 million U.S. dollars in 2007 currency. A fourth East India Company ship carrying tea did not arrive with the other three. It ran aground in Provincetown, Rhode Island. On board, its cargo of fifty-eight tea chests were salvaged; offloaded onto a fishing schooner. The schooner and its cargo arrived safely in Boston, later. The windfall of tea found its way into unrepentant Bostonian teapots (Labaree 1964).

Actions initiated by Hutchinson had precipitated the crisis. The Governor had been agitating with London to assume a position of intolerance toward the Sons of Liberty. Should Hutchinson have followed the lead of other Royal Governors and allowed the ship owners and captains to resolve the issue with the angry colonists, it is likely that the *Dartmouth*, *Eleanor*, and the *Beaver* would have set sail without unloading their consignements of tea. Lord North said that if the colonists had stuck with non-importation for another six months the tea tax would have been repealed (Ketchum 2003, 263). Later, in February, 1775, Britain passed the Conciliatory Resolution, ending taxation for any colony which provided satisfactory compensation for the imperial defence and the upkeep of imperial officers. The Taxation of Colonies Act in 1778 repealed the Tea Act. In Britain, unfortunately even those politicians sympathetic and friendly toward the colonies were appalled by The Boston Tea Party. Consequently, this act united all parties in Parliament against the colonies. The British government felt this

was an action which could not be unpunished and responded by closing the port of Boston and put in place other laws that were known as the Intolerable Acts, also called the Coercive Acts, or Punitive Acts. In addition, John Hancock, Samuel Adams, Joseph Warren, and Benjamin Church were charged with the Crime of High Treason (Labaree 1964).

### Post-Revolutionary American Rebellions

Following the cessation of hostilities with England, the United States was not a peaceful nation. There were a series of 15 Rebellions and Uprisings instigated by American citizens as well as slaves in protest of government policies and laws that the people found intolerable. From 1786 continuing until 1860 and the outbreak of the Civil War, somewhere in this nation there was a violent, armed confrontation taking place. Shays', The Whiskey, and Fries Rebellions saw men who had fought in the American Revolution resisting one another and their government as a result of laws they believed to be intolerable. Indian and black uprisings and rebellions punctuated the silence with gunfire and bloodshed. In 1836, Texas became won its freedom from Mexico and became an independent Republic. Nine years later, Texas joined the Union. Rent wars, rebellions for white enfranchisement, Irish support and sympathy, as well as abolitionist excesses raged across the nation. When the Civil War began, there were draft riots, not to mention the guerrilla warfare carried out by both the North and the south during that bloodletting.

Even before the Civil War had ended, Sitting Bull was pressing his efforts upon settlers of the West that were leading up to the U. S. Army/Indian wars that continued on after the end of North south armed hostilities. Geronimo and Chief Crazy

Horse successfully resisted American citizen at arms in addition to bringing the fight to the Army. In 1886 American strikers and police clashed in an armed confrontation in Chicago over workers demands for an eight-hour workday. In 1893, following the economic depression of that time, Jacob Sechler Coxey led an industrial “army” of 500 followers into Washington, D. C. to publicize his economic recovery program. When Coxey and other leaders were arrested the group quickly disbanded. His efforts were rewarded however, when 1200 members of “Coxey’s army” successfully made it to Washington and thereby drew attention to the plight of the workers.

#### The Rebellions of Ely and Shays: The Jubilee Connection

When that Jubilee Trumpet sounds, every Hebrew slave in servitude shall be returned to freedom; all land mortgaged or sold, shall be returned to its original owner.

~Deuteronomy 15: 1-2 [New International Version]

The Militia and Continental Army veterans of *Shays’ Rebellion* thought that the promise in Deuteronomy 15:1-2 on the release from all debt every seven years should be carried out for them.

In the eyes of most Bible believing individuals at that time, God’s law requires a sabbatical seven-year release from all debts. Deuteronomy 15:1-2 [New International Version] promises a cancellation of all debt every seven years: “At the end of every seven years thou shalt make a release. And this is the manner of the release: every creditor that lendeth to his neighbor shall release it: he shall not exact it of his neighbor...because it is called the Lord’s release.” The main issue for the farmers of Ely’s and Shays’ Rebellions was that the local government and courts were taking their farms. The farmers of that day believed that the injunction in Leviticus 25: 8-55 also applied.

This text indicates that at every Jubilee or fiftieth year, the land must be returned to the owner or family that owned it, to prevent dispossession from their land. Ezekiel 46: 16-18 promises that even the Prince of Israel is not to dispossess people from their inheritance. An owner can sell his land, but if his land was taken to satisfy a debt, the land must be returned at the Jubilee, and according to Deuteronomy 15: 1-2 the debt should be forgiven in seven years.

These fundamentalist, Bible believing folk understood that passages such as Proverbs 28:8 [King James Bible] which declares, “He that by usury and unjust gain increaseth his substance, he shall gather it for him that will pity the poor,” were to be taken literally. Usury is in the category of unjust gain; it is taking gain from the unjust loan or rent of money. Usury as pointed out in Nehemiah 5: 4-10 causes hard times for lower income people. And in Ezekiel 22: 12-20 usury is one of the transgressions of the nation for which God judged and punished Judea.

### Shays' Rebellion

In 1786, after the end of the Revolutionary War, Secretary of War Henry Knox wrote to President George Washington saying that the Shays rebels “are determined to annihilate all debts public and private” (Richards 2002, xi). That is exactly what Deuteronomy 15:1-2 and Leviticus 25:8-55 say. In Massachusetts, constables were seizing the farms of veterans of the Militia and Continental Army because they had not been able to keep up payments on their mortgages. Some farmers were also put in jail as debtors. In response to being victimized by usury lenders Daniel Shays led about a thousand farmers and mechanics to the Massachusetts Court of Common Pleas on August 29, 1786, and took it over. In September, 600 farmers closed the courts in Worcester.

Then in Concord, where the Revolution began, 800 laborers formed into a militia and closed the debt court at Great Barrington. Five hundred farmers marched on the court in Bristol County and shut it down. By September of 1786, *Shays' Rebellion* had spread to New Hampshire, the "Live Free or Die" state where the farmers took over the capital and held the governor and the legislature captive. In western Massachusetts, Daniel Shays led 1,500 farmers and laborers to Springfield where they occupied the courthouse for three days. By December of 1786, Shays had nine thousand men following him. All this was because of the usury practiced by lenders who were exploiting the farmers in an economy still suffering from the interference with the money supply by the Bank of England. Daniel Shays had been a Captain in the Revolutionary War (Minot [1788] 1971).

The Continental Army and Militia veterans in Shays' Rebellion wanted Deuteronomy 15: 1-2 on the release from all debt every seven years to be carried out in the now supposedly free American colonies. But Shays men soon found out that the colonies were not as free as they might have hoped, because the judges, lawyers, Masons and courts were acting as enforcers for the usury lenders. The American Revolutionaries who were in Shays' Militia thought they had risked their lives fighting for the overthrow of debt, usury and dispossession from their land. But supposedly free America had its own homegrown elite of money lenders, merchants, lawyers and judges who thought they deserved to rule over the common people. Many lawyers and judges were Masons and so the Masonic lodge was a part of these elite. Leviticus 25: 10, promising the return of one's inherited land every fifty years, was inscribed on the Liberty Bell. While Deuteronomy 15: 1-2 promises a cancellation of all debt every seven years, Leviticus 25: 10, the Jubilee Year, promises a return of one's inheritance (land).

The critical battle of the rebellion was Shays' attack on the government arsenal at Springfield in January 1787, the only means of standing off troops who were advancing from Boston under General Benjamin Lincoln. At the arsenal, the defending militia commanded by General William Shepard unexpectedly fired their cannons into the ranks of the advancing rebels, killing four and wounding others. Crying "murder"—for the insurgent farmer-veterans never supposed their neighbors and fellow veterans would fire on them—the Shays men retreated in disarray, pursued by Lincoln's government soldiers. Shays and some of his followers went to Vermont. But about 200 of Shays' men were captured and tried in Massachusetts. General Lincoln himself, the pursuer of Shays' Rebellion, came out in favor of mercy. On the other hand, Samuel Adams, the influential Revolutionary patriot and head of the governor's advisory council, called for the execution of convicted traitors to the republic. The followers of Shay were eventually pardoned. *Shays' Rebellion* was a major reason why the federal Constitution was created. George Washington cited the insurrection as a reason for his own attendance at the Philadelphia convention. The American revolutionaries fought for a re-ordering of society; indeed, for the overthrow of debt, usury and dispossession from the land, as symbolized by their objective of declaring the Biblical Jubilee. The scriptural warrant for Jubilee was inscribed on the Liberty Bell and more importantly, upon the hearts of the ordinary men and women who had pledged their "lives, fortunes, and sacred honor" to the call to arms against oppression and tyranny, of July 4, 1776. The Jubilee was never declared in the early Republic (Newcomer 1953).

### Social Parasites

A While their outcries and grievances continued in vain, citizens of the infant Republic took a long, hard look at the forces that were obstructing the progress they believed they should be making. In a manner similar to the massive movement against the Masons that was to appear forty years in the future, local farmers were of the opinion that a main impediment to the reforms they sought was that class of leech called attorneys. The farmers termed them society's pests. Thomas Grover, a rebel who offered his allegiance to Daniel Shays, characterized the motivation behind his joining the revolt as being owed to a "large swarm of lawyers... who have been more damage to the people at large, especially the common farmers, than the savage beasts of prey" (Minot [1788]1971, 169).

Dating back to 1782, while the war for independence from Britain was still raging and the Paris Treaty which officially ended the war was still a year away, British antagonist, Samuel Ely championed armed resistance as the only means for American freedom from oppression. Ely, a non-state subsidized man of the cloth, despised the oppressive plutocracy of Massachusetts (Hoffman 1996). While preaching a sermon in Northampton, presented in April of 1782, Ely exclaimed to farmers that usurious bankers, colluding merchants, and judges that were oppressing them must be made an example; they must become "a sacrifice...and [be] given to the fowls of the air and the beasts of the field" (Newcomer 1953, 39), he declared. Ely rallied the farmers by exhorting them to, "Come on, my brave boys, we'll go to the woodpile and get clubs enough to knock their grey wigs off and send them out of the world in an instant" (Newcomer 1953, 37).

Farmers stormed the courthouse where they engaged the defending militia in hand-to-hand combat. The rebels' efforts were in vain for Ely was captured and incarcerated while the farmers were routed and scattered. In approximately two months, a hundred plus farmers laid siege to Ely's prison and set him free. That fall the Cheshire County, New Hampshire debtor's court was closed by local farmers. American freemen led by Job Shattuck of Massachusetts, assaulted tax collectors and attempted to close the Springfield tax court in the spring of 1783 (Hoffman 1996). At this time the Constitution of the United States had not been ratified. The 1780 Massachusetts constitution served as the law of the Commonwealth. It was considered by the kindred of that region to be a "lawyers and merchants constitution" (Newcomer 1953, 44). The territory of Vermont, during this same period of time, was the only region that enjoyed a functioning form of government that afforded any equity to working men in New England (Hoffman 1996).

Surprisingly, despite these early rumblings and civic turmoil, the majority of New England farmers pursued efforts in behalf of a peaceful resolution to their grievances. Over a period of three years this same majority of farmers entreated and petitioned the Lord their God through prayer and supplication for relief from their political and economic bondage at the hand of equivocating lawyers in state houses who feigned deafness to their cries (Newcomer 1953).

### Closing the Courts

Throughout this trying time legislative agencies and judicial bodies spewed rhetoric that was antagonistic toward farmers. Those farmers who protested in 1786 were characterized as "traitors, incendiaries, and vile creatures" (Newcomer 1953, 170) by the General Court of Massachusetts. Farmers who dared "to inquire into the present gross

mismanagement” (Newcomer 1953, 179), were threatened with arrest by the state legislature.

By August of that year, peaceful efforts to end the farmers’ plight had come to a dead end. The farmers were no longer willing to petition the legislature. Former Captain of the American Continental Army and Pelham, Massachusetts farmer, Daniel Shays, while not resorting to violence, formed a group that initiated the closing of multiple court-houses. George Brock, life-long friend of Shays, expressed their mutual sentiment when he intoned that he believed he saw in the post-Revolutionary New England lawyers and politicians the exact silhouette of the same British principles that were manifested by the English aristocracy (Minot [1788] 1971).

On August 29, 1786, Daniel Shays and the 1,500 Revolutionary War veterans, mechanics, and farmers with him, marched to the Massachusetts Court of Common Pleas in Springfield. They rejected totalitarianism regardless of its form or patriotic patina. Here, for three days, the group occupied the courthouse and stalled the legal system. In Concord, where the American Revolution was born, and Worcester, another group of 600 farmers closed the courts in September (Hoffman 1996). A militia of 800 laborers, unified in Great Barrington, closed the debt court there. In Bristol County, 500 farmers stormed that court and closed it down. Sweeping the countryside like wildfire, the conflagration of rebellion had been ignited in the “Live Free or Die” state of New Hampshire by September of that year. The farmers there raised the ante of their Massachusetts compatriots. Seizing the capital they held the governor and the state legislature as hostages. Daniel Shays was at the head of an army of 9,000 farmers by Christmas of 1786 (Richards 2002).

Though speculators and Boston merchants condemned Shays and those who followed him as “wicked rebels” and “seditionists” (Newcomer 1953, 181), their outcries were pure irony, for it had been only twelve years earlier in 1774 that these self-same men, who now decried the actions of the farmers, had extended them their approbation when the farmers had closed the Springfield court by almost identical means. It was with striking self-control and military discipline that the farmers marched into each of the towns. Not once did any of the farmers’ activities degenerate into mob violence (Newcomer 1953).

Secretary of War, Henry Knox, adhering to the proscriptions of the Articles of Confederation, wrote to George Washington expressing his outrage. Knox stated that Shays rebels “are determined to annihilate all debts public and private” (Richards 2002, xi). Indeed, “The Father of The Country” would not tolerate this foolishness. “Washington was thoroughly frightened. On hearing the news he redoubled his efforts to obtain a stronger constitution one that could afford national aid in suppressing such local disturbances” (Newcomer 1953, 202).

Although revolts by farmers in New Hampshire and Massachusetts leveraged their fortunes to an ascendant position, in late 1786 the uprisings were put down by militias of Windsor and Rutland counties of Vermont. The Rutland county militia exchanged musket fire with the farmers in a skirmish at the courthouse. New Haven, Connecticut yeomen were arrested en-mass, as a means of halting seizure of the court-house (Newcomer 1953).

### Tyranny in 1787 America

In March of 1787, Vermont lawmakers enacted *The Riot Act* which provided county sheriffs legal authority for rebellious farmers to be shot on sight. Simultaneously, as a partner in the Massachusetts State Bank, Governor James Bowdoin, determined he would crush *Shays' Rebellion*. The currency of the Massachusetts State Bank believed to be worthless by the farmers of the day (and believed by contemporary militias to be equivalent to present Federal Reserve Notes), was the focus of yeomen wrath. In an effort to block the rebels at the Worcester Court House, Bowdoin raised the state militia. However, the Massachusetts militiamen would not obey the Governor's order. Jonathan Warner, the Massachusetts militia commander stated: "Notwithstanding the most pressing orders, there did appear universally that reluctance in the people to turn out in support of the government" (Richards 2002, 185). The Massachusetts militia was "too generally in favor of the people's measures to turn their guns on their fellow farmers" (Richards 2002, 190) noted a Shrewsbury magistrate. This same attitude held true for other militia throughout the Western portion of the state. Many speculators and attorneys expressed their hope that a neo-monarchy would be imposed upon Massachusetts. It sent through the ranks of the lawyers caused some to hope for the imposition of a new monarchy. No less a luminary than the famous lexicographer Noah Webster experienced the shockwaves loosed by the rebellion. Webster disclosed his desire for a "limited monarchy" in a Connecticut newspaper following his shocked observation of the people of Massachusetts seizing their rights as free Americans and resisting the coastal elite merchants who populated the coast of that state:

I was once as strong a republican as any man in America. Now a Republic is the last kind of government I should choose. I would infinitely prefer a limited monarchy, for I would sooner be the subject of the caprice of one man than the ignorance of the multitude. (Webster 1786)

The Massachusetts Riot Acts of 1786 established a de-facto dictatorship and were the draconian legislative result which curtailed the rights of the people. These *Acts* sanctioned the killing of any rebellious farmer. At the same instant, they set the precedent for property seizure laws unparalleled even by contemporary, tyrannical confiscation laws. “All their lands, goods and chattels were forfeit,” by rebellious farmers “to the Commonwealth” (Szatmary 1984, 83).

The writ of habeas corpus was also suspended by the legislature of Massachusetts. Farmers who were “suspect” were liable to indefinite periods of incarceration while being held in preventive detention without trial. Subsequently, if speech was determined by the authorities to be prejudicial against the government, then freedom of speech was banned under the Acts (*Acts and Laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1786-1787* [1786]1893). This shockingly Orwellian and un-American piece of legislation was authored and supported by Samuel Adams, a member of the earlier American Revolution for independence from tyranny. Despite this legislation the farmers remained defiant and they continued to shut down courts throughout the state. Governor Bowdoin appealed to the central government for assistance. *The Confederation Congress* authorized Massachusetts to be appropriated over a half million dollars along with a military force of 1,300 troops. However, the funds for such a campaign required appropriation by each of the thirteen states. Moreover, Congress at that time had insufficient power to compel the treasury to release the appropriated funds under the

*Articles of Confederation.* Under the *Articles of Confederation*, the states were virtually independent and separate nations. Within this context, the majority of the states could not perceive any over-riding advantage that would compel them to pay for the execution of a war against the citizens of Massachusetts. Characteristically, the several states vetoed the appropriation of any monies for the war. Boston speculators, lawyers, and bankers would have been forced to finance their war against the yeomen of Massachusetts with their own profits. This was a course of action that has historically been anathema to the ruling class. Consequently the plan of the Governor and the Massachusetts legislature failed (Minot [1788]1971).

By early 1787 without significant armed opposition, the farmers were beginning to establish the groundwork for economic reforms aimed at destroying usury and rendering impotent the lawyers' star courts. The American Revolution of 1776 was a legitimate and necessary revolution ordered and carried out by this nation's citizenry. *Shays' Rebellion* was arguable an extension of that legitimate and necessary revolution.

In the 1776 Revolution, the Freemasons of a nascent United States saw an opportunity for economic speculation. Consequently they encouraged and financed it in the hopes of directing and manipulating it to their advantage. However, Shays Rebellion was a completely different prospect entirely. With early America now free of British commercial control, domestic financial interests intended to seize control of and command the leeching institutions driven by usury and speculation. The Biblical principles of *Jubilee* and justice were simply rhetorical devices to banking interests and the elite gentry (Richards 2002).

A significant racial footnote was entered into the historical account of that period when Prince Hall, American Freemasonic Lodge leader, proffered to the government the services of over three hundred of his slaves to be employed in the violent suppression of Shays rebels. The Boston plutocracy recognized that the specter of black slaves, armed and making war on white farmers might unleash an unintended consequence resulting in the overthrow of the ruling hegemony of the day. As a result they quietly rejected Hall's offer (Richards 2002).

The game was rigged against the farmers. Highly paid, experienced commanders were forming a seasoned mercenary army in Boston. Soon this army would set out on a forced march to engage Shays and his men. While the opposing armies formed up and prepared for battle, an observer evaluated the men that of each camp. Shays' ranks consisted of "the most laborious part of the people," this included farmers and "reputable mechanics." Their opponents comprised of, "lawyers, sheriffs... impost and excise collectors and their... servants and dependents" (Richards 2002, 63).

Nevertheless, Shays' men could not be swayed from their commitment. "I am determined to fight and spill my blood and leave my bones at the courthouse till Resurrection" (Richards 2002, 77) pledged Aaron Broad. Very quickly, the raiding against Shays and his men began. Benjamin Hichborn, a lawyer, commanded 300 paid troops. They mounted an assault against the home of Job Shattuck. Shattuck suffered a wounding slash with a sword when he defended his home. Scores of farmers who led groups of rebels were captured and their homes were invaded. As the elite attempted to persuade the surrender of the farmers, William Whiting, an erudite physician, defended them. Whiting brought argued that the struggle was not one distinguished by class instead

it was a war that pitted tyranny against the principles of liberty. Whiting declared: “Whenever any encroachments are made either upon the liberties or the properties of the people, if redress cannot be had without, it is virtue in them to disturb government” (1787, reel 5).

### The Springfield Arsenal Battle

On January 25, 1787, farmers laid siege to the Federal arsenal in Springfield, Massachusetts. After he had procured thousands of pounds of ammunition from the arsenal, Daniel Shays moved his band of armed farmers into Boston by forced march. Here the men clashed with the group who was behind the manipulation of the Courts.

The force Shays commanded consisted of somewhere between 1,000 and 1,500 farmers and day laborers, all who were inadequately armed. These men exchanged volleys of musket fire with about 1,000 arsenal defenders. The defenders enjoyed a battery of artillery in addition to being fully and adequately armed. The yeomen’s army marched in orderly ranks between high banked snow drifts until they were two hundred yards in front of the Federal arsenal. Their adversaries leveled their howitzers at them and fired volley after volley of grapeshot at them. The ranks of the farmers became decimated from the vicious cannon rounds. Although the army for hire attempted to rout the farmers, Shays and his men vanished into the surrounding forest as they carried their wounded with them. Euphoric over their initial victory, the merchants and lawyers of Boston loaned huge amounts of cash to the treasurer of the mercenaries. In the weeks that followed, the rural farmers fought a war of attrition against their adversaries. They sniped from behind the cover of trees and rocks and sent small bands of guerrillas to conduct spoiling raids. The spirit of rebellion and resistance among the farmers was unflagging,

despite an instance when Shays and several hundred other outlaw farmers were temporarily driven into Vermont and New York in search of refuge (Minot [1788]1971).

Shays and his army of farmers were ambushed near Sheffield, Massachusetts during a New England blizzard by a contingent of mercenaries on February 27, 1787. There ensued a vicious firefight. A large number of combatants on both sides were severely wounded during the extended battle. However, surprise served the mercenaries well and they overpowered the farmers, wounding and killing over thirty of the yeomen. With their momentum broken, the remaining rebels began to disappear through deep snow into the thick forest. Governor Bowdoin enlisted another 2,500 mercenaries. Everywhere Shays' rebels were running for their lives. A large majority of the rebel farmers were apprehended and thrown into prison while they awaited trial. The prosecuting courts carefully screened the available pool of jurors, bringing to bear a means for legally disqualifying those sympathetic to the farmers. This took the form of an act which prevented any perceived sympathizers from being impaneled on a jury in Massachusetts (Minot [1788]1971).

Aftermath. In 1787, throughout the months of April and May, "courts," nay star-chambers, brought Shays' and his insurgents before their bar. Charles Rose and John Bly were among the unfortunate rebels who were hanged. Nevertheless, resistance by the farmers continued for several months after the hangings. Josiah Woodbridge, a Massachusetts manufacturing magnate who joined other moneylenders in the practice of usury, experienced a number of assaults on his person. However, as fugitives hounded by the law, Shays and his rebel band, could not consistently raise the necessary funds to sustain an effective resistance. Consequently, it was difficult for Shays' and the hard luck

farmers with him to mount a military campaign that would win the war. All these factors fed into the men's losses. Be that as it may, neither would not be entirely accurate to state that Shays and his fellow rebels suffered total defeat. In an era predating picture laden wanted posters and telecommunications most of the men any were not known by the government. As a result, in 1798 it was a simple matter for these men to reappear promoting reform. In this manner, they were an instrumental element in the resistance to John Adams' sedition laws. Shays and others like him vanished into the mountains, valleys, and backwoods of the American frontier. The hinterlands of Ohio and New York provided them with territories that existed under few, if any laws. Those areas also afforded these free men better soil for crops and greater opportunities for entrepreneurial spirits. Many managed quite well in this environment. Just as many others however, did not fully recover from the trauma of losing their farms and most all of their earthly possessions in Massachusetts. In New Hampshire, where Shays and several hundred other rebel farmers fled, the men gradually drifted away from one another until finally, each man went his separate way. Daniel Shays eventually relocated to upstate New York. There he lived the rest of his days in privation.

The men who joined in Shays Rebellion contributed to the indefatigable spirit of resistance that early America yeomen would rekindle throughout the following decades. This spirit would be manifest during anti-Federalist resistance to the Constitution drafted in 1789. Then during the period that saw the Sedition Act of 1798 and again a year after the death of Shays in 1826, the populist movement against lawyers and Freemasons put the Northeast in turmoil as Masonic lodges throughout the region were forced to close. Thousands of stalwart resisters to tyranny like Daniel Shays, Job

Shattuck, Luke Day, and many others, were not star struck or in awe of this nation's Founding Fathers. These men sought to compel the leaders of their day to adhere to the principles of freedom that are the foundation for the Revolutionary War of 1776. They also attempted to force those same leaders to deliver and make good on the Biblical promise of The Jubilee.

### 1794 Whiskey Rebellion

The young republic experienced the first test of its new federal authority in the form of the *Whiskey Rebellion*. It was a demonstration of federal willingness as well as ability to enforce the laws of the land. The very act of the president calling up the state militias for federal purposes also set an historical and legal precedent. A series of events led to The Whiskey Rebellion, beginning with an agreement between the states and the federal government, brokered by then Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton. The contract's conditions obligated the national government to assume all the debts incurred by the states following the War for Independence. In return, the states agreed that the nation's capital city would be moved south from Philadelphia to a location on the banks of the Potomac River between Virginia and Maryland (Slaughter 1986).

In 1791, Alexander Hamilton pushed through congress a 25% excise tax on whiskey, to be levied at source. Because of the 25% rate of the liquor's value for the tax, the tariff effectively eliminated any profit by the farmers. The tax was designed so smaller distillers would pay by the gallon, while larger distillers, who could produce in volume, could take advantage of a flat fee. The net result impacted smaller producers more than it did larger ones. Large producers were assessed a tax ranging from 7 to 18 cents per gallon. However, Western settlers were cash poor to begin with. Furthermore,

due to their distance from markets and the lack of good roads, they lacked the practical means of transporting their grain to market other than fermenting and distilling it into relatively portable distilled spirits (Slaughter 1986).

In the rural areas, the industry consisted of a multitude of small stills in barns and outbuildings that were scattered around the backcountry. Hamilton, acting from a sense of fiscal responsibility to provide for an absence of federal courts in the West that necessitated extended trips to Philadelphia and the lack of protection against Native American attacks during these journeys, imposed the high federal excise tax on domestically produced distilled spirits as a means of generating revenue. However, three hundred miles across the Allegheny Mountains there existed a different world; a world that wealthy Easterners had a tendency to overlook or dismiss altogether. As a consequence, they missed several important facts. The first was the belief by farmers that the excise tax was another instance of rich Easterners draining off the profits of poor, hard-working, put-upon frontiersmen. Whiskey was most important to these people. Farmers distilled the spirit from grain. Since the long journey across the mountains to the major markets of the east was expensive, whiskey was more easily transported than the bulky primary grain product from which it was produced. The distances between source and markets also meant that a tax at the source would be extremely difficult to pass on to the consumer across the mountains. Also, locally, whiskey was a main staple in what was still largely a barter economy. It was a specie form of currency. As one of the coins of the realm, whiskey was a linchpin of the economy. It was a primary moneymaker for local merchants and markets. The Whiskey Boys held the spirit dear. The sale or barter of this important cash crop became the lightning rod for an increasing number of grievances

against the federal government that were enumerated by the settlers of the region (Slaughter 1986).

Although urban citizens in the east, where large distilleries and producers resided, were not pleased with the tax, they nonetheless complied; accepting the doctrine that the several states were subservient to that of the national government. However, the small producers in the rural and mountainous areas were irate and deign to accept decisions made by the central government. Consequently, they began to organize opposition. Rebel farmers began attacks by fomenting riots in towns along local rivers and tarring and feathering tax collectors until in July of 1794, the misnamed “insurrection” flared into the open. A federal marshal was attacked in Allegheny County, Pennsylvania. Almost at the same time several hundred men attacked the residence of the regional inspector, burning his home, barn and several outbuildings. Enraged mobs in Pittsburgh created other scenes of disorder and civil disobedience (Slaughter 1986).

Farmers as far away as the remote regions of Kentucky and Virginia, and the western counties of Pennsylvania, angered by an excise tax imposed on whiskey in 1791 by the federal government, engaged in a series of attacks on excise agents. Historian, Thomas P. Slaughter surveys the extent of the rebellion by noting in *The Whiskey Rebellion*, that “the rebels were negotiating with representatives of Great Britain and Spain, two of the nation’s most formidable European competitors, for aid in a frontier-wide separatist movement” (Slaughter 1986, 3).

In Western Pennsylvania, taking the preceding into consideration, the initial reaction of the populace was mild. Petitions were signed. Hugh Henry Brackenbridge, William Findlay, and Albert Gallatin, influential local leaders provided an influence that

moderated the proceedings. In Pittsburgh and surrounding areas, meetings involving discussions that included generous applications of whiskey were distributed, occurred on a regular basis. The central government became agitated when the tax on whiskey was avoided wherever it was possible. Consequently, sporadic pressure was brought to bear on the distillers (Slaughter 1986).

During the following three years the excise tax act was modified somewhat. However, the tax was still considered unfair by the whiskey boys. This faction engaged in a tug-of-war with the government concerning the disposition of their profits on distilled spirits. Tax collectors were harassed and threatened. Most of these unfortunate individuals were federal employees who were locally based. During the period between 1791 and 1793, several excise agents were manhandled and intimidated. Nevertheless, this behavior was quite understated considering that in the wild frontier of this young country, when the issue of unfair taxation was addressed, it had torn independence from the hands of the British Empire in a violent, bloody, and protracted revolution. It was expected that before too much longer, something big would take place. In 1794, it did, and it occurred with a vengeance (Slaughter 1986).

What had begun with a carrot, now ended with a stick. Alexander Hamilton petitioned Congress to permit alleged violators of the tax law to be brought to trial in state, rather than federal courts. This accommodation may have succeeded in pacifying the Whiskey Boys, if Hamilton had not chosen this particular time to impose strict punishment on previous offenders. In Western Pennsylvania, tax evaders were hounded by excise tax collectors pursued with a renewed zeal. Seventy-five rural distillers were ordered to appear in Philadelphia on charges of tax evasion on May 30th. What made

their circumstances even more problematic was the suspicion that these men had been singled out for punishment as a result of their criticism of Hamilton and their Jeffersonian views rather than the crime of tax evasion (Slaughter 1986).

Local Marshall, David Lennox, and General John Neville, excise inspector for the western region on July 15th, 1794, were attacked by approximately forty men.

Although shots were fired, no one was wounded or killed. On the following day, the General's sumptuous house was unsuccessfully attacked by one hundred men. Three days later, the mansion was burned to the ground when five hundred rebels returned. Within two weeks the men marched through Pittsburgh then dispersed peacefully. The *Whisky Rebellion* had ended (Slaughter 1986).

Nevertheless, on August 7, 1794, President Washington issued a proclamation, calling out the militia and ordering the disgruntled westerners to return to their homes. Simultaneously, Washington's order mobilized an army of approximately 13,000. This massive grouping of men was as large as the one that Washington commanded to defeat the British. These 13,000 men were under the command of General Harry Lee, then the Governor of Virginia and father of Robert E. Lee. Washington himself, in a show of presidential authority, set out at the head of the troops to suppress the uprising (Slaughter 1986).

The Militia Law of 1792 set the precedent for subsequent use of the militia as a means for executing the laws of the national union and for the suppression of insurrections. This essentially asserted the national government's right to enforce order in one state by raising and using troops in other states. Moreover, through the establishment of its primacy in disputes with the several states, this was the initial and definitive

exercise of federal power by the new government. Ultimately, George Washington released by pardons, the handful of men who had been arrested and transported to Philadelphia for trial (Slaughter 1986).

Although the Whiskey Boys executed violent operations in Kentucky, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, the Ohio Territory, and the Northwest, only the Western Pennsylvanians had to deal with an army. It was asked, "Why were the mainly Scots and Irish settlers of this frontier area singled out for the massive show of force by the federal government?" There have been no clear-cut or even partially satisfactory answers forthcoming. The federal government in 1794 amassed an overwhelming army. The federal government spent significant amounts of money in an effort to subdue a few frontiersmen. The federal government, by deploying such an overwhelming force against a rural farmers and laborers, made its point. Many of the rebels were forced into the justice system. Court cases were protracted, while only two men convicted of treason were pardoned (Slaughter 1986).

Despite the fact that the central government had established its authority, it was apparently incapable of accomplishing what it had been attempting since 1791. As Hamilton watched in frustrated impotence, local courts, lawyers, and sympathetic judges thwarted the excise taxmen. Between December 1796 and November 1800, out of the fifty criminal charges brought, not a single one resulted in the full penalty allowed by law resulted being imposed. Many cases were summarily dismissed. Evasion of the taxes continued (Slaughter 1986).

### Fries's Rebellion

In 1799, Federalists had classified *Fries's Rebellion* as the “Northampton Insurrection.” They characterized the participants as “miserable Germans,” “insurgents,” and “traitors” (Newman 2004, x). In this same manner, the Federalists had also denigrated and marginalized western Pennsylvanians as “Whiskey Rebels five years earlier, and just as the eastern-dominated Massachusetts government renamed the Regulators as ‘Shaysite Rebels’ seven years before that” (Newman 2004, x, xi). Fries’s Rebellion was a rebellion against what they perceived as the “unconstitutional” legislation of an “aristocratic” (Newman 2004, xi) Federalist Party. The rebels stood in armed resistance against Quakers and Moravians who enjoyed Federalist patronage in support of a system that assessed their taxes. Moreover, they stood in armed resistance against that Federalist system for their right of self-government, at both the local and national levels. They sought to play this role either in accord with the policies of political parties they formed or free from that influence. Finally, the rebels risked their lives and freedom in order to secure their property and the pursuit of happiness (Newman 2004).

In 1791, the federal government had levied an indirect excise tax on distilled spirits and western Pennsylvanians had risen up in the Whiskey Rebellion of 1794. It is one of history’s little ironies that in 1794, Fries had served his country by commanding a company of militia in a march to Western Pennsylvania to crush the Whiskey Rebellion. And until 1798, Fries and his neighbors were sympathetic to the Federalist Party. However, legislation enacted by the Fifth Congress, especially the Direct Tax, severely strained that support. The notion that George Washington, the military commander of the

American Revolution leader would support any monarchical scheme of taxation was incomprehensible to them (Newman 2004).

On March 7, 1799, approximately four hundred men marched into Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. John Fries (pronounced ‘Freeze’) (Newman 2004, ix), lead the militia group. The jailing of seventeen prisoners for refusing to pay The Direct Tax of 1798 has driven Fries and his men to demand the tax protesters’ release. The Direct Tax was a levy on lands, dwelling houses, and slaves. The tax was a progressive rate, one that taxed the wealthy at higher percentages than that of individuals of more modest incomes. Also, improved farmlands were taxed at a higher rate than speculators who held uncultivated real estate. In 1798-99, Eastern Pennsylvanians, the majority of them being German Lutherans and the German Reformed, rebelled against this system. Fries commanded the Buck’s County militia. It was the same militia he had served with as a Patriot during the Revolution. For seven months, Fries’ Rebellion had fomented political protest and resistance to tax legislation, as well as the Alien and Sedition Acts, excessive military expenditures, and the creation of a peacetime standing army. The Federalist Party had succeeded in implementing these provisions as a means of providing for national security against the threat of invasion and war with France during the Quasi War. This uprising, known as Fries’s Rebellion, was a popular, regionalized resistance movement. It was a rebellion against injustices perceived by aggrieved citizens (Newman 2004).

Inhabitants of Western Massachusetts and Eastern Pennsylvania were the continuing insurgents of 1786 and 1794. They participated in military actions against state and federal authorities. In 1786, thousands of Northern farmers laid siege against the federal armory at Springfield, Massachusetts. They were attempting to force the

Massachusetts government into a convention to rewrite the state's constitution. In 1794, approximately 5,000 armed militia-men mustered on Braddock's Field. There they threatened to occupy the federal arsenal at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. It was supposed that they intended to secede from the union while standing behind the flag of "Westsylvania" (Newman 2004, x). This was the symbol of three attempts to secede from Pennsylvania in efforts to form an independent province or state from 1774 to 1783. Later in 1799, the Federalist Party attempted to label the tax resistance and the jailbreak in eastern Pennsylvania as the Northampton Insurrection. Simultaneously, newspapers rapidly sought to the rebels as insurrectionists. However, the rebels indicated that they never intended to make war against the national or state governments. Instead, they declared it was their intention to expand the active involvement and participatory role of the people within their political system instead of assaulting the government from the outside. The populace followed logical but extralegal means and ideals of the Revolution in an attempt to influence and change the government (Newman 2004).

Historian Michael Paulin characterized Shays' Rebellion as the final battle of the American Revolution (Paulin 1986). Thomas P. Slaughter dubbed the Whiskey Rebellion as the American Revolution's "Frontier Epilogue" (Slaughter 1988). Fries' Rebels, however, would not have concurred with either assessment. Rather than a mere parchment tale, its ink dried and the document relegated to a museum, for them the American Revolution was a continuous narrative. The Revolution was one that applied directly to each succeeding generation. It was forever to be an experiential movement, perpetually relived, and continuously reengaged. The Fries's Rebels were convinced that they were realizing the full measure of the Revolution's promise based upon the ideals of

its founding. Ironically, the rebellion was a rebellion of paradoxes. At once it was an experience of ethnic assimilation that would blend their history into existing American society and culture. They were assured of the truth of these principles, while yet again their rebellion constructed the social and political contexts they used to visit their own majoritarian tyranny and discriminatory will on some of their neighbors. Fries and other growing Kirchenleute families perceived the war from an opportunistic perspective. They looked at it through a lens that focused on ethnic and religious advantages. In 1776, Lower Milford Church members and their nearby Lehigh Valley neighbors grasped the opportunities that the Revolution presented. On the one hand, they stood in armed resistance against the distant, unrepresentative, and corrupt British Parliament. That aristocratic, socio-political order with its mercantilist, economic structures at its service, was yet a direct threat to the colonists' order of secure home rule. On the other hand, they exploited the war with democratic, self-interest in order to assure local governance of their own affairs. This was a means for protecting the communities they had built during the previous fifty years. It would also ensure continuing economic opportunity along with personal and political liberties for themselves and their posterity in the future (Newman 2004).

#### 1859 John Brown Harper's Ferry

That a man might do something very audacious and desperate for money, power or fame, was to the general apprehension quite possible; but...that nineteen men could invade a great State to liberate a despised and hated race, was to the average intellect and conscience, too monstrous for belief.

An Address by Frederick Douglass  
Harper's Ferry, West Virginia, May 30, 1881

For the majority of American citizens, the Civil War (also known to Southerners as The War Between the States, The War of Northern Aggression, or simply, The Struggle) began in 1861 with Southern forces firing upon of Fort Sumter, South Carolina. For others however, many, that fratricidal conflagration began many years earlier. For Northern Abolitionist as well as slaves of the North and the South who were held in chains, the Civil War was about the question of slavery. For these people, the Civil war actually began in 1859. For one man who was vehemently opposed to slavery the war had begun even earlier than that. This man named, John Brown, was born into a deeply religious family in Torrington, Connecticut, in 1800. When John was five years old, his father moved the family to northern Ohio. It was an area that became known for its antislavery viewpoint and attitude (Oates 1984).

After the move to Ohio and growing into manhood, being an heir to his father's restlessness, during his first fifty years Brown moved around the country. Brown, father of twenty children, would uproot his ever-growing family many times. Moving from Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and New York and working at various times as a farmer, wool merchant, tanner, and land speculator, Brown was known as a difficult and stubborn man who possessed a notoriously poor sense of business. As a consequence, he was never financially successful and had more than his share of bad luck; even filing bankruptcy when in his forties. A poor business sense and insufficient funding, however, would not prevent the man from supporting causes in which he believed. Brown assisted in the financing publishing of David Walker's *Appeal* and Henry Highland's oration "Call to Rebellion." Also, Brown donated land to fugitive slaves. He and his wife, acting as foster-parents, raised a black youth as a child of their own. John Brown also

participated in the Underground Railroad. In 1851, he was a major participant in the establishment of the League of Gileadites. This organization labored to protect escaped slaves from bounty collecting slave hunters (Oates 1984).

Theologically, Brown was an orthodox nineteenth-century Calvinist who believed in pre-ordination, the doctrine of election, the inherent depravity of mankind, and in man's total dependence on a just and omnipotent God. Brown also believed that God saved His crown of creation; that poor dependent, condemned mortal sinner, like himself. In this role then, God remained a constant, all-powerful, directive force in his life. Brown's implacable opposition to slavery was driven by his intense Calvinist theological perspective. Indeed, it was Brown's self-admitted belief that God had chosen him to free the slaves, a belief that motivated his invasion of Virginia, also a consequence of his fanatical Calvinist faith (Villard [1910] 1943).

Famous escaped slave, Frederick Douglass met Brown in 1847 for the first time while Douglass was on a speaking engagement in Springfield, Massachusetts. Of this meeting Douglass observed that: "though a white gentleman, [Brown] is in sympathy a black man, and as deeply interested in our cause, as though his own soul had been pierced with the iron of slavery" (Wesley and Uzelac 2002, 177). It was at this momentous meeting that Brown first outlined his plan to Douglass to lead a war to free slaves (Wesley and Uzelac 2002).

In 1849, Brown moved to the black community of North Elba, New York. The community had been established as a result of the philanthropy of Gerrit Smith. Smith, a wealthy abolitionist, had donated 120,000 acres of his property in the Adirondacks to black families who were willing to clear and farm the land. Brown, knowing that many of

the families were finding life in this isolated area difficult, offered to establish his own farm there as well, in order to lead the blacks by his example and to act as a father-figure to them (Oates, 1984). Brown associated and socialized with blacks in this community. Behavior of that type was something unheard of for a white man in the middle of the 19th century. Most abolitionists were lukewarm, at best, on the notion of racial equality. John Brown in this regard was remarkable (Villard [1910] 1943).

It was not until 1856 that Brown's contributions to the antislavery cause would bear wider national fruit. The previous year he had followed five of his sons to the Kansas territory. In Kansas, he became the antislavery guerilla leader carrying out a proslavery attack against the antislavery town of Lawrence. John Brown's resistance of proslavery forces in Kansas gained him national attention. For many in the North, Brown became an abolitionist hero. His defense of the free-soil town of Osawatomie earned him the nickname "Osawatomie Brown." A Broadway play was written, produced, and performed extolling the virtues of Brown's activities (Oates 1984).

The Battle of Osawatomie took place on August 30, 1856. An estimated 250-300 Southern irregular guerrillas, known as *Bushwhackers*, led by John W. Reid and Rev. Marvin White attacked the city of Osawatomie. Reid was intent on wiping out free-state settlements before moving on to Topeka and Lawrence, Kansas where he proposed further destruction. When Brown received word that the group had shot his son Frederick, Brown took approximately forty men and attempted to defend the town against the pro-slavery raiders. His defensive attempts failed and the town of Osawatomie was looted and burned. This is one event in series of skirmishes that occurred between

abolitionists and pro-slavery Missourians that became known as Bleeding Kansas (Oates 1984).

On May 21, 1856, Brown received word that hundreds of Border Ruffians had marched on Lawrence, Kansas. On May 24, 1856, Brown led an attack of retribution against another a pro-slavery settlement along Pottawatomie Creek, Kansas Territory. John Jr. ordered the Pottawatomie Rifles to quickly assemble. Brown, Sr. accompanied them, although he did not join their ranks. The elder Brown took orders from no man. This truism included Brown's own son. While en route to Lawrence, the group learned that the Bushwhackers had sacked the town and burned the Free-State Hotel to the ground. The Bushwhackers were retaliating as a consequence of the collapse of a detention facility in Lawrence in which Southern women were being held. The collapse was the result of neglect of the facility. All of the women had perished as result of the neglected building's collapse. Throughout the entire debacle, not one abolitionist had the courage to fire a gun against the attackers. Brown was furious at this cowardly response. Following rapidly on the heels of the occurrence in Lawrence, Brown and the others received another disturbing report. Abolitionist Senator Charles Sumner had been brutally attacked on the United States Senate floor by a Southern Congressman. Sumner's speech, "The Crime Against Kansas," had provoked the attack. The congressman had beaten Sumner within an inch of his life with his cane (Oates 1984).

Brown vowed that he would show the Southerners that the free-state, anti-slavery men had rights as well. Taking a small group of men under his command, Brown told them to prepare for a "secret mission." Brown's son attempted to keep his father in camp. The younger man cautioned his father against committing any rash acts. The old

man refused to be dissuaded and after placing a revolver in his belt, the old man led the group of men away. They rode toward Pottawatomie Creek, toward the homes of proslavery sympathizers. On the night of May 24th, 1856, Brown hammered on the door of James Doyle house with his fist, ordering all the men to come outside. As Brown watched impassively, his men attacked the others, hacking at them with broadswords. They executed three of the Doyles by splitting open their heads and slicing off arms. When they had completed their butchery, Brown put a bullet into the head of James Doyle. Brown's murderous raiding party visited two more cabins, dragging out and killing two more men. In all, five men had been summarily executed. Brown and his sons would continue to fight in the territory and in Missouri for the rest of the year. Shortly thereafter, Brown returned to the east. During this hiatus, Brown began to think more seriously about his plan for a war against slavery in Virginia. The elder Brown sought funding for an "army" he would lead in that war. Brown had been dispatched to Kansas by his Boston backers, the "Secret Six." This allowed them the time they required to secure the funds to finance his raid on Harpers Ferry. It was a strategic move, designed to throw off those tracking Brown's movements since plans for the raid had been leaked. Brown was urged to go to Kansas and make his presence known, thereby distancing himself from Harpers Ferry, at least geographically (Villard [1910] 1943).

In September of 1856, a new territorial governor, John W. Geary, arrived in Kansas and began to restore order. Although a relative peace began to settle over the Kansas Territory, in December, 1858, John Brown led a few men across the Missouri border from Kansas and attacked two proslavery homesteads, confiscating property and liberating slaves. Thereafter, Brown turned his back on that region, and returned to his

Virginia plan, one he had set aside in 1855. At this time he traveled east to solicit money and guns for that operation as well as for any additional fighting he might have to undertake in the Territory. From 1857 to 1859, Brown gathered supporters and recruits for his Virginia scheme. During this time, Brown strengthened his ties with the six abolitionist reformers who supported him. The “Secret Six” included: Thomas Wentworth Higginson, an amateur boxer and minister. Higginson followed from a long line of one of New England’s oldest families. Higginson had a very low tolerance for weakness or hesitation. Gerrit Smith, a man of high wealth that was given to nervousness and eccentricity. Moreover, he had already established his position as Brown’s benefactor, having provided Brown with property in the Adirondacks. The Reverend Theodore Parker, a Unitarian minister of controversial albeit, eloquent rhetorical manner. Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, the highly revered educational pioneer of reforms for those of feeble mind, who were insane or blind. George Luther Stearns, the Emigrant Aid Company’s multiple chief financiers. The Emigrant Aid Company was a group that accommodated the anti-slavery homesteaders’ settlement in Kansas. Finally, there was Franklin Sanborn. Sanborn was a young, Concord schoolmaster with an idealists perspective on life. He was also counted Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau among his friends; abolitionists all (Villard [1910] 1943).

By the summer of 1859, Brown had finalized his plans. The die was cast. Brown’s target was the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, a small town surrounded by mountains, nestled at the bottom of a ravine carved by twin-rivers. The huge complex of buildings contained 100,000 muskets and rifles. Brown attempted to persuade his friend, Frederick Douglass to join him in the assault. Brown briefly

described his plan. Brown and the men, in a surprise attack would charge the arsenal at Harpers Ferry and capture the weapons stored there. Local slaves, emboldened by the news, in a spontaneous army would then rush to Harpers Ferry to join them. Following the seizure of the arsenal, Brown and his army would drive southward. At this point the revolution would snowball. Douglass wanted no part of what he saw as a suicide mission. Of this meeting, Douglass would later write: “I at once opposed the measure. It would be an attack upon the federal government and array the whole country against us. All his descriptions of the place convinced me that he was going into a perfect steel trap, and that once in he would never get out alive” (Bruns 2001, 24).

Brown gathered 21 men willing to join him. On the evening of October 16, Brown gathered his men together and set out for Harpers Ferry. In a farmhouse located a few miles outside of Harpers Ferry, the group of men gathered, waiting for the time to strike. Included among the men were a fugitive slave, a college student, and several free blacks. Also, among the group were three of Brown’s sons. Initially the raid proceeded as planned. The men chopped through telegraph wires and then easily overwhelmed the lone watchman who was defending the federal armory (Villard [1910] 1943).

Brown and the insurrectionists rounded up hostages, including Col. Lewis Washington, great-grand nephew of George Washington. Problems developed as a train rolled closer, heading for the nearby town. The train’s baggage master ran to warn the passengers of the presence of an armed force. Brown’s men commanded him to halt. When the man ignored their orders, they fired at him. Ironically, the first victim of John Brown’s war against slavery was Hayward Shepherd, a free black man. Then, without explanation, Brown permitted the train to continue on its journey. Quickly, news of

Brown's raid spread by the grapevine, making its way to Washington, D.C. By the late morning, farmers, militiamen, and shopkeepers were taking shots of opportunity at Brown's men from the hills surrounding the town. Consequently, Brown's force was pinned inside the armory buildings. With rounds ricocheting off the armory walls, John Brown casually ordered breakfast from a nearby hotel for the hostages he held. At this juncture, it has been asked, why Brown stayed in the armory? He had achieved his goal. Brown could have easily and quickly exited the armory and taken refuge elsewhere to re-group and drive further into the South to carry his anti-slavery revolution forward as he had planned earlier. Dennis Frye, Civil War historian rhetorically ponders Brown's intransigence: "Brown still controls his own destiny. He commands the approaches in and out of Harpers Ferry. So the question is, why didn't John Brown leave?" (Chowder 2000). Yet, Brown tarries within the confines of the armory, still. By mid-day, a company of local militiamen had stormed into town. Charging over the bridge, the counter-attacking force effectively eliminated the one and only escape route for Brown and his insurrectionists. Russell Banks, author of *Cloudsplitter*, the 1999 recounting of the exploits of John Brown surmises that Brown "stayed and he stayed and it seems to me a deliberate, resigned act of martyrdom" (1999, 31-32). Regardless of Brown's original intention, his anti-slavery revolution was rapidly unraveling. Eight of his original raiders were dead or were dying; five others had been cut off from the main group. Two had managed to escape across the nearby river. Brown managed to re-group in the small brick engine house with the men who remained. A cold night passed slowly for all the men (Villard [1910] 1943).

The following morning, Brown and his raiders peered out through the dawn's new light on a sight that froze the blood in their veins. The sanctuary of the armory yard was filled with a company of U.S. Marines. The contingent was command by Lt. Col. Robert E. Lee. Lee and his men had Brown and his men completely surrounded and outnumbered. J.E.B. Stuart, a fledgling lieutenant, cautiously approached bearing a white flag. Stuart presented a note from his commanding officer to Brown. The note stated that if the belligerents surrendered, all of their lives would be spared. Without hesitation, Brown rejected the conciliatory and merciful offer. On Lee's command, the Marines immediately stormed the armory. As a result, the front door was breached. In the ensuing melee, a charging Marine, curiously attempted to run Brown through with his bayonet, instead of shooting him. Surprisingly, the blade struck the old man's belt buckle. Instead of being shot dead or run through, John Brown was beaten into unconsciousness. Brown was taken to Charlestown, Virginia along with four other captives. There, he was tried and convicted of treason against the state of Virginia, despite the fact that he was not a resident of that state. Brown was found guilty of murder, treason, and of inciting slave insurrection and sentenced to death by hanging (Villard [1910] 1943).

Address of John Brown to the Virginia Court. After his trial, conviction, and sentencing, Brown was allowed to address the Court. Several of his remarks are included for their relevance to the overall hypothesis of this investigation.

I have already admitted, of a design on my part to free Slaves. I intended, certainly, to have made a clean thing of that matter, as I did last winter, when I went into Missouri, and there took Slaves, without the snapping of a gun on either side, moving them through the country, and finally leaving them in Canada. I desired to have done the same thing again, on a much larger scale. That was all I intended. I never did intend murder, or treason, or the destruction of property, or to excite or incite Slaves to rebellion, or to make insurrection. (1859a)

After objecting to the imposing of a death sentence upon him, Brown continued in his address to the court with these words concerning his interpretation and application of scripture.

This Court acknowledges too, as I suppose, the validity of the LAW OF GOD. I saw a book kissed, which I suppose to be the BIBLE, or at least the NEW TESTAMENT, which teaches me that, "All things whatsoever I would that men should do to me, I should do even so to them." It teaches me further, to "Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them." I endeavored to act up to that instruction. I say I am yet too young to understand that GOD is any respecter of persons. I believe that to have interfered as I have done, as I have always freely admitted I have done, in behalf of his despised poor, I have done no wrong, but RIGHT. (1859a)

Before ending his remarks, Brown emphatically declared:

Now, if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life, for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and MINGLE MY BLOOD FURTHER WITH THE BLOOD OF MY CHILDREN, and with the blood of millions in this Slave country, whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments,—I say, LET IT BE DONE. (1859a)

Ironically, Brown closed his soliloquy concerning his trial with this statement:

Let me say one word further: I feel entirely satisfied with the treatment I have received on my trial. Considering all the circumstances, it has been more generous than I expected; but I feel no consciousness of guilt. I have stated from the first what was my intention, and what was not. I never had any design against the liberty of any person, nor any disposition to commit treason, or excite Slaves to rebel, or make any general insurrection. I never encouraged any man to do so, but always discouraged any idea of that kind. (1859a)

John Brown Writes from Jail. It is deemed that a letter, written by Brown in jail, as he awaited his execution, is also germane to the thesis of this paper, owing to its revealing context concerning Brown's Biblical faith.

Charlestown, Jefferson County, VA, Nov. 1, 1859

My Dear Friend E. B. of R. I.:

You know that Christ once armed Peter. So also in my case, I think he put a sword into my hand, and there continued it, so long as he saw best, and then kindly took it from me. I mean when I first went to Kansas. I wish you could know with what

cheerfulness I am now wielding the “Sword of the Spirit” on the right hand and on the left. I bless God that it proves “mighty to the pulling down of strongholds.” I always loved my Quaker friends, and I commend to their kind regard my poor, bereaved widowed wife, and my daughters and daughters-in-law, whose husbands fell at my side. One is a mother and the other likely to become so soon. They, as well as my own sorrow-stricken daughter[s], are left very poor, and have much greater need of sympathy than I, who, through Infinite Grace and the kindness of strangers, am “joyful in all my tribulations.” Your friend, John Brown. (1859b)

Brown’s Biblical references to Christ, Peter, the Sword of the Spirit, mighty to the pulling down of strongholds, Infinite Grace, and joyful in all my tribulations all express the man’s extensive understanding, if not his literal application of the Bible to his day to day existence. Brown was not alone in his interjection of Biblical references as justification for his actions. Such was the overall general understanding of scripture, as well as frequent allusions to the Bible, Bible stories and examples, and the resort to scripture as an ultimate authority and justification for actions both general and specific during this era.

Southerners were especially fond, as a matter of course, of providing a scriptural basis for the institution of slavery. For example, advocates of slavery often pointed to the curse laid upon Cain by God after Cain had killed his brother, Abel, as punishment for the crime of fratricide. In the first book of the Bible, Genesis 4:11-12 [King James Bible], it is written that God said:

10) What hast thou done? The voice of thy brother’s blood crieth unto me from the ground. 11) And now art thou cursed from the earth, which hath opened her mouth to receive thy brother’s blood from thy hand; 12) When thou tillest the ground, it shall not henceforth yield unto thee her strength; a fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be in the earth.

John Brown's continual referencing of scripture was part and parcel of daily 18<sup>th</sup> Century vernacular and colloquial habit, attesting to the continuing, strong influence on the socio-political and ideological thinking and behavior of the American populace.

The Hanging. On the morning of December 2, 1859, John Avis went to the cell that held John Brown. Avis had been responsible for Brown's incarceration in the Charlestown jail. As he was removed from his cell to be transported to the site of his hanging, John Brown handed a note to his jailer. The note read: "I John Brown am now quite certain that the crimes of this guilty land will never be purged away, but with Blood. John Brown" (Du Bois and Smith 1997, 186). For seven weeks, from the time of Brown's capture at Harpers Ferry through the subsequent trial and sentencing, Brown's statements during the trial had reached the nation, inspiring many with his righteous indignation toward slavery. Outside the jail, Brown was led to the back of a wagon where he took a seat on a long wooden box, his coffin. A column of soldiers stood ready to escort Brown to a field just outside of town (Oates 1984). A spectator waiting and in the crowd was the actor John Wilkes Booth, who had gained admittance the in order to view the execution. "I looked at the traitor and terrorizer," Booth is said to have remarked, "with unlimited, undeniable contempt" (Chowder 2000). The hanging would make Brown an abolitionist martyr. In less than a year and a half, Southern guns would open fire on Fort Sumter, in Charleston harbor, South Carolina starting the War Between the States. If the nation had been a tinderbox just waiting for an errant spark, then it seemed to many that John Brown had been that fatal spark. At the Fourteenth Anniversary of Storer College, on May 30, 1881, a memorable speech on the subject of John Brown was delivered by Frederick Douglass. "Did John Brown fail?" asked Douglass? (Shawki

2006, 50; Du Bois 1997). Edward Garrett, author of the 1888 article, “The Salt of the Earth,” exclaims: “John Brown began the war that ended American slavery and made this a free Republic” (Garrett 1888, 532). It is left to the reader to judge the success or failure of Brown’s efforts.

### Summary and Transition

Fervent adherence to Biblical principles for his social, cultural, and racial mores was as important an influence for Brown and other Northerners as it was for Southerners. Literal interpretations and applications of Biblical texts and principles was the hallmark of 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup> Century America. That literalism has even extended into the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> Centuries as well. Slavery was the product of centuries of development in ethnic and racial stereotyping, biblical interpretation, and the history of servitude. By the early colonial period, a racialized version of Noah’s curse had arrived in America. It was a premise subscribed to by the greatest majority of Americans from the earliest settlements in the New World through the War Between the States and into the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. For the sake of continuity spanning the early colonial, colonial, post-Revolutionary, and the contemporary American, right-wing militia eras, it is necessary to examine in detail and understand Noah’s curse as a means for insight into the normative socio-racial dynamic the curse, as a major influencing element, was instrumental in perpetuating.

### Noah's Curse

The source of the “Noah’s curse,” also known as Ham’s curse is derived from Genesis 9:20-27 [King James Bible], where the Biblical account of Noah’s family, soon after the flood, appears:

20) And Noah began to be an husbandman, and he planted a vineyard: 21) And he drank of the wine, and was drunken; and he was uncovered within his tent. 22) And Ham, the father of Canaan, saw the nakedness of his father, and told his two brethren without. 23) And Shem and Japheth took a garment, and laid it upon both their shoulders, and went backward, and covered the nakedness of their father; and their faces were backward, and they saw not their father’s nakedness. 24) And Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him. 25) And he said, Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren. 26) And he said, Blessed be the LORD God of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant. 27) God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant.

Ham is not directly cursed for his actions; instead, the curse falls upon his youngest son Canaan. At first glance, the curse would appear to be unusually severe for merely observing Noah unclothed. A closer examination that includes additional passages of scripture offers a clearer explanation for this scenario. Biblical scholars note that the phrase “the nakedness of his father” is repeated multiple times elsewhere in the Pentateuch and is a euphemism for a son having sexual relations with his biological mother or with his stepmother, thereby suggesting a crime of much greater import. Leviticus 18:7-8 [New International Version of the Bible] commands the following proscription: “7) You must not expose your father’s nakedness by having sexual intercourse with your mother. She is your mother; you must not have intercourse with her. 8) You must not have sexual intercourse with your father’s wife; she is your father’s nakedness.” Two verses later, in Leviticus 20:11 [New International Version of the

Bible], the scripture explicitly declares: “If a man has sexual intercourse with his father’s wife, he has exposed his father’s nakedness.”

If the passages from Leviticus are correctly applied, then Ham either raped his own mother, Noah’s wife, while Noah was passed out in a drunken stupor or Ham had consensual sex with his own mother, Noah’s wife while Noah was passed out from his drunken excesses. If the former is true, then Ham most definitely should have been cursed. But why then did Noah curse Ham’s son, Canaan for the act instead of Ham? That topic will be addressed more completely later in this paper. For the time being, however, the second possible implication of the text is investigated. If Ham raped his mother, the shameful and difficult specter of incest arises, not to mention the heinous act of rape. If Ham has consensual sex with his mother, the scenario becomes even more ugly and distasteful. However, a close reading of the text provides some relief.

The Biblical text in Genesis Chapter Nine does not mention a woman at all. Indeed, it simply states that, “Ham...saw the nakedness of his father.” However, the verses in Leviticus, Chapter 18 are very specific when identifying what constitutes the nakedness of the father by identifying it as including a woman; a woman specified as *mother* in verse seven and a woman identified as *your father’s wife* in verse eight. The text in Leviticus 18, verse seven, commands that one must not have sexual intercourse with *your mother*. Verse eight then commands that an individual must not have sexual intercourse with *your father’s wife*. Leviticus, Chapter 20, verse 11 reiterates and emphasizes the consistency of the father’s nakedness. Clearly, the woman referred to in verses seven and eight of Chapter 18 and the woman of verse 11 in Chapter 20 may be two different women. The mother of verse seven may not necessarily be the wife of

verses eight and 11. A male's mother may have died and his father may have re-married. As a consequence, the father's new wife is not the son's biological mother. Instead, she would be his stepmother. Clearly then, the two separate verses of Leviticus Chapter 18, that proscribe sexual intercourse take into account the possibility of a father's son having sexual intercourse with the son's biological mother, as well as the possibility of a father's son having sexual intercourse with that son's stepmother.

With this new perspective from the close reading of Genesis 9:22, Leviticus Chapters 18 and 20, verses seven, eight, and 11 respectively, in mind, the Biblical account now appears more clearly and begins to take on a new depth. Ham, it may be safely inferred, had sexual intercourse, either by consent or by rape, with his biological mother or he had sexual intercourse, either by rape or by consent, with his father's second wife, Ham's stepmother.

Be that as it may, these possibilities, none of which provide clear solutions to the quandaries posed, do not begin to explain how Noah, who's nakedness was covered by Shem and Japheth before he awoke from being passed out, could have known that Ham had "seen" his father's nakedness, unless of course, Shem and Japheth told Noah what had transpired. While this is a possible explanation, it does not satisfactorily answer the nagging question of why Noah would curse Ham's son Canaan instead of Ham. Conjecture through inference may offer a solution for this paradox.

The application of the Levitical proscription begins to assume broader implications than simple references to prohibitions against sexual intercourse with one's biological mother or the father's wife, that is, the stepmother, when it is considered that the curse Noah inveighed was placed on Canaan rather than Ham. If Shem and Japheth

did inform their father of Ham's shameful behavior then Noah should have burdened Ham with the imprecation rather than Canaan. But Noah did not curse Ham, Noah cursed Ham's son. This strange turn of events may only be explained through the implication that Shem and Japheth did not inform their father of Ham's illicit behavior, neither did Noah's wife (whether she was Ham's biological mother or his stepmother) verbally inform Noah of the behavior. Indeed, that Canaan was the recipient of the curse only makes sense when it is understood that the informant who revealed Ham's despicable act was Canaan himself. But how could this be so?

It is a peculiar trait of Biblical syntax that a single verse lends itself to myriad interpretations. The same verse has often been employed by parties of opposing viewpoints to substantiate their position. A general example includes Southern interpretation of Bible text to justify slavery while abolitionists, such as John Brown were just as positively convinced that scripture did not endorse the enslavement of others. In the example of Noah, the principle of flexibility within scripture holds true as well. It is observed that Noah, as scripture states in Genesis 9:24, awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him. At first glance, it could be understood and interpreted that "immediately" upon awakening Noah knew what Ham had done. The scripture, however, does not include the word, immediately. Within verse 24, there exists a deliberate, vague, and ambiguous interstice between Noah's awakening and his epiphany concerning Ham's shameful behavior. Assuming the former interpretation, that includes the assumption of immediacy, renders awkward the statement that follows immediately thereafter in verse 25 were it is observed that Noah said, Cursed be Canaan. Prior to this time, Canaan had not been mentioned, the implication being that Canaan was

not around, not even yet born. Following this premise further, it is then a logical assumption to conclude that there must have been a segment of time, even nine months that passed between Noah's awakening and his becoming aware of what Ham had done to him; the ambiguous interstice noted previously. Scripture itself reminds its readers not to, "forget this one thing, dear friends: With the Lord a day is like a thousand years, and a thousand years are like a day" (Second Peter 3: 8 [King James Bible]). Why else would Noah curse Ham's son, a son that was conspicuous in his absence prior to his sudden appearance by Noah's mention in scripture and Noah cursing Canaan, rather than Ham. It follows therefore that Canaan was cursed, instead of his father Ham, because Canaan was the result of Ham's incestuous sexual relationship with Noah's wife! This fluid, ambiguous relativity is the only explanation that fully satisfies Noah's imprecation on Canaan rather than Ham.

Given the patriarchal context of that era, with the familial honor that male offspring afforded their father's, of course Noah would curse the incestuous, bastard offspring of Ham's vile, dishonoring, and sinful act. Indeed, there could be no more effective method for Noah to restore his patriarchal honor while distancing himself from Ham and Canaan, nor could there have been any greater wound that Noah could inflict upon Ham. It was the most diabolically fitting option available to avenge an equally diabolical and sinfully heinous act. Killing the child would not have sufficiently expressed Noah's outrage, for then the incident, and the child, would have eventually faded from memory with the passage of time. However, by cursing Canaan and making him the "servant of servants," Noah was ensuring that the suffering of Ham would be magnified. Not only would Ham suffer from the curse being levied against his son, who

was innocent, but Canaan would suffer as well for a sin he did not commit. Moreover, the suffering of both Ham and Canaan would last for as long as Ham and Canaan lived and more importantly, beyond their passing. By cursing Canaan, Ham's guilt would live on through Canaan and be evident for all generations to come. In this manner, Noah was able to compound Ham's suffering exponentially in its measure.

### Consequences of Noah's Curse

Writings of the abolitionists indicate that by the 1670s the "curse of Ham" was being employed as a sanction for black enslavement. In 1700, when Samuel Sewall and John Saffin jostled over the rectitude of human thralldom, the efficacy of Ham's curse figured in the debate. It is significant that Saffin, whose pro-slavery tract carries the distinction of being the earliest printed defense of slavery in Colonial America, was reluctant to make the dubious identification of Africans with Ham (or Canaan). But as White servitude declined and racial slavery came under attack, the role of the curse in the American defense of slavery was increasingly formalized. By the 1830s when the American anti-slavery movement became organized, vocal, and aggressive, the scriptural defense of slavery had evolved into a most elaborate and systematic statement of proslavery. The imprecation that Noah levied against his offspring had become a stock weapon in the arsenal of slavery's apologists. Frequent references to Genesis Nine appeared prominently in their publications. By locating American readings of Genesis Nine within the history of biblical interpretation, the distinctive features in proslavery versions of the curse are clarified. Indeed, Genesis Chapters 9 through 11 provided a source for discerning God's will in racial matters by the majority of slave owners and sympathizers, that is responsible for significant continuities between the pro-slavery and

pro-segregation arguments following the War Between the States. Many examples of this continuity may be gleaned from the life and works of Benjamin Morgan Palmer. Palmer, one of the South's preeminent clergymen during the second half of the nineteenth century, employed Noah's prophecy as a sanction for chattel slavery during the late antebellum. In the aftermath of the War Between the States, Palmer analyzed the South's most recent past, as well as its future, through the Biblical lens provided in Genesis Chapters 10 and 11. As one of the leading Presbyterian divines, Palmer's influence was most considerably felt between the mid 1850s and his death in 1902. In sermons from the pulpit of the Presbyterian New Orleans First Church, arguably one of the most prestigious ministries in the South, Palmer elevated the function of the clergy from that of shepherd to that of an ennobler and defender of Southern traditions to perhaps its highest level.

Despite the attention given to Palmer by historians and scholars of religion, his reliance on Genesis Chapters 9 through 11 as a divinely revealed blueprint for human societies has been ignored. Although his influence on the antebellum Southern mind is generally acknowledged, for Palmer did not hesitate in appealing to Noah's prophecy as the Biblical justification for black slavery, this same influence has been overlooked in Palmer's expert privileging of Genesis Chapters 9 through 11 as the biblical foundation for Southern secession. Palmer's mythical power for invoking the primeval themes of Noah's drunkenness, the separating of the nations, and the Tower of Babel were legendary. The postdiluvian Adam and his descendants possessed a timeless relevance that was not lost on Palmer or his auditors through his powers of oratory (Haynes 2002).

The American War Between the States is perceived as providing one of history's greatest threats to an undivided American destiny. Both Northern and Southern

apologists, Abraham Lincoln and Benjamin Morgan, respectively, identified their separate causes with that destiny. Both felt that they were defending an authentically American mission. Both men invoked the help of their God. Each man viewed his own section as the citadel of the fundamental principles of American government, and assumed that their military was the advance guard of the New Israel crossing the Red Sea of war. Both Northern and Southern religious, political, and racial traditions divided the nation. “Black Laws” in both the North and the South strictly segregated Whites and Blacks, as well as other minorities (Haynes 2002).

All across America, laws against interracial marriage and interracial sex existed and were enforced in the Thirteen Colonies from the late seventeenth century onwards, and subsequently in several U. S. states and U. S. territories until 1967. Amalgamation, as it was then called, is now a largely archaic term for intermarriage and interbreeding of the various ethnicities or races. The term has been in use throughout the English-speaking world, well into the twentieth century. After 1863, in the United States, it was widely replaced by the term miscegenation. In a broader sense, the term amalgamation could refer to the interbreeding of different white as well as non-white ethnicities. Miscegenation, on the other hand, was a term used to refer specifically to the interbreeding of whites and non-whites, especially African-Americans. Sex between whites and members of other races was banned and controlled by anti-miscegenation laws. Miscegenation laws were laws that banned interracial marriage and sometimes interracial sex. Since 1863 in the United States, interracial marriage, cohabitation and sex have been termed “miscegenation.” Contemporary usage of the term “miscegenation” has become less frequent.

It is the influence of these traditions in the Jim Crow South and other regions of the nation that still manages to direct the socio-cultural norms of religion, race, and ideology in the sub-culture of the modern right-wing American militias.

### Chapter Summary

The preceding review of the early history of the militia in America, including the insurrection lead by John Brown has investigated and illustrated the religious, political, and racial motivations of Americans who participated in these movements and the depth, breadth, and width of their spiritual and emotional attachment to the causes in which they fought. Chapter III has also clearly demonstrated the literal interpretation of Scripture by the early militias and its application to their context. In the following chapter, this paper will explore and analyze the militia as it has been manifest, with its major permutations, during the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> Centuries to date as a means of demonstrating the close nexus between the religious, political, economic, and racial motivations of the contemporary militias and that of their early American counterparts. In Chapter IV, we now turn to the “biological” links between the past and the present, the connection between the early American militias and their great, great, great, grandchildren of today in the form of 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> Century militias. It will also be demonstrated how contemporary militias believe that they have experienced the same religious, political, economic, and ideological persecution and marginalization that their earlier counterparts resisted with armed violence.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

#### Introduction

This chapter will begin with a brief review of the forms of militia in *federal law* and political writing, as well as that of the *National Guard*. Following those sections, the militia as it has appeared in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century and as it exists in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century will be explored. The four major forms of the militia as manifested in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> Centuries: the unorganized militia, The *National Guard*, the visible militias, and the underground militia in its separate permutations will be examined as to form and content. Within this structure one of the most violently active militias which set the standard for all others who would resort to armed resistance as a means to overthrow the government of the United States will be examined at length. This will include detailed reviews of the most prominent members of that militia and its charismatic leader, Robert Jay Mathews. Additionally, each of the influences that provided the impetus and energy that drove Mathews and his group will be studied. Most importantly, the psychological underpinnings of the religious, racial, economic, and political philosophies of contemporary militias and their members will be examined in depth from an *academic political science perspective* as a means of providing an the modified emic perspective, mentioned earlier, of those beliefs, rather than an effort to “convert” the reader to those belief systems.

Types of Militias as Recognized  
in Constitutional Law and  
Political Writing

The Unorganized Militia

There are 110 organized militias scattered among in the United States. “The Militia of the United States” is defined under federal law to include all able-bodied males of age and some other males and females (10 U.S.C., §311; 32 U.S.C., §313), with the National Guard established as only its *formally organized* element (U.S. House of Representatives 2007, 2008). The authority for militia is any threat to public safety. Those individuals active in the unorganized militia are not bound for a fixed term of service, nor are they paid for their service. Those active in the militia do not receive arms, supplies, or officers as part of their militia service. Most importantly, there is no recognized authority that may order the militia to surrender, disarm, or disband (Cozic 1997). One of the fathers of the American Constitution and delegate to the Constitutional Convention, George Mason, during the Constitutional debates concerning the militia intoned: “I ask, Who are the militia? They consist now of the whole people, except a few public officials” (Mason 1836, 425). Prominent Federalist and American political economist Tench Coxe (1788) declared:

Who are the militia? Are they not ourselves? Is it feared, then, that we shall turn our arms each man against his own bosom. Congress have no power to disarm the militia. Their swords, and every other terrible implement of the soldier, are the birth-right of an American ... the unlimited power of the sword is not in the hands of either the federal or state governments but, where I trust in God it will ever remain, in the hands of the people.

### The National Guard

The National Guard is considered in order to demonstrate the legal distinction between that organization, as an adjunct of the federal system, and the militia as defined by the Constitution and legal precept. The National Guard was first established in 1903. It is not the militia referred to in the Second Amendment. For more than 400 years, the term “well regulated militia” has meant the people, with privately owned weapons, led by officers they themselves have chosen. Tench Coxe emphasized that the militia “are in fact the effective part of the people at large” (1787). Richard Henry Lee insisted that the militia, “are in fact the people themselves” (Lee 1788, letter XVIII). George Mason said that the militia consists “of the whole people” (Mason 1836, 425).

The National Guard is subject to absolute federal authority (*Perpich v. Dept. of Defense* 1990). Consequently, the National Guard is not that body recognized as a “well regulated militia” referred to in the Second Amendment to the United States Constitution. “The Militia of the United States” is defined under federal law to include all able-bodied males of age and some other males and females (10 U.S.C., §311; 32 U.S.C., §313) with the Guard established as only its “organized” element (U.S. House of Representatives 2007, 2008).

### The Types of Militias as Manifest in Contemporary Form

#### Militias of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> Centuries

To demonstrate the relationship of modern militias and the United States government it is necessary to reflect upon early examples of the nature and character of that relationship. Although arguably not a militia in the classic sense, it is within this

same spirit that the Ku Klux Klan, dating back to the Nineteenth Century and extending its reach into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, bridges the gap between the post Civil War era and the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. The Ku Klux Klan has perpetrated and been the victim of many bloody encounters with local, state, and Federal authorities as a result of their propensity for violence. However, the Klan was not the only violent actor made manifest during those times. In the early years of the third decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, General Douglas MacArthur was not a gracious supporter of a group of citizen soldiers. In 1932, he enlisted the force of federal troops to drive the *Bonus Marchers* from the nation's Capital. These veterans of WWI and their families were protesting the government's refusal to pay the marchers a cash redemption for their service certificates as it had promised. Many of these veterans suffered beatings and wounds from some of the same men they had risked their lives with in Europe. Just as brutal to coal miners, were the police and National Guardsmen who were called out to quell the riots during the coal miner disputes with the large coal corporations during the greatest part of the 1930's in Appalachia. Pitched, bloody battles were fought between armed coal miners and government troops as those civilian miners fought for decent working and living conditions.

Moving into the mid 1960s, members of the Weathermen, the Weather Underground, the Symbionese Liberation Army, the Black Liberation Army, the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, the Mexican Brown Berets, and the American Indian Movement mounted armed insurrections against what they believed to be a repressive, fascist, and racist federal government assisted by a corrupt and decadent capitalist economic structure. On a regular basis the national news services were filled with reports

of firefights between local or federal authorities and the radicals. Some of the violent actions taken by these groups, in order to publicize their grievances, included armored car and bank robberies, as well as the bombing of federal facilities. Like their radical European counterparts, the violent and indiscriminate activities of these groups served more to alienate the public whose very sympathies they sought to arouse. To complete this chapter, the militias of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> Century, will be reviewed.

### The Militia as Formal Structure

The organic and organized political systems of this nation, that maintain the status quo are too powerful in their existing forms, and as a consequence, are beyond the ability of any existing nationalist organization, other than one equivalent to a world power, or one backed by the support of a world power, of being overpowered by the rules that those political systems have devised. It is therefore incumbent upon any organization enjoying less than global military status to facilitate strategies and tactics that they believe will enable individuals or differing groups to initiate and precipitate actions that will produce the effects they desire. Through acting separately, or in carefully constructed and unified movements, they may leverage an impact on the political system and attain a collective outcome. The goal of these “actions of force” is known as ‘UNITY OF PURPOSE.’ The objective is to bring PRESSURE to bear upon the existing socio-political structure that will result in the resurgence and return of White hegemony so as to insure and safeguard White society. (Barry 1998, 17)

The preceding quote was presented to the members of what was once known as a “politically active” militia group in the United States. The term active is used deliberately to contrast that group with what is now characterized as “paramilitary active,” and as opposed to an “invisible cell.” A politically active unit is one that is “above-ground,” visible and produces literature, newsletters, books, pamphlets or periodic publications designed to keep the faithful, and enemies alike, abreast of current developments and information. Any and all of this information may be used by interested parties to whatever end its user/s may believe it obtains. Communiqués in the form of

newsletters, sophisticated quarterly or monthly publications from these units brought their members news of the latest government outrage, whether it concerned actions against tax-resisters, religious groups, Second Amendment advocates or White Nationalist groups, each cadre kept its readership informed. Even the Ku Klux Klan moved to the use of modern media techniques as a means to increase their base of influence through the spreading of their message. While many of the militia organizations distanced themselves from the Klaverns, the overarching elements of race, religion, militaristic activities of defense, as well as preparation for offensive actions, and White Nationalism provided common cause for the disparate groups. In the early days of the inter-net on-line “bulletin boards” were the prime means of disseminating information. Rapidly these were replaced by more efficient websites and on-line forums for up to the minute postings as to what has been happening anywhere in the world. Conversely, a paramilitary active unit was one that actually trained in military style operations with military armament while outfitted in full battle-dress utility clothing (BDUs), in preparation for a possible “call-up” for any contingency the unit commander believed warranted that unit’s involvement. These organizations realized a complete and ordered command structure that was directed by a commanding General. When an ammonium/nitrate, fuel/oil explosive device blasted the Alfred P. Murrah Building in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma apart on April 19, of 1995, that explosion effectively broke the back of and ended the visible militia movement in the United States. The consequence of that detonation forced the hand of the various militia groups then active across the country. The time for rhetoric and playing at militia had been brought to an end. It was put-up or shut-up time. Either the militias were domestic terrorists who were

willing to indiscriminately attack innocent American men women and children in retaliation for government excesses, or they were patriotic Americans who disdained the type of violence witnessed in Oklahoma City. Appropriately enough, the most vocal and visibly active groups distanced themselves from what Timothy James McVeigh and Terry Lynn Nichols had wrought. Not coincidentally, as Timothy McVeigh later revealed, April 19, of 1995 marked the second anniversary of the murder of Branch Davidian members and the destruction of their commune in Waco, Texas by Federal authorities. The destruction of the Murrah Building was in direct retaliation for that Federal debacle. Furthermore, April 19 also marked the day when British Troops were ordered to confiscate American shot, powder and arms at Concord, and arrest the two rebel leaders, Samuel Adams and John Hancock at Lexington. April 19, 1776, is heralded as the day of “the shot heard round the world,” the beginning of the American Revolution for Independence from Great Britain. Whether McVeigh was a militia member or not, the militias, rightly or wrongly, were inextricably linked with him and Oklahoma City, for better or worse, forever. Almost immediately after the revelations concerning the Oklahoma City blast, the visible, organized militia leadership began to remake each unit into more of a public service organization. This image was projected to counteract that of an outfit scanning short-wave radios listening for an opportunity to rush to some location and shoot Federal Agents, preventing the “Feds” from conducting another Ruby ridge or Waco type of operation. These “above ground” nationalist organizations, however, were only a small percentage of the entire movement. Additionally, groups such as the *Militia of Montana* and the *Michigan Militia* did not accurately reflect the profile of groups that existed below the cultural radar, in easy reach of the mass media and the, then

burgeoning internet. It was the truly underground groups that presented the greatest challenge to local, State and Federal law enforcement. These invisible groups were already practicing the very stealth strategy that kept them out of sight and out of mind until they chose to make their presence known through action of their own devise. After the Murrah explosion, the truly committed ideologists of the right adopted the *Phantom Cell*, Leaderless Resistance paradigm advocated by Louis Beam as being the most effective and least vulnerable strategic operational mode available to those who were still willing to take the fight to the government. It is these specific units that are the chimeras of contemporary law enforcement. Drawing on examples of the Committees of Correspondence from Revolutionary American history, the violent Marxist factions of the 1960s and 1970s as well as training from former operatives in the Special Operations Command of the United States military, these underground groups have derived a new form of anti-government warfare that no longer relies upon an innately vulnerable and calcified command structure. It is that new order that provides the tactical, psychological advantage necessary to overcome the numerical, technical superiority of 21<sup>st</sup> Century anti-terrorism in post 9/11 America and still survive to carry out their mission and accomplish their goals.

### The Militia Movement Today

The militia movement is the youngest of the major right-wing anti-government movements in the United States (the sovereign citizen movement and the tax protest movement are the two others) yet it has seared itself into the American consciousness as virtually no other fringe movement has. The publicity given to militia

groups in the wake of the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995, when the militia movement was erroneously linked to that tragedy, made them into a household name. Reporters, pundits and politicians alike have used the term so frequently that it is often tossed about carelessly as a synonym for virtually any right-wing extremist group (Robins & Post 1997).

Yet the militia movement is not a generic subject. If militia groups were not involved with the Oklahoma City bombing, they have nevertheless embroiled themselves since 1994 in a variety of other bombing plots, conspiracies, and serious violations of law. Their extreme anti-government ideology, along with their elaborate conspiracy theories and fascination with weaponry and paramilitary organization, lead many members of militia groups to act out in ways that justify the concerns expressed about them by public officials, law enforcement and the general public (Schlatter 2006).

#### Origins and Ideology: “Seventeen Little Children”

As has been demonstrated earlier in this paper, the militia movement is both old and new. On the one hand, militia groups are the latest in a series of periodic manifestations of the extreme right and paramilitary organizations. On the other hand, however, the contemporary militia movement formed under a unique set of circumstances that gave the movement a character, orientation and purpose distinct from its colonial, pre-revolutionary, revolutionary, and post revolutionary predecessors.

The extreme right in the United States has long had a fascination with paramilitary groups. Before World War II, right wing and fascist groups such as the Silver Shirt Legion and the Christian Front formed across America. Later, during the

Cold War, a new wave of paramilitary organizations such as the California Rangers and the Minutemen materialized. During the 1980s, survivalists and white supremacists formed a variety of paramilitary groups that ranged from the Christian Patriot-Defense League to the Texas Emergency Reserve to the White Patriot Party formed by Louis Beam, the man who contemporized the concept of “Leaderless Resistance” (Beam 1992; Robins and Post 1997). The militia movement therefore, is heir to the right-wing paramilitary tradition. Moreover, it is the progeny of another tradition, the anti-government ideology of groups like the Posse Comitatus. The Posse Comitatus developed an elaborate conspiratorial view of American history and government, one that claimed the legitimate government had been subverted by conspirators and replaced with an illegitimate, tyrannical government. Posse members believed that the people had the power and responsibility to “take back” the government, through force of arms if necessary. A central figurehead among these was William Potter Gale. Gale, who died in the late 1980s, was a Christian Identity minister and was one of the founders of the Posse Comitatus. In the 1980s, he appointed himself chief of staff to the Unorganized Militia of a group known as the Committee of the States. Gale’s precise incorporation of the term, unorganized militia, is legally significant. In that form, it is a statutory term in federal and state law that refers to the nominal manpower pool created a century ago when federal law formally abandoned compulsory militia service. When Gale attached his use of the term to the militia carries the implication that the organization was not only legal but that it was, in fact, a constitutional arm of the government. This argument would be amplified by later militia proponents who laid claim to the legitimacy of militia groups. Within their arguments, these groups were equivalent to the statutory militia, albeit not

controlled by the government. Indeed, the unorganized militia is designed to oppose the government should it become tyrannical (Neil Hamilton 1996).

Consequently, many Posse figures engaged in paramilitary training. What turned the concept into reality in the early 1990s was a series of catalysts that angered people on the extreme right sufficiently to start a new movement. Although some militia movement pioneers had been active in other anti-government or hate groups, the majority of militia leaders were in fact new leaders, people who only recently had been so motivated that they were willing to take action. The events that angered them ranged from the election of Bill Clinton to the Rodney King riots to the passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement. The issue that dominated all the thinking of every member however, was the deadly standoffs at Ruby Ridge, Idaho, in 1992 and Waco, Texas, in 1993. These two seminal incidents inflamed widespread passion and outrage against the United States government. To many Americans, these events were confusing tragedies. To all the elements of the extreme right, they were examples of a government willing to stop at nothing to stamp out people who refused to conform. Right-wing folk singers like Carl Klang memorialized the children who died at Waco with songs like “Seventeen Little Children” (Klang 1995). These events provided new life to a number of extremist movements, from Christian Identity activists to sovereign citizens, but they also propelled the creation of an entirely new movement consisting of armed militia groups formed to prevent another Ruby Ridge or Waco (Crothers 2003).

The fact that both the Ruby Ridge and Waco incidents involved firearms added considerable impetus to an already motivated movement. The largest majority of militia members and leaders are adamant gun-rights advocates. They perceived the Ruby

Ridge and Waco debacles as test exercises by the Federal government for a larger gun confiscation operation throughout the country. It was the belief of the militias that the government was isolating and picking off the marginalized and fringe elements of the right wing in an effort to set a precedent for gun confiscation among the more mainstream elements of gun owners in America. Moreover, the militias are comprised of people who believe that the Second Amendment was placed in the Bill of Rights to enumerate the explicit rights of gun ownership as a means for preventing the government from usurping the rights of American citizens, not to mention the very act of gun confiscation itself. Many people initially joined the fledgling militia movement largely as a way to protect more aggressively their right to bear arms. Even today, gun-related issues dominate many of the newsletters published by militia groups (Neil Hamilton 1996).

The final element forming the militia movement was a vast fascination with conspiracies. Conspiracies were easy to accept for people who believed that the federal government deliberately murdered people at Ruby Ridge and Waco and that door-to-door gun confiscation could begin at any moment. But the militia movement not only accepted the traditional conspiracy theories, it created a host of new ones. They described shadow elements in government intent on creating a one-world socialist government no matter what the cost. This “New World Order,” a phrase taken from a speech by President G. H. W. Bush (1990), and using the United Nations as its primary tool, had already taken over most of the planet. The United States was still a bastion of freedom, but its own government was collaborating with New World Order forces to strip Americans slowly of their freedoms in preparation for the final takeover. The government was erecting large

numbers of concentration camps in which to place American dissenters; meanwhile, the number of United Nations troops secretly encamped in national parks grew by the month. Stickers on the backs of street signs would guide the New World Order to strategic points, while the authorities enlisted urban street gangs to help enforce gun confiscation (Robins and Post 1997).

The combination of anger at the government, fear of gun confiscation and susceptibility to elaborate conspiracy theories are some of the influences that formed the core of the militia movement's ideology. Although there were white supremacists in the movement, and although groups and individuals within the movement often made common cause with or at least tolerated hate groups, the orientation of the militia movement remained primarily anti-government and conspiratorial. The militia movement appealed to many radical libertarians just as it appealed to traditional proponents of extreme right-wing causes. There was room even for African American militia leaders like J.J. Johnson of Ohio and Leroy Crenshaw of Massachusetts. Their positions of leadership in the militias were an implicit statement that it was not just white, heterosexual males that were justified in their fear of the Federal government. That Johnson and Crenshaw also were leaders of a militia themselves undermined the liberal argument that the militias were all racists, as well (Durham 2007).

#### Private Armies, Public Wars

Not surprisingly, some of the earliest leaders of the militia movement had personal associations with the standoffs at Ruby Ridge and Waco. Linda Thompson, an Indianapolis lawyer who decided unilaterally to represent the Branch Davidians during

their standoff, went on to appoint herself "acting adjutant general" of the Unorganized Militia of the United States in 1993. Until her call for an armed march on Washington, D.C., fizzled in 1994, she was quite influential, particularly through the videotapes she produced alleging government complicity at Waco. More lasting in influence was a friend of Randy Weaver, John Trochmann, who with his brother and nephew formed the Militia of Montana in January 1994 (George & Wilcox 1996).

Thompson and Trochmann, along with other militia pioneers and supporters, helped other groups to form. Active militia groups arose in Ohio, Idaho, California, Florida and many other states. None grew as fast as those in Michigan, loosely formed into an umbrella group known as the Michigan Militia, headed by a pastor and gun shop owner, Norm Olson. Militia activists recruited at gun shows, held public meetings in libraries and schools, and broadcast on shortwave radio, where talk-show hosts such as Michigan militia leader Mark Koernke were particularly popular (Robins & Post 1997).

The militia movement grew rapidly throughout 1994, drawing little attention until that fall, when civil rights groups such as the Anti-Defamation League and the Southern Poverty Law Center released reports and articles on the new movement. By the following spring, the militia movement had finally begun to receive scrutiny by law enforcement, the media and the public. Then the Oklahoma City bombing on April 19, 1995, created an entirely new environment. Several suspected links between the bombing and militia groups in Michigan—later proved to be unfounded—unleashed a storm of publicity about the militia movement around the country. The militia for the first time faced the harsh glare of the spotlight. Overall, it did not fare particularly well. Some groups disbanded in the wake of the bombing, while other groups splintered. Norm Olson

was kicked out by his own followers when he told reporters that the Japanese government had been involved in the Oklahoma City bombing (Durham 2007).

However, the overall result of the bombing and its attendant publicity was actually a rise in the militia movement, because the media attention informed many potential supporters that such a movement actually existed. As a result, the militia movement grew in numbers and activity all through 1995 and into 1996. The militia even managed to get some “pay-back.” In the summer of 1995, several militia leaders drew publicity to the Good Ol’ Boys Roundup, a yearly festivity in Tennessee for federal and local law enforcement officers at which various racist and off-color activities had taken place. Two federal agencies were forced to launch investigations of the event as a result, while militia leaders claimed that the media had been wrong all along. It was not the militia movement that was racist. Instead, it was the federal government that was racist. Investigations eventually revealed that the racist activity was committed by local Tennessee law enforcement officers (Abanes 1996).

By early 1996, virtually every state had at least one group, and most states had several. The movement had attracted the attention not only of the media but also of law enforcement, however. At this point, law enforcement agencies had begun to discover signs of significant criminal activity. As early as 1994, members of the Blue Ridge Hunt Club, a nascent Virginia militia group, had been arrested on a variety of weapons charges. The following year an Oklahoma Christian Identity minister and militia leader, Ray Lampley, was arrested along with several followers for conspiring to blow up targets ranging from government buildings to the offices of civil rights organizations. But in 1996, a series of investigations resulted in a number of major militia-related arrests,

generally on illegal weapons, explosives and conspiracy charges. In April 1996, several members of the Georgia Republic Militia were arrested, followed in July by a dozen members of the Arizona Viper Militia. Later that same month, members of the Washington State Militia were taken into custody on weapons charges. In October, members of the West Virginia Mountaineer Militia were also arrested on weapons charges and in connection with plans to blow up an FBI fingerprinting facility. These arrests had a depressing effect on the movement (Neil Hamilton 1996).

Other events in 1996 and 1997 also served to weaken the movement. The most ambitious attempt to network militia groups together, the Tri-States Militia, collapsed in 1996 when it was revealed that its leader had been accepting money from the FBI. In March 1996, the FBI surrounded the Montana Freemen, a sovereign citizen group, in remote eastern Montana and arrested them following an 81-day standoff. Although a few militia members traveled to Montana to support and aid the Freemen, by and large the movement failed to respond, a fact that embittered some of the more radical members. This scenario would be repeated the following spring when the militia failed to come to the rescue of the besieged Republic of Texas near Fort Davis, Texas. A lack of response on the part of the militia movement caused a number of radical members to splinter away at the same time that some of the less hard-core members were leaving because of the increased arrests. By the fall of 1996, the movement had clearly faltered, and several prominent early leaders dropped out, including Idaho militia leader Samuel Sherwood. Sherwood disbanded his group in September, complaining that the movement was being misrepresented on one side by the media and commandeered by lunatics on the other side (George and Wilcox 1996).

Some militia activists attempted to buck the tide by establishing militia umbrella groups, most of which lasted only a few years. More radical members eschewed elaborate militia organizations and attempted to go it on their own. In Michigan, a group of militia members, allegedly kicked out of the Michigan Militia for being too radical, formed the North American Militia. Members planned to bomb a large number of targets in Michigan, including a federal building and an IRS. building; they constructed a variety of pipe bombs and even discussed assassinating various government officials. By 1998, five members of the group had been arrested and convicted on multiple charges. Leaders Brad Metcalf and Randy Graham received 40 and 55 year sentences, respectively. In Missouri, a group of extremists from several different states, led by Bradley Glover of Kansas, met at a gathering of the “Third Continental Congress,” but decided that this umbrella group was not radical enough for them. They struck out on their own, planning to attack United States military bases that they suspected were training New World Order troops. Members were so committed that they sold their businesses and homes in order to have plenty of money and be completely mobile. The first planned attack would occur against Fort Hood, Texas, on July 4, 1997—the day that the military base hosts an annual “Freedom Festival” attended by 50,000 men, women and children. Luckily, good police work on the part of the Missouri State Highway Patrol and the FBI detected the plans and prevented a tragedy. Glover and a companion were arrested on July 4 at a campground near Fort Hood. Eventually seven people were arrested in connection with the group (Mulloy 2004).

### Beyond Y2K: Camouflage and Conspiracy

The number of militia groups declined after 1996, as did militia activity.

Patterns of criminal activity, however, remained more or less constant. Militia members continued to run afoul of the law on a regular basis. As the millennium wound to a close, federal agents arrested Florida militia leader Donald Beauregard, charging that he and others had plotted to destroy a nuclear power plant and other utilities as well as law enforcement offices. Beauregard eventually agreed to a plea bargain. And in one of the only Y2K-related criminal acts in the United States, two San Joaquin County Militia members were arrested in Sacramento, California, on weapons charges. The two had allegedly plotted to blow up a 245,000-gallon propane storage facility. More recently, in December 2000, Western Illinois Militia leader Dan Shoemaker received a four-year sentence on counts of aggravated intimidation, threatening a public official and unlawful use of weapons, following an incident in which he threatened law enforcement officers who tried to talk him out of plans to march through two Illinois towns carrying a rifle. Shoemaker had earlier promised to shoot anybody who tried to stop him. Other militia groups have made veiled threats related to current and future firearms legislation (Crothers 2003).

Perhaps recognizing the decline that has taken place in the past several years, a number of militia leaders have taken steps to rejuvenate the movement. They have been aided by the fact that, though the number of militia groups has declined, they have not declined evenly. In many areas of the country, the militia movement remains as strong, or nearly as strong, as it was at its height. In particular, the Midwest remains a source of active and fairly large militia groups. In Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Kentucky,

active militia regularly meet and train. Perhaps the most active militia group in the country recently is the Kentucky State Militia, led by Charlie Puckett. The KSM has benefited from hosting twice-annual militia gatherings during the Knob Creek, Kentucky, machine-gun shoots. At the April 2001 event, the KSM even managed to attract two Kentucky state legislators to address the attendees, despite the fact that the KSM Web site had urged readers to locate a fellow legislator and bring sufficient ammo. In a letter to followers after the weekend event, Puckett indicated to supporters that the recent meeting was a success while it marked a critical turning point in efforts by the militia movement to rescue for the ideals of liberty that are the American birthright (Abanes 1996).

The Kentucky State Militia has also held trainings out of state in an effort to help rejuvenate the movement. In states like Pennsylvania and Texas, militia leaders have held gatherings designed to reorganize and re-energize the movement in those regions as well. Whether or not such efforts will be successful is uncertain. It is possible that only another high-profile incident like Ruby Ridge or Waco could raise the militia movement to its earlier height. Nevertheless, the militia movement does not appear to be in danger of disappearing. New militia groups continue to form, and in some states, like Georgia and West Virginia, where groups virtually disappeared following major arrests in 1996, the movement has become active again. As long as it is active in any substantial way, criminal activity seems likely to continue (Neil Hamilton 1996).

### Psychological Profile of the Modern Militia in America

He wanted to know the history of the country. He had a college textbook, a big thick one. Years later, showing it to me, he prodded it with his finger, and said, "I durn near memorized every durn word in it. I could name you every date." Then he prodded it again, this time contemptuously, and said, "And the fellow who wrote it didn't know a God-damned thing. About how things were. He didn't know a thing. I bet things were just as they are now. A lot of folks wrassling round."

~Robert Penn Warren, *All the King's Men*

To complete the study of modern militias and paramilitary organizations, an in depth analysis of the psychological profile of several of the most prominent militias will be conducted. Among those studied in detail will include The Silent Brotherhood and The Aryan Republican Army. Crucial to this chapter is the examination of the racial, political, and religious foundations that under-gird the organizations that were active prior to the devastation of the Murrah Federal Building. Those militias remaining visibly active today are a changed breed from those groups that were active prior to April 19, 1995. The distinction between the types is one of national importance. For example, units such as Louis Beam's *Texas Emergency Reserve*, Klaverns of the Ku Klux Klan and the Posse Comitatus will be considered for their contribution to the development of more recent militia type groups. In addition to the former paramilitary elements, the concept of "Leaderless Resistance," as enumerated by Louis Beam, the existence of "underground" paramilitary organizations, such as *The Phinehas Priesthood* and its incorporation of the "Phantom Cell" structure will be evaluated. "Leaderless Resistance" as a tactic and strategy, with its call for underground cell structures, is incorporated as a means of frustrating law enforcement abilities to detect, track, arrest, and prosecute those who

choose to pursue armed and other violent means of resistance to the government. Due to the blurring of the lines of separation between some militias and militia-type groups, The Army of God is included in this chapter. Although it is a pro-life group, some of its members have crossed over the line that distinguishes between civil disobedience, in the form of protest, and have participated in physical violence against abortion providers and practitioners. Consequently, a follow-up of “lone-wolves” and “lone operators,” as well as other dark stars that function on the extreme fringe of the right wing galaxy must be discussed.

We were going to do more than just talk...for blood, soil, honor, for faith and for race....

~Robert Jay Mathews

Judge Robert Bork, writing in the introduction to his 1996 book, *Slouching Towards Gomorrah*, states that it “is a book about American decline. . . . that decline and the mounting resistance to it have produced what we now call a culture war” (Bork 1996, 2). Judge Bork proceeds from this point to critically analyze the influences of the decline of American culture, as he perceived it. In essence, what Bork investigated was the psychology that has driven the American social structure, with its elements of politics, law, higher education and popular culture, into the culture war that Bork recognizes. It is that very psychology, in its violent manifestations that will be investigated herein. Specifically, this paper will attempt to discern what is the motivating psychology behind that aspect of the culture war that has gone beyond an intellectual war of words and exploded into an actual shooting war between the, so called, American Militias and the Federal Government. For a number of the participants in this war, it is one fought in deadly earnest. It is a struggle for the very survival of the culture, heritage, future and,

most importantly, the race of its warriors. It is a war fought with real bullets. One that has brought many of its combatants multiple life sentences, some as long as 252 years, real casualties and real blood along with real death. It is a war fueled by the most powerful of propellants. The ingredients are an admixture of political ideology ignited by religious zeal that creates as volatile a combination in the United States as any seen in the Mosques of the Middle East or the cells of the most fervent Maoist *Shining Path* adherents. This war commands the attention of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), The Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF), as well as the Department of Homeland Security. It must also command everyone's attention if this nation is to avoid losing its most important asset. There is a large portion of everyday citizens who love this country but resist having it destroyed from within by the very government that was fabricated to protect it in order for its people to flourish. The questions are asked, "What could have prompted law abiding American citizens to resort to armed robberies of armored cars and banks?" "Why would peaceable Americans, who loved their families turn to cold-blooded murder, risking everyone and everything they hold dear in the process?" In order to provide a thorough understanding of the preceding questions and this volatile phenomenon, as well as the individuals and groups that comprise it, an historical overview will be presented. Simultaneously, it will be argued that it is the nationalist/political and racialist/religious ideology that compels those philosophies' advocates in behaving as they do. For groups with names such as The Silent Brotherhood (*The Bruders Schweigen*), Covenant Sword and the Arm of The Lord, Church of Jesus Christ Christian - Aryan Nations, The Aryan People's Army, Posse Comitatus, Aryan Youth Movement, White Aryan Resistance, The American Nazi Party, Christian Patriots

Defense League, The Aryan Republican Army, American National Socialists, World Church of the Creator, The Militia of Montana, The Michigan Militia, the militantly Pro-life, Army of God and various elements of the Ku Klux Klan, not to mention hundreds of National Alliance Charters and “Skin-Head” groups across America, *race* and *religion* are the principle components of the nationalist militia movements and are an especially significant consideration in the member’s thought processes. Mark the word *race*, for it is the keynote word, along with *religion*, writ large. One catchphrase of the more militant factions of the phenomenon under review is the acronym; “**ORION:**” Our Race Is Our Nation.

#### The “Identity” Doctrine: Religion as Ideology

While Christian Identity finds its roots in *British Israelism*, Christian Identity and British Israelism are no different than the religion of the ancient or modern Hebrews, who practiced racial exclusivity as a national and religious precept. Indeed, contemporary China and Japan eschew foreigners as citizens, demanding that anyone who would become a citizen must produce racial provenance that demonstrates only Chinese or Japanese ancestry. From the perspective of the Christian Identity (CI) practitioner it is asked, “why may the people of modern Israel, China or Japan claim racial exclusivity as a component of national self-determination, religious practice and sovereignty while the practitioners of Christian Identity are not afforded the same right, and this in their own nation?” In order to give substance to the outline preceding this section and answer the Identity believers’ question, a digression involving a close reading of the major points of CI must be followed. Having laid the foundation of their beliefs through a summary of

the “two seed-line”<sup>1</sup> doctrine, it is necessary to proceed to the point where the unified nation of Israel becomes two independent kingdoms and is separated into the flow of history. This separation occurs with, first the Assyrian captivity of the kingdom of Israel and then the Babylonian captivity of the kingdom of Judah, all of which was presaged during the reign of King Solomon, son of King David.

Prior to Solomon’s death, as King of the United Israel, Solomon had angered the Lord God because he had followed the idolatrous teachings of his foreign wives, wives that the Lord God had expressly forbidden Solomon to take to himself because they would lead him into idolatry (I Kings 11: 1–11 [King James Bible]). As a consequence, the Lord God “said unto Solomon, ‘Forasmuch as this is done of thee, and thou hast not kept my covenant and my statutes, which I have commanded thee, I will surely rend the kingdom from thee, *and will give it to thy servant* (italics added) (I Kings 11: 11). Stemming from Solomon’s rebellion against the Word of the Lord, war broke out between the United Kingdom and the neighboring nations. It was during this turmoil that, “Jeroboam the son of Nebat...*Solomon’s servant*” (I Kings 11: 26), was made “*ruler over all the charge of the house of Joseph*” by King Solomon, in fulfillment of prophecy. Later, the Prophet Ahijah informed Jeroboam that he was to be given rule over ten of the twelve tribes of Israel (I Kings 11: 29–33), also in fulfillment of prophecy. With the passing of King Solomon, “Rehoboam his son reigned in his stead” (I Kings 11: 43c). The new King, however, followed the ill-advised direction of “the young men that were grown up with him, and which stood before him” (I Kings 12: 8). King Rehoboam afflicted the nation with a heavier burden of taxation and servitude than had his father, King Solomon or that of King David. At this, Jeroboam and the ten tribes broke away

from Rehoboam and the remaining two tribes, “saying, ‘What portion have we in [King] David? Neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse: to your tents, O Israel: now see to thine own house, David,’ So Israel departed unto their tents...So Israel rebelled against the house of David *unto this day*” (italics added) (I Kings 12: 16b, 19). It was at this separation that the Northern ten tribes were specified and identified as the *Kingdom of Israel* while the remaining two Southern tribes were identified as the *Kingdom of Judah*. The Bible, as well as the historical record continues with the ensuing sins of Israel that precipitated the Lord God’s anger and finally his wrath upon those tribes in the form of the Assyrian captivity, circa 721, B.C. at the hand of Shalmaneser, King of Assyria (II Kings 17: 6–9). It was during the Assyrian captivity that the ten tribes became lost as they dispersed northward, over the Caucasus Mountains and westward, through the Mediterranean into Europe, England and America, as documented in *Israel's Wanderings* by W.M.H. Milner (Oxonian), published in 1892. As a result of this dispersion, the tribe of Ephraim (Jacob’s younger son) and Manasseh (Jacob’s older son) become England and the United States of America, respectively. This derives from the blessing that the Patriarch Jacob (whom God had changed his name to Israel) had bestowed upon the two brothers in Genesis, chapter 48. Joseph, at that time, had prophesied of Manasseh, “and he shall become a people, and he shall be great.” After blessing the elder brother, Joseph then inveighed: “but truly his younger brother shall be greater than he, and his seed shall become a multitude of nations:” Genesis 48: 19. Although Joseph had protested at the greater blessing being given to the younger brother, Jacob assured his son that he, Jacob, was well aware of what he had done. Jacob, “saying ‘In thee shall Israel bless, saying, God make thee as Ephraim and as Manasseh’: and *he set Ephraim before Manasseh*”

[emphasis added] (Genesis 48: 20), thus establishing his act with all of its implication for the future. The Biblical record further substantiates the thesis of Israel's dispersion as recorded by, Amos 9: 9: "For, lo, I will command, and I will sift the house of Israel [not Judah] among all nations, like as corn is sifted in a sieve." Include along with that testimony those of The Apocrypha: I & II Esdras; I & II Maccabees; Isaiah 41: 1; 65: 15; Micah 5: 8; and Zechariah 2: 6 – 13 (not exhaustive) and the argument in behalf of British-Israelism/Identity is sustained. One hundred thirty four years later, circa 587, B.C., at the command of the King of Babylon, Nebuzaradan, Captain of the Guard, carried Judah into the Babylonian captivity, one that lasted 70 years (Jeremiah 39: 1–40). The tribe of Judah, however, was allowed to return from captivity at the direction of Kings Cyrus and Artaxerxes as detailed in the Books of the Bible, Ezra and Nehemiah the Prophets. Again, we have been brought full circle to the present where several of the most prominent doctrines of Christian Identity and the new "far right" may be investigated.

#### Rejecting Multiculturalism and Miscegenation

During the last week of November 1984, Robert Jay Mathews, while recuperating at a "safe-house" on Whidbey Island, Washington, from gunshot wounds he received during a firefight with pursuing FBI agents, wrote a *Declaration of War*. Mathews had intended that it be mailed to the editors of every major newspaper in the United States. This Declaration expresses many of the most fundamental concepts that persuade identity believers compelling them to action against the United States government. In part, Mathews wrote:

It is now a dark and dismal time in the history of our race. All about us lie the green graves of our sires, yet, in a land once ours, we have become a people dispossessed...

While we allow Mexicans by the legions to invade our soil, we murder our babies in equal numbers. Were the men of the Alamo only a myth? Whether by force of arms or force of the groin, the result of this invasion is the same. Yet our people do not resist.

Our heroes and our culture have been insulted and degraded. The mongrel hordes clamor to sever us from our inheritance. Yet our people do not care.

Throughout this land our children are being coerced into accepting nonwhites for their idols, their companions, and worst of all their mates. A course which is taking us straight to oblivion. Yet our people do not see...

All about us the land is dying. Our cities swarm with dusky hordes... (Flynn and Gerhardt, 1990, 20)

Along with the Declaration of War, Mathews included the “Open Letter to Congress,” he had retrieved from his collection of literature from the National Alliance of Dr. William Pierce. Mathews warned Congress, excerpting from *The Turner Diaries*, writing of “the day of the rope.” It would be a day when the atrocities perpetrated by that body against the American people would be adjudicated by White Nationalists who would bring to the bar of justice the Congress of the United States so as to answer for their crimes. “When the day comes,” promised the author, “we will not ask whether you swung to the right or whether you swung to the left; we will simply swing you by your neck” (Flynn and Gerhardt 1990, 225).

But the rage Mathews experienced was not confined to the Congress of the United States. One of the major contributors to the deracination of American heritage and culture was from a source he called “the electronic Jew” (Flynn and Gerhardt 1990, 106), television. Norman Lear, 1970s and 1980s television producer of programs such as *All in the Family*, which depicted Whites as ignorant, illiterate, yet feckless fools ridiculed the White race in general. On the other hand, programs like *Good Times*, *The Jeffersons* and

*Sanford and Son* presented blacks as smarter and more industrious than Whites. Lear popularized “trash TV” with his even trashier *Hot L Baltimore*. Hollywood was not about to miss out on the action and more importantly, the money by not exploiting this same theme. *Deliverance* and *Gator*, both films that starred Burt Reynolds, depict illiterate “Crackers” and “rednecks” wrecking havoc wherever they go. Although the FBI murdered Mathews on December 8, 1984, his martyrdom did not end the era of deracinating White American consciousness. More recent examples of those television programs that are disparaging of Whites include *Married with Children*: “...leads the class in white-trash sass” (*TV Guide* 1992), *Roseanne*, Jeff Foxworthy, who although White himself, mocks “rednecks” through his “comedy,” and *Three’s Company*, a program that euphemizes the harsh realities of homosexuality by putting people at ease with the subject matter through laughter. In the early 1980s, Music Television (MTV) began spreading and popularizing black “hip-hop” and violently anti-White “rap” music. This did more to brainwash and indoctrinate generation after generation of young White people, than almost any other medium, by creating the phenomenon of “whiggers.” Whiggers are “white niggers.” Whiggers are white kids who are so completely bereft of any knowledge of their own heritage and have been so deliberately culturally alienated that they affect the behavior of “thug, ghetto, street” niggers because they want so desperately to be black, in order to have someone or something with which to identify. Michael A. Hoffman II, in his 52 page booklet, *Hate Whitey: The Cinema of Defamation* (2000), documents title after title of films and program after program as listed in *TV Guide* and various newspapers and magazines that depict Whites in every form of psycho-pathology. This includes as well, the ubiquitous, viciously racist character, while

portraying blacks and other minorities as being noble, long-suffering, and most importantly, piously forgiving of their White racist tormentors. Mathews and his group, as well as other militia/patriots railed against these anti-White insults and outrages.

Yet the examples provided only address the issues at hand from a superficial, cultural level, although this is one avenue of attack. Beyond the cultural consideration is the deeper one of the spiritual level which affects all others in the calculus of *Christian Identity*, for it is the spiritual that drives and influences the soul, and therefore the mind, and the mind is our means and method for reasoning in this world. On the eve of his martyrdom, Mathews wrote: “We all knew it would be like this, that it would be our own brothers who would first try to destroy our efforts to save our race and our terminally ill nation. Why are so many white men so eager to destroy their own kind for the benefit of the Jews and the mongrels?” (Flynn and Gerhardt 1990, 422). Everything that he saw occurring in America was so plainly evident that he could not fathom why the White race was unable to discern what was taking place. The information was a close as the Bible or any of a thousand other books that recounted the failures of multiculturalism and miscegenation. In the Book of Daniel, chapter two, the Prophet interpreted a dream that the King of Babylon had dreamed. In the dream, King Nebuchadnezzar had seen a statue some 60 cubits tall. Its head was formed of gold, the arms and chest were of silver, with the belly and thighs made of brass, the legs were made of iron, and the image’s feet consisted of a mixture of iron and clay. Daniel advised the King:

Whereas thou sawest the feet and toes, part of potter’s clay, and part of iron, the kingdom shall be divided; but there shall be in it of the strength of the iron, forasmuch as thou sawest the iron mixed with the miry clay. And as the toes of the feet were part iron, and part clay, so the kingdom shall be partly strong and partly broken. And whereas thou sawest iron mixed with miry clay, *they shall mingle*

*themselves with the seed of men* [emphasis added]: but they shall not cleave one to another, even as iron is not mixed with clay. (Daniel 2:41-45)

The principle at work in this context is twofold. On the one hand, there is the dynamic of mixing. It must be remembered that from the “two seed-line” doctrine there were two distinct races of individuals that inhabited the earth: those of Adams race, and those of the hybrid race of Cain. When Daniel referred to the “iron mixed with miry clay,” and then immediately added “they shall mingle themselves with the seed of men,” he was writing of the two separate races of individuals at the dawn of the human race. Adam was “the seed of men” that is the iron, while Cain’s offspring would be those of “miry clay.” In the parlance of the far right those of the miry clay are the “mud men,” or the non-whites of the world. Within the context of *Identity* doctrine, this is the reason that the feet of the image Nebuchadnezzar saw in his dream, those feet and toes of iron mingled with clay, “shall not cleave one to another, even as iron is not mixed with clay.” The two substances will not alloy. By this same principle then, neither will any nation hold together that attempts to intermingle the “seed of men,” Adam, with the seed of Cain, the “miry clay,” for the seed of Cain is not a race of men but a hybrid admixture of Eve and the serpent. Multiculturalism, multiracialism and especially miscegenation are rejected out of hand as being a device of those who would destroy the White race through the alchemy of multiculturalism, multiracialism, diversity, and miscegenation. If Biblical hermeneutics fail to persuade, then one need look no further than the Roman and British Empires for two classic examples of nations that sought to encompass the world but were incapable of inducing the diverse races and cultures under their aegis to “cleave one to another.” William Gayley Simpson, one of many academic authors Mathews had read,

writing of the Boaz School of cultural anthropology in his 1978 book, *Which Way Western Man*, warns of that school of thought and the:

concentrated effort to build up in the minds of our [White] people a unanimous opinion that race is virtually non-existent, is at the most of no consequence, and that anyone who attaches importance to it, and especially anyone who would make it decisive in answering all sorts of social questions, is nothing better than an ignoramus, a bigot, and a hater of human kind, deserving of universal contempt and condemnation, if not the whip. (962)

Simpson, a *magna cum laude* graduate of Union Theological Seminary and one time Associate Director of what was to become the *American Civil Liberties Union*, was not the only educated man who rejected the Boaz doctrine of “racial irrelevance.” John R. Baker, Professor of biology at Oxford University, Fellow of the Royal Society, and author of *Race* (1974) is one of thousands of accomplished academics who see no merit in the Boaz theories. C.D. Darlington, Professor of Botany, Oxford University, reviewed Dr. Baker’s book on February 17, 1974, in the *London Sunday Times*, and among his remarks appear the following:

Dr. Baker’s work is a cool, detached survey of the differences between the races. It encompasses everything relevant to the idea of race with thoroughness, seriousness and honesty. The idea of race has long been systematically avoided and deprecated for political reasons, and the lesson of Dr. Baker brings home to us is that *racial differences lie at the root of civilization. You can’t talk them away. You can’t teach and preach them away. You can’t even vote them away* [emphasis added].

Race does exist: sickle cell anemia in blacks, Tay Sachs’ disease in Jews, medical case history studies that race influences the success rate in organ transplants<sup>2</sup> prove that it does and that it is an inescapable reality, rather than some “social construct” as fantasized by Marxist theorists. No greater an anthropological icon than L.S.B. Leakey cast aside the unscientifically fanciful notions of Boaz and his ilk when he wrote, “However great may be the physical differences between such races as the European and

the Negro, the mental and psychological differences are greater still" (Leakey 1961, 15).

Mathews was aware that these scientific viewpoints were being repressed and he reviled those who perpetrated the fraud. Indeed, in the psychology of the militias and patriots, fraud is not the worst of the matter. Hypocrisy is an even greater wrong that is visited upon them.

Earlier in this investigation the issue of racial exclusivity was raised. It is within this paradigm of racial exclusivity that the issue of hypocrisy has its locus. At this point, the reader has been exposed to a sufficient number of the most salient *Identity* doctrines enabling one to grasp one of the most important precepts that forms if not the core of *Christian Identity*'s soul, then it is the very heart of it. One need not read any more than the *Pentateuch* of the Bible to understand the foundation for racial exclusivity. The ancient Hebrews, as well as the contemporary Jews of modern Israel understood without question that they were, and are, a people "set aside." Imagine the psychological impact when reading what is written in Deuteronomy, the seventh chapter and the sixth verse: "For thou art an holy people unto the LORD thy God: *the LORD thy God hath chosen thee to be a special people unto himself.*" This concept originates as a practice when the Lord God calls Abraham, the father of three of the world's great religions, then named Abram, out from his homeland: "Now the Lord had said unto Abram, 'Get thee out of thy country, and from, thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will shew thee'" (Genesis 12:1). Years later, after the Lord God has changed Abram's name to Abraham, and after Sarah, Abraham's wife has died, Abraham engages in negotiations with the people of Hebron in Canaan for a burial cave in which to lay Sarah. The people of the land offer to give to Abraham the cave at Machpelah. Nevertheless,

Abraham refuses their offer and persists in his conversation with the sons of Heth until they acquiesce to his offer of four hundred shekels of silver. Now on the surface this may appear to be the act of a man willing to pay a fair price for a burial site for his wife (Genesis 23:1–16). It is, however, not that at all. Instead, Abraham has accomplished two things. First, he has maintained the separation he was called to by the Lord God by keeping his dealings with the indigenous population as a legalized relationship. Moreover, Abraham has avoided integration and assimilation with the people of Canaan by not allowing himself to become beholden to them were he to have accepted the cave at Machpelah without payment. The sons of Heth could have then made demands on him at some later time in return for their favor of the cave. Abraham avoided all of these circumstances. Indeed, he had reinforced the precedent set when he left Ur of the Chaldees. In another incident, Abraham made a covenant with Abimelech after a dispute over a well. Again Abraham maintains a legalized and formal separation between himself and the men he is dealing with, this time Philistines, by paying for the disputed well (Genesis 21:22–34). Additionally, Abraham sent his servant on an extended journey to Mesopotamia in order for the servant to bring back a wife for his son Isaac, that Isaac should “not take a wife...of the daughters of the Canaanites” (Genesis 24:3). This was done in order to guarantee *elf, above all people that are upon the face of the earth*” (empahsis added) (Deuteronomy 7:6) that Isaac’s wife would be of Abraham’s “kindred” (Genesis 24:4). The woman Abraham’s servant found was the daughter of Bethuel, son of Nahor, Abraham’s brother (Genesis 24:15), making Rebekah, Isaac’s second cousin. Here, again is a demonstration of racial, ethnic and religious exclusivity. Isaac would follow in his father Abraham’s footsteps as Isaac dealt with those people “outside” his

lineage in a dispute over at least two wells of water that Isaac's servants had dug (Genesis 26:19–22). Many years later, Jacob follows this same principle when dealing with his brother, Esau, the same brother that Jacob had coerced the birthright from, with his mother's assistance. Over and above these examples, the Lord God commands the Israelites to “go in and possess the land which the Lord sware unto your fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to give unto them and to their seed after them” (Deuteronomy 1:8). The Lord God emphasizes this promise as He has Moses tell the people:

When the Lord thy god shall bring thee into the land whither thou goest to possess it, and hath cast out many nations before thee, the Hittites and the Girgashites, and the Amorites, and the Canaanites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites, seven nations greater and mightier than thou; And when the Lord thy God shall deliver them before thee; *thou shalt smite them, and utterly destroy them; thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor show mercy unto them* [emphasis added] (Deuteronomy 7:1-2).

Not only were the seed of Abraham not to intermingle or intermarry with the nations that surrounded them, the seed of Abraham were ordered to “smite them, and utterly destroy them,” as well as not showing “mercy unto them.” That is how deadly seriously the Lord God took the separation of His people from the rest of the world. In early 1983, Colonel Gordon, “Jack” Mohr had presented these and many other Christian Identity doctrines at Richard Butler’s *Aryan Hall*, just outside of Hayden Lake, Idaho. Robert Jay Mathews had been present at these meetings, taking all of the principles to heart. The early history of the Children of Abraham figured prominently among them due to specific concepts that came to bear in Identity thought.

The salient example of Joseph in Genesis (Chapters 37, 39–50) serves to bring into bold relief the principles of separation and non-assimilation. Driven by jealousy, Joseph was sold, by his brothers, into slavery at the hands of the Ishmeelites. After many

years in prison, Joseph ingratiates himself to Pharaoh, King of Egypt, by interpreting a dream the King has had. The dream augurs seven years of plenty followed immediately by seven years of famine. As a result of Joseph being able to interpret Pharaoh's dream, Pharaoh elevates Joseph to Prime Minister of Egypt, second only to Pharaoh himself. Joseph prepares the land for the seven years of plenty by storing all the grain produced in Egypt in the royal granaries: "And Joseph gathered corn as the sand of the sea, very much, until he left numbering; for it was without number" (Genesis 42:49). As prophesied, seven years of famine fell upon the land. Jacob, believing his son Joseph to be long dead and unaware that Joseph is now Prime Minister of Egypt, sends his remaining eldest sons to Egypt to buy food for the family. Joseph, after a series of surreptitious, reveals his true identity to his brothers. It is at this point that Joseph resorts to the strategy that had served his ancestors so well during the time of their sojourn. As the nation of *Egypt is buying grain back* from the granaries, *grain the Egyptians had grown and were not paid for* (there is no biblical record of any such arrangement), *Joseph gives his brothers food sufficient to sustain them over several extended periods of time*. In fact, on another of their excursions back and forth that his brothers made at Joseph's direction, Joseph gives them double the amount of grain, plus "he gave each man changes of raiment" (Genesis 45:22). Beyond this generosity with Egyptian materials, "to Benjamin he gave *three hundred pieces of silver* [emphasis added] (Genesis 45:22). But Joseph is not finished yet. As Prime Minister, Joseph commands his brothers to, take you wagons *out of the land of Egypt*...and bring your father, and come. Also, *regard not your stuff; for the good of all the land of Egypt is your's...and Joseph gave them wagons*...And to his father he sent...*ten asses laden with the good things of Egypt, and ten she asses laden with corn and bread and meat for his father* [emphasis added] (Genesis 45:19 – 21, 23).

The Egyptian government, paid for by the Egyptian people supplies all of these windfalls. When Jacob arrives, Joseph displays his most shrewd insight into human nature up to this point. Before Joseph allows his father to audience with Pharaoh, Joseph directs Jacob to tell Pharaoh that Jacob's occupation "*hath been about cattle from our youth even until now, both we, and also our fathers*" [emphasis added] (Genesis 46:34). Joseph suborned his father's perjury before Pharaoh, "*for every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians*" [emphasis added] (Genesis 46:34). As a result of this duplicity, Joseph's family is taken into Pharaoh's household to live off "*the fat of the land*" [emphasis added] (Genesis 45: 18). While the rest of Egypt was ravished by famine, after the people's money ran out, they first, traded their cattle, then their bodies and lands in order to have food to eat, then submitted to a tax (Genesis 47:13 – 26), Joseph and his family prospered. It is written, "*And Israel dwelt in the land of Egypt, in the country of Goshen; and they had possessions therein, and grew, and multiplied exceedingly*" [emphasis added] Genesis 47:27). These principles of separatism, superiority and non-assimilation, with the ensuing rejection of multiculturalism and miscegenation, are reemphasized time and time again throughout the Old Testament. Read in the story of Samson where Samson's father and mother upbraid him for his race mixing desires. "*Is there never a woman among the daughters of thy brethren,*" they cry, "*or among all my people, that thou goest to take a wife of the uncircumcised Philistines?*" [emphasis added] (Judges 14:3). Following this same theme of racial separation and national identity, the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah are exemplars of Hebrew grief and repentance over their having "taken strange wives of the people of the land" (Ezra 10:2) and loss of their homeland: "though there were of you cast out unto the uttermost part of

the heaven, yet will I gather them from thence, and will bring them unto the place that I have chosen to set my name there" (Nehemiah 1:9). Is it any wonder then, that the Israelites and British-Israelite, Identity Christians see themselves as having a right to their racial, ethnic, religious and national exclusivity?

### Deracination Through "Culture Cracking"

Kevin MacDonald, Professor of Evolutionary Psychology at California State University, Long Beach, explores this perspective of racial separatism. Dr. MacDonald has written of evolutionary psychology as a strategy for long range survival by the Jews. In his book, *A People That Shall Dwell Alone: Judaism as a Group Evolutionary Strategy*, Dr. MacDonald, provides exhaustive detail that emphasizes the ancient basis for racial, ethnic, and national attitudes and behavior patterns that the Jews have incorporated as an inherent means of maintaining their identity in a world that appears hostile to them. Moreover, in a third book addressing the same issue from a cultural perspective, *The Culture of Critique*, MacDonald writes:

Jews conceptualize themselves as descendants of Jacob, represented in Genesis as smooth-skinned, delicate, and contemplative. Gentiles are represented by Esau, Jacob's twin brother, the opposite of Jacob – hirsute, coarse, and brutal. Whereas Esau lives as a hunter and warrior, Jacob lives by intelligence and guile and is the proper master of Esau who has been commanded by God to serve Jacob. Lindemann (1997, 5) shows that these stereotypes remain salient to Jews in contemporary times. (1998b, xxix)

From this perspective then, reinforced by the directives of Moses, the history of Israel and the Prophets in the Old Testament, it is not an unreasonable question that the militias ask. The White Nationalist Christian Identity militia patriot wonders, "if it is acceptable for the Jews to embrace separatism and religious, racial, national superiority

and exclusivity, then why is it not acceptable for me to do the same since I can trace my ancestry back to the first man, Adam?" Over against this, Judaism presents itself as a religion where the Jews are the "chosen people of God" along with the doctrine of might makes right, backed by the Divine hand of God. If, however, the Bible was dictated to the Hebrews and later reinterpreted by the Jews of Judah during their Babylonian captivity, as the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmud and later variations of Mishnah and Midrash,<sup>3</sup> then in a relative world, their interpretations are also relative. Therefore, any Jewish claim to an exclusive title, as "the chosen people of God" is relative as well.

It is evident then, that a crucial schism occurred not only at the points of separation between the Northern Kingdom of Israel and the Southern kingdom of Judah, but also at their separate captivities in Assyria and Babylon, respectively. The most important split however, occurred with the advent of Jesus Christ. Those known as "the Jews," or the religious leaders at that time, rejected Christ as the Messiah. Many of the people, on the other hand, believed on Him as the Savior, not only of the nation of Israel, but also as the Savior of the world. The Sanhedrin, those religious leaders of the Judean Kingdom at that time, known in scripture as "Jews," consisted of the Pharisees and the Sadducees. It was they who tried Christ, and when Pontius Pilate would have released him, "persuaded the multitude that they should...destroy Jesus" (Matthew 27: 20). Pilate, then understanding "that he could prevail nothing...took water, and washed his hands before the multitude, saying, 'I am innocent of the blood of this just person: see you to it'" (Matthew 27: 24). It was then that the lasting distinction between *the Jews* and the rest of Judah and Israel, as well as the rest of the world was marked, *for they cried out and "said, 'His blood be on us, and on our children'"* [emphasis added] (Matthew 27:

25). Herein lies evidence of the ultimate spiritual separation, compounding what is seen as the preexisting biological separation, between the seed of Adam and the seed of Cain. Christ himself had pointed out these dichotomies to the Pharisees when he contended with them after forgiving the woman taken in adultery (John 8: 3 – 11). The Pharisees had attempted to engineer a legal trap in which they would be able to charge Him before their law. Christ, however, knowing the hearts of men, turned their trap against them and achieved the woman’s release while snaring these chief priests in their own duplicity. Angered by his wisdom, the priests continued to argue with Jesus claiming that they “be Abraham’s seed” (John 8:33). The Lord Jesus, Yashuah Yahweh, condemned them by saying, “If you were Abraham’s children, ye would do the works of Abraham...*Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do*” [emphasis added] (John 8: 39 & 44). In these statements, Christ established the inescapable link between those who are called Jews and the father of Cain: “*who was of that wicked one*” [emphasis added] (I John 3: 12), the devil. Just as Cain, the “serpent seed,” slew Able, Adam’s seed, so too did the Jews slay Christ. The picture is now clear. The descendants of Adam, who scripture designates “the son of God,” (Luke 3: 38), are the “seed of men” (Daniel 2: 43), while the seed of Cain “who was of that wicked one” [the devil] included most of the religious leaders of Christ’s day. They were “the chief priests and the rulers of the people” (Luke 23: 13), who “cried, saying ‘Crucify him, Crucify him...We have no king but Caesar’” (Luke 23: 21; John 19: 15). From this viewpoint, the doctrines of the Puritans, adherents of British-Israelism, as well as followers of Christian Identity are perfectly in keeping with the doctrines of the ancient Hebrews and contemporary Jews, except for the rejection of Christ as Jehovah, Messiah. The Puritans, believers in British-

Israelism and Christian Identity, who are the seed of Adam, man, accept the Christ. In contrast, the Jews and those of the seed of Cain, reject Him. Followers of Christian Identity seek a separation between themselves and minorities as well as a domination of those minorities as dictated in the religious doctrine to which they adhere. Modern Israel today has a literal wall of separation between that nation and the Palestinians. The irony of it is that the Israelis have actually ghettoized the Palestinians in exactly the same way that Jews have been ghettoized down through history. Identity believers see no difference between the concepts of their doctrines and the practice of contemporary Israel today.

The objection may be raised that the militias, Identity/Patriots, and the variations of them are driven by “hate” and “racism,” therefore they do not have a legitimate grievance, whereas the Jews have been victimized by the Nazis and are fighting for their very existence. The better and over-riding question then, one that demands an answer as a result of the accusations of hate and racism becomes, “is what the Israelis are doing, therefore hatred and racist?” Ethnocentrism and racial superiority travels in a wide circle. Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneerson, the Lubavitcher Rebbe, expresses Jewish supremacism in the following manner:

We do not have a case of profound change in which a person is merely on a superior level. Rather we have a case of...a totally different species...The body of a Jewish person is of a totally different quality from the body of [members] of all nations of the world...The difference of the inner quality [of the body],...is so great that the bodies would be considered as completely different species. This is the reason why the Talmud states that there is an halachic [a halachic difference refers to a distinction based on Jewish religious law.] difference in attitude about the bodies of non-Jews [as opposed to the bodies of Jews] ‘their bodies are in vain’...An even greater difference exists in regard to the soul. Two contrary types of soul exist, a non-Jewish soul comes from three satanic spheres, while the Jewish soul stems from holiness. (Shahak and Mezvinsky, 1999, 59-60)

Again, this perspective is fraught with inescapable ironies, for it is the same psychology of the Israelis that fuels the zeal of the right-wing militias. The Jews perceive themselves to be the product of “holy seed” while all other “species” of “non-Jewish souls,” even the designation of other people connotes inferiority, are of “satanic spheres.” It is obvious then, that British-Israelism and Christian Identity are not the only religions that subscribe to a “two seed-line” doctrine. Moreover, this is a principle that is reinforced by the contemporary historical record here in the United States. Everything that has gone before, the examples and details of this monograph, are the very things that the Israelis believe apply to them, and are also true for the groups under scrutiny. The Christian Identity militia/Patriots believe just as the Israelis believe. Both are fighting for their continued existence. The militias, driven by the zeal of their doctrine, are fighting for the existence of their race, heritage, and culture in the country of their birth because they believe they are being subjected to socio-political, religious, and racial marginalization and persecution at least.

The objection may be raised at this juncture that if Christian Identity is truly “Christian,” then how can they present a united front that advocates separation, discriminate behavior towards others, and most of all violence to achieve their ends? Is not Christ the example of forgiveness, tolerance, non-violence, equality and self-sacrifice? How then can Christian Identity justify its doctrines of racial superiority, intolerance and authoritarianism? The Old Testament sets the precedent for what follows in the New. The New Testament then, is the fulfillment of the Old. Christ came to fulfill a very specific mission, one of providing salvation for Adam’s seed and restoring the inheritance and authority God had intended for Adam’s seed to that seed of man. Satan

had attempted to usurp this inheritance and authority from Adam and his seed, through his interference in the Garden of Eden. Additionally, Christ in the New Testament is not altogether the pacifist, as the world attempts to paint Him. In the book of John 2:13-16, Jesus resorts to physical violence as He purges the Temple, shouting at the moneychangers:

And the Jews' passover was at hand, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem, and found in the temple those that sold oxen and sheep and doves, and the changers of money sitting: and when *He had made a scourge of small cords, He drove them all out of the temple* [emphasis added], and the sheep, and the oxen; *and poured out the changers' money, and overthrew the tables* [emphasis added]; And said unto them that sold doves, '*Take these things hence; make not My Father's house a house of merchandise.*' [emphasis added]

This graphic example illustrates Christ's ability to openly express anger in a violent and judgmental manner. Indeed, Christ's behavior provoked "the Jews" (John 2:18) to challenge by what authority He dared to question and rebuke their conduct. When speaking in a parable to His disciples as to the timing of the appearing of the kingdom of God, the Lord Jesus commanded His disciples that, "those mine enemies, which would not that I should reign over them, bring hither, and slay them before me" (Luke 19:27). Neither are these isolated incidents, whereby substantiation for Christ's participation in violence and judgment is evident. In Chapter 23 of Matthew, the Lord Jesus contended at length with the Sanhedrin and multiple times rebuked the "scribes and Pharisees" as "*hypocrites!...[and] whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness* [emphasis added], calling down "woe" upon them for their hypocrisies (Matthew 23:27). The entire 23<sup>rd</sup> chapter, comprised of 39 verses, is replete with this same severely judgmental and condemnatory language. Furthermore, Jesus, the Lord God ("I and My Father are One"

[emphasis added], John 10:30), while speaking of the greatness of John the Baptist, acknowledged his understanding of the dynamics of this world when he interjected that, “From the days of John the Baptist until now, the kingdom of heaven has been forcefully advancing, and *the violent take it by force*” [emphasis added] (Matthew 11:12). Indeed the entire book of *Revelation* warns an unbelieving world the fate that awaits it upon the return of Christ the Conquering, Warrior King:

And I saw heaven opened, and behold a white horse; and he that sat upon him was called Faithful and True, and *in righteousness doth he judge and make war* [emphasis added]...And out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword, that with it *he should smite the nations: and he shall rule them with rod of iron: and he treadeth the winepress of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God* [emphasis added]. (Revelation 19:11, 15)

Remember also, there were Roman Centurions of Caesar’s Legions who were believers, Cornelius (Acts 10:1) being only one example, who were pointed out specifically in the Bible. The Roman Legions were known for their warrior skills. Moreover, we are commanded by scripture to “*hate evil, and love the good*” [emphasis added] (Amos 5:15), that there is “a time to love, and a time to hate; a time of war, and a time of peace” (Ecclesiastes 3:8). The resurrected Lord God, speaking to Saint John in the book of *Revelation*, reminds the Church of Ephesus of a time to “hate” when He praises that church for “*thou hatest the deeds of the Nicolaitanes, which I also hate*” [emphasis added] (Revelation 2:6). Also, not to be forgotten, does the Lamb of God carry out the ultimate examples of judgment and separation. He “shall separate them one from another, *as a shepherd divideth his sheep* [emphasis added] from the goats” (Matthew 25:32). In Revelation 20:15, Christ exercises the final judgment of men when “whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire.”

The Lord, However, is not only a God of vengeance but a God of forgiveness as well. In John 8:3-11, there is the story of the woman taken in adultery. When Christ spoke to the Scribes and Pharisees who had placed the woman before Him, He reminded them, “He that is without sin among you, let him cast the first stone at her.” A reminder to all that each of us is culpable in some matter. Moreover, Christ looking at the woman asked, “where are those thine accusers? Hath no man condemned thee? She said, ‘No man, Lord.’ And Jesus said unto her, ‘Neither do I condemn thee: go and sin no more.’ ” Those who attempt to disarm others who would point to shortcomings in the former behavior frequently invoke the first portion of these verses. Ironically, those who are not believers in Christ often invoke this tactic of dissembling. Indeed, their purpose is not to suggest mercy; rather it is one of distraction and evasion in order to blunt the attack of their opponent and to cover their own lack of substantive rebuttal to the question or proposition that provoked their equivocation. Almost without exception, the conditional portion of Christ’s release of an individual from condemnation is forgotten or ignored. In order for there to be forgiveness, the conditional obligation of “go and sin no more” must be met. That Christ had released thee woman from condemnation was contingent upon her discontinuing the behavior that had her brought before Him in the first place. Christ’s absolution was not a carte blanche indulgence to return to her old lifestyle. This important concept is frequently lost in the shuffle for self-righteous vindication. The dualistic nature of Christ’s mission is reconciled within exemplars of the God that takes sides, makes judgments and rewards and punishes people as recorded within the pages of the book known as the Bible. Examples that follow these principles are found with our own history as a nation. Indeed, were the Colonies to have “turned the other cheek,” this

country would not be the United States, as we now know it. Were the early Americans to have practiced the concept of meekness, as it is grossly misunderstood, America would still be a Colonial extension of Great Britain. Indeed, were it not for the ability to accurately discern the teachings of the Christ, all of us might very well be speaking German, goose-stepping in locked rank, saluting the Rising Sun of Japan and Swastika of the Third Reich! No one asked the men and women who risked their lives and “gave the last full measure of dedication,” as Abraham Lincoln expressed the matter, whether or not they were living the example of Christ when it came time for blood shed to preserve this nation during times of national and world distress. It was into this context that Mathews and his men stepped, and that without hesitation. Before moving past the subject of the Christ and forbearance, it is necessary and important to analyze the context surrounding the principle of “turning the other cheek” and emphasize its application. In the book of Matthew 15:24–28, a Canaanite woman is petitioning Jesus and his disciples for help. The Lord responds to the woman, “I was sent to the lost sheep of the House of Israel ... It is not right to take the children’s bread and throw it to the dogs.” Within this anecdote exists a firm reminder that the spiritual and social advice offered by Jesus was intended for a spiritual brotherhood within which the admonishment to “turn the other cheek” is appropriate but is not meant to apply to unbelievers and spiritual enemies. Nevertheless, the Lord’s apparently harsh and judgmental position is terminated when, through the woman’s response, it becomes clear that the woman is a spiritually compatible person. Jesus then replies to the woman, “O Woman, great is thy faith: be it unto thee even as thou wilt” (Matthew 15:28). Christ would, of course, have known the situation from the start. This exercise was an object lesson for those who would be His

followers. It is curious how those who do not profess to be disciples of Christ are quickest to dictate the terms of His example to those who are believers, yet they will not and do not attempt to follow in His, or the believers' spiritual footsteps. Instead, the unbelievers' path always leads away from the example of Christ, into self-righteousness, with the ensuing error and social destruction.

Robert Jay Mathews believed that America was in a decline of decay brought on by the influences of a world that, more and more, rejected any moral absolutes and embraced the pagan and hedonistic practices of unbelieving heathens. An explosion of immigration, both legal and illegal, as well as the overweening influence of Jews in American government, education, media and the entertainment industry aggravated all of this. Kevin MacDonald characterizes through empirical documentation what Mathews understood through example and observation:

Jewish activism against European ethnic and cultural hegemony have focused on three critical power centers in the United States: The academic world of information in the social sciences and humanities, the political world where public policy on immigration and other ethnic issues is decided, and the mass media where 'ways of seeing' are presented to the public. (MacDonald 1998b, vii)

Mathews believed these points to be fact so fiercely that he was willing to give up his life as a catalyst that would ignite a greater movement to stop the process he saw in effect in America. In a letter composed to the editor of the Pend Oreille County (Newport, Washington) newspaper, the *Newport Miner*, Mathews wrote:

By the time my son had arrived, I realized that White America, indeed my entire race, was headed for oblivion unless white men rose and turned the tide. The more I came to love my son the more I realized that unless things changed radically, by the time he was my age, he would be a stranger in his own land, a blond-haired, blue-eyed Aryan in a country populated mainly by Mexicans, mulattoes, blacks, and Asians. His future was growing darker by the day. (Mathews 1983)

Mathews, Pierce, Scutari and others of the Silent Brotherhood reject the notion that “America is a nation of immigrants,” for they did not accept that truism without the benefit of forethought. For those of the same perspective as that of Christian Identity, that concept was not accepted in the universal sense in which it is applied when the media automatically responds to anyone who rails against immigration. The United States, until 1965 when the immigration and naturalization laws were changed was a nation of immigrants that emigrated from Western Europe, England, Ireland, and Scotland, almost exclusively. Emigrants from non-Caucasian, non-Western European nations were severely restricted to a mere handful. Even those emigrants of Western European descent that were admitted into the country, were allowed entry on a quota basis that was determined by a strict ratio-proportion of population basis. The blanket statement that America is a nation of immigrants was nothing more than a distorted generalization intended to blunt or negate nativist outcries against the admitting of non-White foreign nationals into the country. Members of his group believed in them so passionately that they sacrificed their freedoms and liberties in an attempt to preserve what they believed was being robbed from them under color of law. Christian Identity, The Silent Brotherhood and the militia/patriots have a clear understanding of the revisionist principles at work in redefining the lexicon of America as a land of “immigrants” to include non-white races. It is observed in Milan Kundera’s, *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*, that “the first step in liquidating a people is to erase its memory. Destroy its books, its culture, its history, manufacture a new culture, invent a new history. Before long the nation will begin to forget what it is and what it was” (3). The “loss of orientation and the search for identity are brothers,” declares conservative

historian Michael Stürmer, and “anyone who believes that this has no effect on politics and the future ignores the fact that *in a land without history, he who fills the memory, defines the concepts, and interprets the past, wins the future*” [italics in the original] (2000, 79).

When a nation with the liberties that the United States enjoys, experiences unrest of the type evidenced by the militia movement, on a scale that attracts national, even world wide attention, then something somewhere has gone drastically and tragically wrong. It is at this point that an obvious question arises, one that presses hard for an answer. If the Jews are actually perpetrating such a calamity, what is their gain from it?

In *The Culture of Critique*, writes Professor MacDonald:

The best strategy for a collectivist group like the Jews for destroying Europeans therefore is to convince the Europeans of their own moral bankruptcy...this is exactly what Jewish intellectual movements have done. They have presented Judaism as morally superior to European civilization and European civilization as morally bankrupt and the proper target of altruistic punishment. (MacDonald 1998b, xx)

Michael Stürmer criticized the general Western, and specific German cultural “*obsession with their guilt*” [emphasis added] (2000, 121), concerning the world-view, as imposed by the Jews, of the holocaust. MacDonald expands on the foregoing principle as to what ultimate end is obtained:

The Frankfurt School of Social Research advocated radical individualism among non-Jews while at the same time retaining their own powerful group allegiance to Judaism. Jews benefit from open, individualistic societies in which barriers to upward mobility are removed, in which people are viewed as individuals rather than as members of groups, in which intellectual discourse is not prescribed by institutions like the Catholic Church that are not dominated by Jews, and in which the mechanisms of altruistic punishment may be exploited to divide the European majority. (1998b, 243)

Herein lies the crux of the issue: Jewish hegemony or Western European hegemony, which one shall prevail? Within a factious nation, one divided through the means of deracinating effects: cultural disorientation, disillusionment, identity politics, and historical revisionism, a cohesive and united Jewish enclave is better able to ascend to positions of authority and power, and thereby direct those policies that better serve the Jewish interests, rather than the interests of the Western Europeans. It has been stated that within a divided society, the Jews are in a position to avoid, nay prevent another “holocaust.” “The world-historical persecution of the Jews was used to seek...ways for preventing or weakening the next outbreak” (Wiggershaus 1998, 409). Horace Kallen, Jewish-American philosopher, writing in *The Nation*, of the ethnic bond that he believed to be of a dualistic nature: immutable and involuntary, concluded that,

Men may change their clothes, their politics, their wives, their religions, their philosophies, to a greater or lesser extent: they cannot change their grandfathers. Jews or Poles or Anglo-Saxons, in order to cease being Jews or Poles or Anglo-Saxons, would have to cease to be. (1915, 116)

Kallen advocated in behalf of “a federation or commonwealth of national cultures...a democracy of nationalities, cooperating voluntarily and autonomously through common institutions...a multiplicity in a unity, an orchestration of mankind” (1915, 116). In his 1956 book, *Cultural Pluralism and the American Idea*, Kallen later defined this concept as “cultural pluralism” (1924; 1956). A more accurate assessment of the ideological parallax Kallen imposes, by anyone even vaguely familiar with Marxist doctrine however, would be to characterize the conception as a principle that would Balkanize the United States. Rolf Wiggershaus, biographer of The Marxist Frankfurt School of Social Research concludes that, “It was not anti-Semitism which was decisive,

but the lack of any genuine *anti-anti-Semitism* [emphasis added] (1998, 422). “This lack made even those who never slipped into any form of anti-Semitism, even among trusted friends or in a familiar atmosphere, into ‘anti-Semitoids’ (Horkheimer’s term)” (Wiggershaus 1998, 423). Horkheimer’s perspective then, leaves only those who are Jews as being among those who may be trusted to engage in “genuine *ant-anti-Semitism*,” an outlook that suggests a peculiar Jewish pathology that makes any but “true-believing Jews” as somehow suspect and therefore a potential threat to Semites which must be eradicated. Writing of Max Horkheimer, Director of the Frankfurt School of Social Research and Theodore Adorno’s, *The Authoritarian Personality*, Wiggershaus reflecting on concerns over the authors’ perceptions as to how to combat anti-Semitism, asks and answers the question that Horkheimer and Adorno posed in their study:

What was to be done? Society must be changed...The study therefore concluded – in words unmistakably written by Adorno – that what was needed was an instinctual and utopian version of the hope for a sudden change resulting from a redirection of energies. Adorno wrote: ‘*People are continuously molded from above because they must be molded*’ [emphasis added]. (1998, 582)

Helmut Schelsky, although not of the Frankfurt School, was nevertheless one that Jurgen Habermas, successor to Max Horkheimer as Director of the Frankfurt School, considered to be among the “conservative critics of culture” (Wiggershaus 1998, 584), a positivist as it were. Schelsky, detailing examples of those “conventions...shaping the world of human instinct,” wrote:

Psychotherapy and psychological care, deliberate sex education and organized marriage guidance, birth control and child guidance clinics, group teaching and human relations, the entire apparatus of modern mental welfare technology” are included within the dynamic he designated as ‘social engineering’. (1955, 164)

This “social engineering” would not only be accomplished within the context of “mental welfare” programs, however. Herbert Marcuse, also of the Marxist Frankfurt School, endorsed “the *militant liberation movements* [emphasis added] in the developing countries” as “the strongest potential for radical transformation” (1965, 97). Marcuse “made it clear that hopes [of a revolution in any form] could only be pinned on a variety of splintered forces” (1965, 101). This would precipitate the “politicization of the public sphere...*to serve the purposes of radical anti-authoritarian, anti-capitalist change*” [emphasis added] (1965, 114). From this critically charged atmosphere, fomented by advocates of “social engineering” working from the pattern of militant liberation movements, which generated violent reactions from both the government and the right, “a crisis argument” (1965, 109) could then be proposed to solve the crisis generated by the militant liberation movements. William Gayley Simpson had written of *The Frankfurt School of Social Research* theories and their tactics in his volume, *Which Way Western Man*, one that Mathews included on a reading list he suggested to anyone within earshot. Through the insights gleaned from Simpson’s book, Mathews understood that the militants would create a social crisis over some perceived injustice, then the social engineers of the Frankfurt School and their traveling partners, would solve the problem by applying theories and principles derived from their Marxist doctrine. In doing so, they would be taking another step in “the long march through the institutions,” a phrase immortalized by “Red Rudi” Dutschke of the European faction of the *Students for a Democratic Society* (Wiggershaus 1998, 656). Apply Marxist doctrine to any circumstance or crisis, and derive a Marxist outcome or solution. Dutschke was also a student of the Italian Marxists, Antonio Gramsci, was one of those Marxists.

Gramsci, who wrote extensively of hegemony, exerted a tremendous influence through the agency of his writings within the Frankfurt Institute. Gramsci intimated the best way to change a nation's socio-cultural infrastructure was and is through its educational institutions. This is in direct correlation with what Marx wrote in the *Critique of the Gotha Program*: “*An early combination of productive labour with education is one of the most potent means for the transformation of present-day society*” [emphasis added] (Tucker 1978, 541). Indeed, the tenth point of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* insists on a “*combination of education with industrial production*” [emphasis added] (Tucker 1978, 490). Ultimately, Marx insists, nay demands:

*And your education! Is that not social, and determined by the social conditions under which you educate, by the intervention, direct or indirect of society, by means of schools? The Communists have not invented the intervention of society in education; they do but seek to alter the character of that intervention, and to rescue education from the influence of the ruling class* [emphasis added]. (Marx and Engels [1848] 1906, 40)

It is clear through the context that Marx uses the term “intervention” to mean to impose one thing upon another as when one inculcates in order to pass along a tradition, more or cultural normative. It is also clear that when he determines to “rescue” education from the ruling class, it is in order to impose what he considers to be the cultural norm of his socialistic ideal upon that culture through the institution of education.

“Red Rudi” Dutschke, who had in 1965 been involved in “the SDS,” and was “*a stirring public speaker with radical Democratic [Marxist] ideas*” [emphasis added] (Wiggershaus 1998, 656), paraphrased eloquently and succinctly as “*the long march through the institutions*” [emphasis added] (Wiggershaus 1998, 656) what Gramsci and Marx had so verbosely overstated. In his simple turn of a phrase, Dutschke encapsulated

the intent of Marx and Gramsci that provides the nexus to the design and purpose of Herbert Marcuse, also of The Frankfurt School. Once the Marxists and their “useful idiots” control the institutions of education the society around the academy will be changed by the Marxist ideology disseminated from within that institution, initiated by the professors and then driven by the students. Education will have been “rescued.” From there, the repression or “intolerance against movements from the right” (Marcuse 1965, 95) can begin. However, so as not to alarm the more centrist right-wing groups, the intolerance will begin with the “fringe” elements or the more marginalized groups in order to set the tone for further precedents. Hence, America begins to see Ruby Ridge and Waco scenarios more and more often; scenarios that exacerbate the confusion, frustration and rage members of the militias are already experiencing. Working from within the institutions controlled by the left, the Marxists are now able to extend their control of a nation from the outer edges of its society, through law enforcement agencies, and legislatures, moving slowly inwardly to begin to crush any and all opposition until their power base is consolidated and absolute. Marx equated education with industrial production and labor. At the same time, he considered labor as a form of Capital and Capital “*is not personal, it is a social power*” [emphasis added] (Tucker 1978, 485). With this social power in hand, as manifest through the “institutions” of the nation, the left can then begin to move from the “fringe” right to the more centrist groups of any stripe until their revolution is complete. Mathews, an insatiable reader, had absorbed the warnings and entreaties of William Gayley Simpson, Oswald Spengler, Lothrop Stoddard, George Lincoln Rockwell, William Shockley (Nobel Prize Laureate of Stanford University), Houston Stewart Chamberlain, as well as *The Federalist Papers* and *The Anti-Federalist*

*Papers*, texts from authors of *The Frankfurt School of Social Research*, Francis Parker Yockey, and various writings of Karl Marx. As a consequence, he was well aware of the ideological principles being applied across a broad range of circumstances in the United States. Charismatic, highly intelligent, and possessing a masterfully intuitive insight into human nature, Mathews was able to assimilate these complex doctrines and theories and then pass them along to the other individuals he met, some who were not inclined to take the time to study their enemies. From this starting point, Mathews and others of the right began to disseminate the information they had developed to the rest of those White Americans whose eyes were not yet open. Mathews, Bruce Pierce, Richard Scutari, David Lane, and Gary Yarbrough traveled at various times to Laporte, Colorado, Laramie, Wyoming, Seattle, Washington, and multiple cities in Nevada, Idaho, and Northern California, as well as *Elohim City* in Eastern Oklahoma, *The Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord* (CSA), in Arkansas, as far north as Michigan and into the deep South for an audience with William Pierce forming alliances with other men and women who they knew would see the truth of the word they carried. Robert Jay Mathews spent a considerable amount of time at Robert Millar's Elohim City over an extended period. It was through contacts Mathews made in Elohim City that he was led to collaboration with James Ellison leader of The Covenant, Sword, and the Arm of the Lord, another Christian Identity group. It was from the CSA that Mathews recruited one of the best gunsmiths and paramilitary experts of the far right at that time, Randall Rader, into The Silent Brotherhood. Rader had been a member of, The Covenant, Sword, and the Arm of the Lord, just outside Schell City, Missouri. The CSA employed its own version of a live fire urban city setting duplicating that of the FBI's "Hogan's Alley." This

“silhouette city” mock-up of an urban setting for live-round firearms training, one that was acknowledged to have rivaled that of the FBI, was the perfect staging area for recruits. Mathews was simply putting into action the strategy and tactics that the left had been practicing in America for decades. He expertly redirected the energy that other men had been at a loss to apply. Elohim City, the seedbed for groups such as The Aryan Republican Army and The Aryan People’s Army would continue as one of the main focal points for the far right up to and including the time of the Oklahoma City bombing. It was through the conduit of Elohim City that Timothy McVeigh, Dennis Mahon, who allegedly trained McVeigh in constructing “improvised” explosive devices, and shadow figure Andreas Carl Strassmeir, were soon to pass.

In the preface to his book, *The Culture of Critique*, Professor MacDonald emphatically states it was the Marxist:

Frankfurt School, in which ‘scientific’ theories were fashioned and deployed to advance [Jewish] ethnic group interests. This ideological purpose becomes clear when the unscientific nature of these movements is understood...the intellectual dishonesty, the lack of empirical rigor, the obvious political and ethnic motivation, the expulsion of dissenters, the collusion among co-ethnics to dominate the intellectual discourse, and the general lack of scientific spirit that pervaded them [presents] the scientific weakness of these movements [and] is evidence of their group-strategic function. (1998b, xxix)

Jacob Katz, Professor of History at the Jerusalem University, writing in his *Exclusiveness and Tolerance, Jewish, Gentile Relations in Medieval and Modern Times*, came to the expert conclusion: “That the difference between Jewry and the nations was fundamentally not one of creed and faith, but one of inner nature more likely to be racial in origin rather than a matter of doctrinal dissension” (Katz 1962, 192). It is also important to emphasize that, Hannah Arendt stipulated in *The Origins of Totalitarianism*,

this distinction “in evaluating the alien character of the Jewish people...occurred in Jewish self-interpretation,” and was “for the obvious reason that the very survival of the people as an identifiable entity depended upon such voluntary separation and not, as was currently assumed, upon the hostility of Christians and non-Jews” (Arendt 1968, xii, xiv). What better means of imposing “Cultural Marxism” and “cracking” (Bacevich 1997, 22, 23) the dominant culture in any nation than through altering its social, political, and demographic complexion. Writing on this very concept, William Gayley Simpson implored the White race that:

Race consciousness, and discrimination on the basis of race, are absolutely essential to any race’s survival, and to any nation’s survival—essential for the homogeneity, the solidarity, and the formidable strength without which no people can long survive. That is why the Jews are so fiercely for it for themselves, because they mean not only to survive but to become master; and fiercely against it for us, because we are the intended victim, and they wish to emasculate us and to paralyze us to the point where we cannot thwart their determination to put us in chains. Unless we recover our race consciousness, and maintain it, and heighten it, and live by it, we shall die. (1973, 1068)

Robert Mathews had underlined, *in red*, those words in his copy of Simpson’s book. Professor MacDonald accurately pin-points that very strategy and tactic by those who are predisposed to support Jewish interests over that of Western Europeans, read that as “White interests,” here in the United States. Explicit statements linking immigration policy to a Jewish interest in cultural pluralism can be found among prominent Jewish social scientists and political activists. In his review of Horace Kallen’s (1956) “Cultural Pluralism and the American Idea” appearing in *Congress Weekly* (published by the American Jewish Congress), Joseph L. Blau noted that “Kallen’s view is needed to serve the cause of minority groups and minority cultures in this nation without permanent majority” (1958, 15)—the implication being that Kallen’s ideology of multiculturalism

opposes the interests of any ethnic group in dominating the United States. The well known author and prominent Zionist Maurice Samuel, writing partly as a negative reaction to the immigration law of 1924, wrote, ‘If, then, the struggle between us [i.e., Jews and gentiles] is ever to be lifted beyond the physical, your democracies will have to alter their demands for racial, spiritual and cultural hegemony with the State (1924, 215).

It is clear then, that from a Jewish perspective, it is up to Western democracies “to alter their demands for racial, spiritual and cultural hegemony.” Judging from Maurice Samuel’s demand it would appear that he took a page from the playbook that Joseph wrote as he dealt with Pharaoh and the Egyptian people. A wag observed that anti-Semitism is when a Jew disagrees with anyone else. The question then becomes one of, “or else, what?” Mathews and the extreme right were willing to meet the Marxists and their fellow travelers head on, and to up the anty to one of blood. “Let the elders play Moses,” wrote Flynn and Gerhardt, “Mathews would be *Joshua the warrior*” [emphasis added] (1990, 121). MacDonald contrasts the varying degrees of success between “Middle Eastern societies” that “were much more efficient than Western individualistic societies at keeping Jews in a powerless position where they did not pose a competitive threat” (1998b, xxix). Furthermore, as MacDonald abundantly demonstrates in his trilogy, *A People That Shall Dwell Alone* (1994), *Separation and Its Discontents: Toward an Evolutionary Theory of Anti-Semitism* (1998), and *The Culture of Critique* (1998), “a fundamental agenda has been to make European-derived peoples of the United States view concern about their own demographic and cultural eclipse as irrational and as an indication of psychopathology” [emphasis added] (Macdonald 1998b, xxix). The

militia/Patriots of America rejected that diagnosis. Instead, they presented a second opinion with a prognosis of “physician heal thyself.”

### Christian Identity: Race as Religion and Religion as Race

Although there is no general consensus among secular historians and academics as to the source of the headwaters of British-Israelism, the American Puritans of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century offer an excellent starting point in order to begin the search. Nathaniel Morton, writing in his 1826 book, *New England's Memorial* recalls the Puritan experiences thusly:

I have for some length of time, looked upon it as a duty incumbent, especially on the immediate successors of those that have had so large experience of those many memorable and signal demonstrations of God's goodness, viz. The first beginners of this plantation in New England, to commit to writing his gracious dispensations on that behalf...that so, what we have seen, and what our fathers have told us, we may not hide from our children, showing the generations to come the praises of the Lord. Psalm 78:3, 4. That especially the seed of Abraham his servant, and the children of Jacob his chosen, may remember his marvelous works (Psalm 105: 5, 6...how that God brought a vine into this wilderness; that he cast out the heathen and planted it; and he also made room for it, and he caused it to take deep root, and it filled the land; so that it sent forth its boughs to the sea, and its branches to the river. Psalm 80:13, 15 [8, 9]. And not only so, but also that He hath guided his people by his strength to his holy habitation, and planted them in the mountain of his inheritance; (Exodus 15:13)...that as especially God may have the glory of all, unto whom it is most due; so also some rays of glory may reach the names of those blessed saints that were the main instruments. (Morton 1826, 13-14)

Morton, clearly writing for the entirety of the Puritan experience at the time, believed that the Divine hand of God, in His Holy wisdom, had not only transported the Puritan “vine” from Great Britain, but also had caused them to “cast out the heathen” in order for them to be “planted...made room for...and...to take deep root” in order that they should have “filled the land.” Indeed, the Providential involvement with the

transporting, casting out of the heathen, which the Puritans fully understood to be the American Indians, the planting for depth of root and filling of the land was direct fulfillment of the promises and prophesies that God had made to the ancient Hebrews in the Sixth, Seventh, Eighth and Ninth Chapters of Deuteronomy. This all comes to bear, for the Puritans believed themselves to be the spiritual, and equally as important, the *genetic biological descendants of the ten lost tribes of Israel*. When Morton and every one of the other Puritans read Deuteronomy 7:1, each word resonated as being fulfilled through their presence and by their actions in the New World. As each congregation read the following, every Puritan understood those words to be speaking of and to them specifically.

When the Lord thy God shall bring thee into the land whither thou goest to possess it, and hath cast out many nations before thee, the Hittites, and the Girgashites, and the Amorites, and the Canaanites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites, seven nations greater and mightier than thou.... (Deuteronomy 7:1)

America was their inheritance, promised to them by God Himself. Logically then, the next question must be, “why would the Lord God “cast out” those “many nations before” the Puritans. The book of Leviticus documents the prescriptive, as well as the proscriptive ordinances that the Lord had laid down for the children of Israel. Among the hundreds of “laws, commands, and ordinances,” it is also explained to the people “why” they must carry out or not practice certain rituals or acts. Any number of the proscriptive decrees is listed as being defiling behavior that the Lord God loathes. “Defile not yourselves in any of these things: for in all these the nations are defiled which I cast out before you”[emphasis added] (Leviticus 18:24). A short list of these abominations includes human sacrifice, homosexuality, bestiality, idol-worship, occult practices

(astrology, divination), prostitution, and the drinking of blood. All of these atrocities, and more, were practiced and ritualized as part of their religious ceremonies, by the Indians of North, Central, and South America. As a consequence of these on-going transgressions by the heathens it was “for the wickedness of these nations the Lord doth drive them out before thee...that he may perform the word which the Lord sware unto thy fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob” [emphasis added] (Deuteronomy 9:5). Moreover, as a result of their hermeneutics, the Puritans believed themselves to be counted among the physical “seed” of faithful Abraham, the literal Chosen People of God. It is from this same literal and spiritual soil that British Israelism grows.

The doctrines and precepts of British Israelism find continuity with those of the puritans through the insights and teachings of several historical figures. In 1723, Jacques Abbadie (1654-1727), who was named Dean of Kilaloe, Ireland, for his support of William of Orange, declared, “Unless the ten lost tribes of Israel are flown into the air . . . they must be those ten Gothic tribes, that entered Europe in the fifth century . . . and founded the ten nations of modern Europe” (Abbadie, 1723). Another substantial source, Our Inheritance In the Great Pyramid, published in 1864, written by Astronomer Royal to Scotland, Professor William Piazzi Smyth, offers a detailed exegesis of the Puritans’ belief system substantiated through the historical record. Several other documented sources extant for the conviction that Western Europeans and Anglo-Americans are the ten lost tribes of Israel are those of E.P. Ingersol, Lost Israel Found in the Anglo-Saxon Race and author, John Wilson. Ingersol, writing to William Smyth in the preface to his own book, Lost Israel Found in the Anglo-Saxon Race, intimating as to the “Damascus

Road" inspiration Ingersol had experienced through Smyth's work, alluded to "identity" for the first time:

My Dear Sir:

I have been perusing your great work on the Pyramid, with a great deal of interest, and a great deal of profit, too, sir; but I came to a sentence [quoting the same] that completely upset me; as the sailors say, 'threw me on my beam's end.' Now, sir, I want to know if there is any possible evidence of such a thing?"

Well, in a short time, I received a most charming letter from the Professor, together with a package of tracts--monographs, every one on this identical subject--not written by himself: These I began at once to explore, and that, too, with no ordinary eagerness. But ere I had completed the reading of the package, I no longer needed to inquire, "Is there any possible evidence of that thing?" for the evidence now burst upon me with such divine effulgence as well-nigh utterly to overwhelm me with its dazzling radiance. Amazement filled my mind! Why had I never seen this before?

And now was borne ill upon my inner soul, as by a divine injunction, "This gospel go thou and proclaim, till from on high thou art called home;" and I have not been disobedient to this heavenly vision. Not that there was any perceptible manifestation, as in the case of Saul of Tarsus, but the evidence of the identity [emphasis added] of the Anglo-Saxons with the lost tribes of Israel became as convincing to me as the manifestation made to Saul, that Jesus Christ was he whom Saul was then persecuting; and from that time to this, I have endeavored to execute my commission to the utmost of my ability. (Ingersol 1886, 119)

John Wilson is considered by the British-Israelites to be the doctrinal "Father of the Rediscovery of Israel" (Melton 1978, 447). Wilson's 1840 work, *Lectures on Our Israelitish Origin*, is among the first exhaustive, empirical data used to substantiate the doctrines of British-Israelism. In 1871 when Wilson died, Edward Hine carried the torch of the faithful. During his tenure as a priest of the *Rediscovered Israel*, in 1919, he also founded the *British-Israel World Federation*. This Federation continued through the 1930s in England. Acolytes of British-Israelism, because of the association of the British as being "identified" with the Israelites of the Bible, began using the colloquially foreshortened term "Identity" in reference to their religion. In 1928, the *Anglo-Saxon Federation of America* was incorporated with Howard B. Rand seated as its National

Commissioner. Until 1969, the *Anglo-Saxon Federation* provided its followers with a monthly publication, first titled “The Bulletin,” and finally, *Destiny Magazine*. It was through this medium that Howard Rand disseminated and incorporated within his expansive new Church, the doctrine of “two seed-lines” (cf. endnote 1). This doctrine is one based on the hermeneutic perspective that Eve was seduced by the serpent, at that time indwelt by Satan, and was impregnated with Cain. Immediately within this same time frame, Eve, with her understanding now open to the knowledge of good and evil, returns to her husband, Adam. Because Adam loves her, and with full knowledge of her adultery, he willingly accepts her back. Her husband Adam, thus inculpating him in her transgression then knows Eve. Eve is now pregnant with Able, at the same time she has conceived Cain in her womb, a recognized medical phenomenon known and documented in human beings as *superfetation*.<sup>4</sup> The first born, Cain is literally as well as spiritually of his father, Satan. All of this is part of Satan’s plan to usurp the earthly authority, given by the Lord God to Adam through the bloodline. The child born second, and right after his older brother Cain, is Able. Able is the biological as well as spiritual son of his earthly father, Adam. Able was murdered by Cain and Seth, the third child of Eve, but the second child of Adam, was sent by God to replace the proper blood heir, Able. From the time of Cain murdering his brother Able and Cain turning his back on God, going to live east of Eden in the land of Nod, the descendants of Cain have been at war with Seth and his descendants. The basis of the conflict derives from the separation of two distinct racial groups. The descendants of the man Adam, that is initially Able, and as a result of his murder at the hand of Cain, then Seth, are spiritually as well as biologically, the literal children of God, considering that Adam was created directly by the hand of the Lord

God. While on the other hand, Cain, and all of his posterity, is the hybrid, bastard progeny of Satan, the fallen angel, hence two separate races and therefore conflict over which “seed” will prevail. An important Biblical occurrence must be recalled at this point for it serves as a signal event that makes the distinction between the “children of god” and the “children of Satan.” After Cain had murdered Able, the Lord god upbraided and then punished him. The circumstances, as recounted in the Book of Genesis, illustrate the incident. Because Cain slew his brother Abel, “the Lord said unto Cain...now art thou cursed from the earth, which hath opened her mouth to receive thy brother’s blood from thy hand...henceforth...a fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be in the earth. *And the Lord set a mark upon Cain*” [emphasis added] (Genesis 4:9-11). From the Biblical record therefore, a clear distinction was made between the flesh of Cain and that of Seth, who was born to replace Able. This mark, whether physical and visible or metaphysical and intuited has been the origin of a schism of monumental proportions, and one which has hounded both races from that point onward. This is a doctrine that dates to antiquity and yet is one that brings the reader full circle back to the subject at hand, the Militia/Patriot phenomenon that is under investigation.

From 1928 and beyond 1969 when the *Anglo-Saxon Federation* magazine ceased being published, there were two manifestations of British-Israelism in the United States, Herbert W. Armstrong’s *World Wide Church of God* and Howard Rand’s British-Israelite Anglo-Saxon Federation. In 1995, with the death of Herbert W. Armstrong, the World Wide Church of God rejected the doctrine of British-Israelism, returning to a more orthodox Protestant world view of the Jews as the “chosen people.” In the mid 1940s, Dr. Wesley Swift, an ordained Methodist minister, formed his own Church which he

designated as *The Church of Jesus Christ Christian*, then in Lancaster, California. Swift was a zealous adherent of the doctrines and principles of British-Israelism. During the early 1950s, second in Command of the Pacific Theater of post WWII to General Douglas MacArthur, William Potter Gale, who had read E.P. Ingersol's book, began attending Swift's Church. Gale, after gaining Swift's confidence, exercised his influence in the congregation, by resurrecting the term Identity and using it in conjunction with the name of the Swift congregation. Sometime in 1962 during the collaboration of Swift and Gale, after listening to a speech delivered by one Richard Girnt Butler, Gale persuaded Butler to attend a sermon at *The Church of Jesus Christ Christian*. Butler was immediately convinced of the truth of Swift's British-Israelite, Identity doctrine. Following the service, Gale introduced Butler to Swift. As a consequence of this introduction, a friendship developed between Swift and Butler, which lead Butler to extend the influence of the teachings he audited at the feet of Dr. Swift. In 1970, Wesley Swift died as a result of complications stemming from diabetes. Richard Butler, by then a full-time minister of the new religion, who some then considered the heir apparent to Swift's throne, assumed the mantle of leader and shepherd to the congregation. After a falling out between Butler and Gale in 1973 over whether Swift's wife, Gale or Butler should lead the congregation, Butler left Southern California. By 1974, he had re-established himself in Hayden Lake, Idaho, and reformed and renamed his organization as The Church of Jesus Christ Christian-Aryan Nations. The doctrine espoused from the Aryan Nations pulpit was now that of Christian Identity. It was from the Northern Idaho town of Hayden Lake that Christian Identity began to take root and produce a new Aryan seed, one that subscribes to the view of a psychological landscape where White people

founded America, for White people, in perpetuity. It was this doctrine, along with those of the militias and The Phinehas Priesthood that Mathews and his group embraced.

### Chapter Summary

This chapter has examined not only the form of the militia as it exists in America today it has also closely dissected the soul of that phenomenon in an attempt to penetrate and understand the most intimate inner workings of those groups. Chapter IV has illustrated the complex and sometimes convoluted and frequently violent basis for the thinking that serves as the foundation and pillars upon which the militia movement is based. Chapter V will probe the militia movement's arguments concerning perceived Federal government excesses and abuses as well as anti-government sentiments and violent activities generated by the events at Ruby Ridge, Idaho and Waco, Texas that culminated in the Oklahoma City Bombing. Also, Chapter V will focus upon specific militias that differ from that of the militia examined in Chapter IV only in their activities and form but not necessarily in their philosophical, political, racial, economic, and religious viewpoints.

## CHAPTER V

### MILITIA MOVEMENT ARGUMENTS ABOUT FEDERAL GOVERNMENT EXCESSES AND ABUSES

#### Anti-Government Sentiment Concerning Ruby Ridge, Waco, and the Oklahoma City Bombing

In order to develop a broader understanding of the militia movement, it is important to dissect the militia movement's arguments regarding the perceived excesses of the Federal government and its abuses of American freedom and sovereignty. Anti-government sentiment and anger generated by the events at Ruby Ridge, Idaho against the Weaver family and the Branch Davidians at Waco, Texas by the Federal government created a back-lash of activity that was culminated in the Oklahoma City bombing of the Murrah Federal Building on April 19, 1995, where 163 Americans perished in the largest example of domestic terrorism at that time. A number of the visible political action wings of the militias' and their writings against the government will be examined in an effort to discover the grievances expressed by the members of those organizations. Most significant in this investigation is the militias' attitude toward the Federal government with respect to the militia belief that, as a result of their zeal for their doctrine, they are fighting for the existence of their race, heritage, and culture in the country of their birth and consequently they believe they are being subjected to socio-political, religious, and

racial marginalization and persecution at least will be examined. The Militia of Montana, the Michigan Militia, and the works of the Posse Comitatus will be examined. In addition those writings of the ideological and political components of the movement such as, Aryan Nations, *The Vanguard News Network*, The Fourteen Word Press of David Lane, and The National Alliance will be presented as representative of the overall sentiments of this movement. Lastly, the opinions and statements of The Army of God will be analyzed for their position concerning abortion in the United States today. These organizations also represent the tip of the lance that points toward a new direction for the militias and their political operatives.

#### Political and Operationally Visible Militias

In the United States there now exists militias that are aboveground and therefore highly visible and militias that are under-ground and therefore invisible to the public. Within the classification of the visible and aboveground militias, there are two further sub-categories of the militia. These sub-categories are comprised of those units that serve as purely political operatives. Political militias, as a general rule do not function within a paramilitary structure of hierarchy and chain of command, they do not conduct armed, paramilitary training exercises, nor do they wear military style uniforms and carry weapons openly. Their main function is the dissemination of information that is prepared to educate and indoctrinate the general public and interested individuals and groups concerning the militia's political, ideological, and often, racial outlook with respect to the socio-political condition of the United States in particular and the world in general.

Operational militias, on the other hand, are organized along paramilitary structural lines that adhere to a formal, organized chain of command. These units do conduct armed paramilitary training exercises, they do wear military style uniforms, and they do often openly carry weapons. Frequently they may carry concealed weapons. More often than not, this is carried out in compliance of local laws by the individual applying for a concealed weapons carry permit with local law enforcement agencies. If they are able to successfully pass a criminal background check, they are generally issued the required permit to carry a concealed weapon. It is important to review the stated mission of some of the more visible manifestations of both political and operational militias that exist across the United States as a means for a better understanding of those various militias and their political, ideological, and racial perspectives of America and thereby gain a clearer understanding of the nexus between them and the militias of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries. The similarities are quite striking.

### Militia of Montana

The *Militia of Montana (MOM)* was created by brothers John and David Trochmann, along with Randy, David's son. The Militia of Montana was the by product of an earlier organization, *United Citizens for Justice* (UCJ), formed in late 1992 as a result of the outrage created by the government's mishandling of the siege at Ruby Ridge, Idaho. It was during this siege that white separatist Randy Weaver's wife Vickie and son Sammy were killed in a standoff with federal agents. Though initially the purpose of the militia was to elicit support for and raise public awareness of the Weaver's circumstances, UCJ quickly expanded its mission statement to one that included goals that became the cause celebes of the Militia of Montana (Neil Hamilton 1996).

At the forefront of these goals was an apparently benign move toward a means to return the federal government to its position of limited power and as a defender of individual rights as the founding fathers intended. Although UCJ attempted to present itself as a public service and human rights group, the majority of its leaders and major supporters were white supremacist adherents. This included Louis Beam the former Aryan Nations ambassador, and the editor of *The Jubilee*, a Christian Identity journal, Paul Hall. *UCJ* newsletters heavily promoted *The Jubilee* (Neil Hamilton 1996).

The Trochmann's officially formed MOM in January 1994. Robert Fletcher, an early participant and contributor to the militia, is a self-proclaimed research analyst. He spent his days extensively crisscrossing the Pacific Northwest while promoting MOM's message. Although Fletcher lacks a certain polish, with a dour appearance, his convoluted conspiracy theories personify the public's perception of the far right. As a result, for a short period of time Fletcher was a minor media celebrity. Although MOM was comprised primarily of the Trochmanns, Fletcher and scattered groups of allies, the Militia of Montana moved to the forefront as the most influential militia during the 1990s. As a result of the militia's perspective and somewhat restrictive Montana laws, MOM was not active in paramilitary training. Consequently, the group avoided being swept up in a wave of arrests that were largely the result of violent, firearms related activities that raged within the movement later in the 1990s. The Militia of Montana was more oriented toward educating, supporting and supplying other groups with firearms and survival equipment. From this vantage point, MOM maintained a prominent public profile even while other militia groups rose and fell throughout the United States (Neil Hamilton 1996).

Ideology/Sovereign Citizenship. Early on in their career of activism, John and David Trochmann perceived themselves to be sovereign citizens. It is their belief that individuals are not obligated to recognize either state or federal authority as long as those sovereign citizens do not enter into a “contract” with the government. An example of such a contract would take the form of applying for and accepting a driver’s license or Social Security number. Another example would be that of paying property or income taxes. In January 1992, John Trochmann declared himself to be “sovereign” through a series of documents he had filed in a Montana court. Both brothers became regular fixtures at town hall meetings where they often argued that “common law,” supersedes illegitimate case law that replaced it. This argument, in their estimation of things, renders all property taxes invalid and limits government jurisdiction to a literal wording and interpretation of the Constitution (Neil Hamilton 1996).

Furthermore, according to the Trochmanns’ variant of sovereign citizenship, white supremacism plays a significant role in the socio-political business of American life. Their racialized standard of sovereignty injects the notion that those standards of citizenship in force at the nation’s founding are still valid and in effect. They conclude therefore, that only white males may be sovereign citizens. This places all nonwhites, minorities, and non-Christians in a position of second class, 14th Amendment Citizenship. The 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment, ratified in 1868, had several purposes; the prime goal being the guarantee of United States citizenship to ex-slaves. According to the Trochmann interpretation of the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment, before its ratification, almost no one was a “citizen of the United States.” In this interpretation, an individual was a citizen of a republic, Ohio or some other state for example. An entirely new class of citizen was

created by the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment. They argue that anyone may be a citizen of the United States if they are willing to become subject to absolute federal and state government authority. However, because most rational individuals would not freely submit to this absolute authority, sovereign citizens such as the Trochmanns, are of the opinion that the government fools people into entering into this contract when the people agree to contracts with it. The real tragedy however, was the people were not aware of what they were doing when they signed a contract with the government. Other examples of the means the government uses to draw people under its authority include marriage licenses, social security cards and car registrations. John and David Trochmanns' racial doctrine relegates non-Christian and non-white Americans to the status of 14th Amendment Citizenship regardless of whether these individuals signed contracts with the government or not. However, their excursions into constitutional law and principles of sovereignty and that of their militia, did not survive for long. By the mid-1990s John and the Militia of Montana had retreated from association with the sovereignty movement (Neil Hamilton 1996). Although bigots and racists associated with the Militia of Montana from its inception, John and David Trochmann expended much effort to publicize the militia's main concern. That is, the growing threat aimed directly at the rights of all Americans, that is posed by powerful conspirators. In its own way, the Militia of Montana engineered the first militia "don't ask, don't tell policy" with regard to the racists among its members. This was accomplished while simultaneously downplaying in public, those elements of MOM's doctrines and philosophies that bolster racism and intolerance (Neil Hamilton 1996).

In the beginning at least, MOM exercised a tremendous amount of influence among strident opponents of the Brady Bill and the 1994 Assault Weapons Ban as well. The volatility of these issues assisted the Trochmanns in attracting serious numbers of attendees to many of the group's first gatherings. However, after a short period of time, the group sensationalized their message when they incorporated scenarios of global conspiracies designed and manipulated by global financial, corporate elites into programmed threats leveled at the Second Amendment. The United States and its Constitution were being systematically weakened and dismantled by the United Nations as that organization seeks to invoke global martial law in order to absorb this nation into part of an international totalitarian state. For Militia of Montana members and many followers in the patriot movement, resistance to and the destruction of this New World Order (Bush 1990) was an elemental core of their ideology. As the Militia of Montana absorbed more conspiracy doctrine and philosophy it was courted increasingly by practicing racists. At the 40th anniversary celebration of *The Spotlight*, John Trochmann was invited to be a keynote speaker (Neil Hamilton 1996).

Spreading the Word. John and David Trochmann spoke at trade shows, gun shows, and they targeted the survivalist and patriot communities in an effort to elevate the level of their fellow citizens' consciousness with regard to the tyranny that was descending on the nation. Robert Fletcher, American conspiracy theorist, was able to spin new theories from the nightly news. Each one confirmed while also exacerbating the deepest fears of American patriots. Fletcher compiled these sinister discoveries in MOM's Blue Book. The Blue Book was a binder divided into sections consisting of articles, press clippings, and Militia of Montana fliers. The Blue Book also contained a

map reproduced from the back of a KIX cereal box. This map purported to denote ten occupational zones that the nation would be divided into after martial law was declared in the United States. This takeover was to be imposed by the United Nations. Fletcher insisted that the map reproduced in The Blue Book was the same map that was introduced to the American public in the television mini-series "Amerika." This 1986 science fiction telecast presented the result of an invasion of the United States by the Soviet Union. Fletcher was affiliated with the Militia of Montana until mid-1996. After his departure from the group, Fletcher hosted a Los Angeles radio show briefly before he began to devote his energies to producing, marketing, and selling a wide variety of videos and books that focused on conspiracies (Neil Hamilton 1996).

Randy Trochmann edited *Taking Aim*, the journal of the Militia of Montana. This journal addressed issues relating to the encroachments of New World Order conspiracy on the lives of every day Americans. The publication enjoyed wide circulation among militia members. The journal's popularity sealed MOM's place as the vanguard of the militia movement. Additionally, this group published a survivalists' catalog that offered caps, fatigue jackets, guides for improvising munitions or for escaping police custody. Government abuse of power was explored in videotapes offered for sale in the catalogue. John Trochmann produced tapes entitled, "Surviving Martial Law." Jeff Baker, a conspiracy theorist provided, "Government Gone Mad." James Wickstrom, former Posse Comitatus leader and outspoken anti-Semite, declared the AIDS virus is a biological weapon that was created by the CIA and it was released by NWO powers as a means to eliminate two billion people by the year 2000 in the video titled, "Pestilence." This same catalog offered some very specific training materials. These materials included

weapons breakdown manuals and a video presenting the latest refinements of “Techniques for Harassment.” Also included was a how to video entitled, “How to Disappear Completely.” This video provided survivalists or others who may be interested in identity theft with the skills required to craft a new identity, or two (Neil Hamilton 1996).

The Future. MOM continues to publish *Taking Aim*. Its catalog is updated annually and new items appear on a regular basis. John Trochmann now speaks predominantly at regional gun shows. He seldom travels far from the Pacific Northwest. Although it reaches fewer subscribers, the Militia of Montana e-mail bulletin remains in active circulation. The Trochmann brothers defend the group’s vitality. Nevertheless, its influence and significance in anti-government circles continues to decline. However, with the bombings of the Pentagon and the World Trade Center the group remains relevant. The fear and anger generated by those events have assuredly provided the Militia of Montana with opportunities to fan the flames of the same sort that contributed to the group’s meteoric rise during the hype and hysteria that preceded Y2K. Indeed, contemporary public concerns focusing on security issues now differ from those of the late 1990s in significant respects. In the Twenty First Century, the threat of an attack is no longer an abstract, academic exercise. Terrorist attacks, the concern over expanded governmental domestic surveillance in conjunction with conspiracy theories that have been generated by unforeseen major social change may impart new life and credibility to the group. The new climate of increased unease may conflate those who have fallen away with newcomers who are attracted to a cause by unfulfilled needs. This combination of influences in combination with concerns for individual freedom and public safety may

provide the elements that could reinvigorate the militia movement. With these reasons in mind, it is supremely important that one not discount the potential for future influence that Militia of Montana still holds (Neil Hamilton 1996).

### The Michigan Militia

In 1994, former US Air Force Officer, Norman Olson founded the paramilitary unit he called the *Michigan Militia Corps* in Alanson, Michigan. The militia unit was formed as a result of what Olson and other members believed to be the the Clinton Administration's low opinion and manhandling of the rights of American citizens (Schlatter 2006).

A Gathering of Forces. There were two seminal events that generated the necessary impetus leading to the formation and growth of the Michigan Militia Corps. The first event occurred in Ruby Ridge, Idaho where the Weaver Family was besieged by Federal Marshalls and Special Agents of the FBI Hostage Rescue Team in a standoff that became known as The Seige at Ruby Ridge. The second event took place in Waco, Texas when Special Agents of the FBI and the ATF as well as elements of the U.S. Special Forces Command confronted the Branch Davidian Church in a horribly executed attempt at bringing the Davidians to ground. Many ordinary citizens and mainstream groups across the nation expressed outrage similar to that of the Michigan Militia Corps. Each of the disparate groups believed these events were alarming examples of a government gone wild. The MMC and citizens across the country characterized government actions as a show of force against citizens who were targeted for their minority viewpoint that ran contrary to those in control of the government at the time and of American citizens who had not committed a single federal crime. The example of the use of U.S. Special Forces

Command operatives in such close cooperation with civilian law enforcement organizations raised alarm and concern with regard to the Posse Comitatus Act of 1878, 8 U.S.C. §1385. This act made it unconstitutional for the use of the United States military in a law enforcement capacity against civilians. Additionally, several Clinton Administration gun control laws fomented increasing fears among many mainstream gun rights groups that America's Second Amendment rights were being irreversably dismantled by the actions of elements within the Federal Government (Schlatter 2006).

Norman Olson, and militia leaders from several other states, testified before the United States Senate Subcommittee on Terrorism. On June 15, 1995, the opening testimony of Olson included the following statements:

Not only does the Constitution specifically allow the formation of a Federal Army, it also recognizes the inherent right of the people to form militia. Further, it recognizes that the citizen and his personal armaments are the foundation of the militia. The arming of the militia is not left to the state but to the citizen. However, should the state choose to arm its citizen militia, it is free to do so (bearing in mind the Constitution is not a document limiting the citizen, but rather limiting the power of government). But should the state fail to arm its citizen militia, the right of the people to keep and bear arms becomes the source of the guarantee that the state will not be found defenseless in the presence of a threat to its security. It makes no sense whatsoever to look to the Constitution of the United States or that of any state for permission to form a citizen militia since logically, the power to permit is also the power to deny. If brought to its logical conclusion in this case, government may deny the citizen the right to form a militia. If this were to happen, the state would assert itself as the principle of the contract making the people the agents. Liberty then would depend on the state's grant of liberty. Such a concept is foreign to American thought. (Olson 1995)

Decline. Despite earlier gains and successes, following the 1995 Oklahoma City Bombing of the Murrah Federal Building by Timothy McVeigh, the Michigan Militia Corps, as a result of infighting among its leadership, began a slow decline. Norman Olson retained the position of Commander of the MMC until after the Oklahoma

City Bombing, when he published a press release blaming the Japanese for the bombing, supposedly in retaliation for a clandestine US sponsored sarin gas attack in the subway system of Tokyo. This press release was seen as an embarrassment by the MMC membership and Lyn van Huizen of Nunica, Michigan was elected state commander in 1996 (Schlatter 2006). Van Huizen was listed in the FBIs report entitled Project Megiddo as a more moderate militia leader. Despite earlier gains and successes, by the late 1990s the Michigan Militia Corps had declined from it previous position of widespread influence on the right and by 2000 it had become ineffectual as an organization in Michigan and across the nation. However, smaller but less effective and influential splinter groups of militia rose up in its place across Michigan (Schlatter 2006).

#### Posse Comitatus

The *Posse Comitatus* is an informally organized group of sporadically active Christian Identity adherents that was founded in Oregon and California around 1970 by retired Army Colonel William Potter Gale. Gale, served on Gen. Douglas MacArthur's staff in the Philippines. The Posse Comitatus is a group of activists dedicated to survivalism, vigilantism, and anti-government agitation. Following the religious tenets of the Identity Christianity movement, Posse members typically proclaim Jews to be the “synagogue of Satan” (Revelation 2:9), blacks and other people of color to be subhuman “mud races,” and Northern European whites to be the “Chosen People” of Biblical prophecy. The name of the group translates from Latin to mean “power of the county,” and the Posse believes that all governmental power is rooted at the county, not Federal, level (Neil Hamilton 1996).

Posse Comitatus members believe that Jews, whom they consider enemies, are in control of the Federal Government. As a consequence, they vociferously protest against and openly refuse to pay federal income taxes. They also resist what a majority in the United States consider other duties American citizenship such as obtaining driver's licenses, marriage licenses and sending their children to public schools. Members of the Posse Comitatus group believe that applying for and accepting the restrictions of a state driver's licenses implies their submission and acquiescence to the "illegitimate, subversive" authority of the state. The fierce hostility of the Posse Comitatus ideology to Federal authority is echoed among many elements of contemporary militias (Neil Hamilton 1996).

The Posse has been discovered to be attractive to many Ku Klux Klan members in addition to other anti-Semitic groups and individuals. Ex-neo-Nazi and former Klan leader, David Duke of Louisiana is sympathetic to Posse doctrine and principles. Duke is now the founding element of the National Association for the Advancement of White People (NAAWP). Other avid promoters of the Posse ideology, especially during its early developmental period in the 1970s, include the Western Front of Los Angeles, now managed by protégé of the late Gerald L. K. Smith, Arch Roberts. Gerald L. K. Smith was founder and director of Committee to Restore the Constitution, an anti-Jewish agitation group based in Fort Collins, Colorado (Neil Hamilton 1996).

In 1983, North Dakota resident Gordon Kahl, then an active Posse Comitatus member, became a fugitive from justice following his involvement in a firefight where two Federal marshals were murdered. As a result of this gun battle, the group received nationwide attention. Federal Marshals, accompanied by local Sheriff's Deputies, had

sought to arrest Kahl in connection to an earlier parole violation that was the result of a conviction where Kahl had refused payment of Federal income taxes. Later in Arkansas, Kahl became a martyr to Posse Comitatus members, the followers of Aryan Nations as well as to other right-wing groups and those sympathetic to their causes, when he died in a second gun battle with Federal and local law enforcement officials. In this firefight, the local sheriff was also killed (Neil Hamilton 1996).

Associate founder of the California-based *Committee of the States* and active Posse Comitatus associate, retired U. S. Army Colonel, William Potter Gale, was convicted in Federal court of threatening the lives of Internal Revenue Service agents and a Nevada state judge in October 1987. Gale, along with four other associates from the Committee of the States, had been charged with a number of other Federal crimes. The charges included attempted interference with the administration of internal revenue laws, conspiracy to commit the murder of Federal employees, and the use of United States Postal Service resources to mail threatening letters to Federal employees and agencies. In January 1988, the five conspirators were all sentenced to terms of one year and one day in Federal prison. In April of that year, William Potter Gale died at the age of 71 (Neil Hamilton 1996).

Similarly, in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Posse Comitatus leader James Wickstrom, also a minister of *Identity Christianity*, was convicted in 1991 of the 1988 plot to distribute \$100,000 in counterfeit bills. This counterfeit money was to be distributed to white supremacists during the Aryan Nations World Congress. During Wickstrom's incarceration, leadership of the Posse Comitatus was transferred to Identity Christianity preacher Mark Thomas of Pennsylvania, who was also Wickstrom's

Lieutenant. Recently, Wickstrom was linked to the Freeman brothers. In a bizarre set of circumstances, these two brothers, who are neo-Nazi Skinheads, were charged with murdering their younger brother and both of their parents. Reportedly, the Freeman brothers were said to have attended Identity Christian meetings at the Thomas Church. James Wickstrom was released from Federal prison in late 1994. It is reported that Wickstrom and Thomas are now rivals for the leadership position of the Posse Comitatus (Neil Hamilton 1996).

#### Aryan Nations

*Aryan Nations* was founded in 1974 by the late Pastor Richard Girnt Butler. Aryan Nations was originally formed as the political wing of the *Church of Jesus Christ-Christian*. This latter organization was formed by the late Rev. Wesley Swift, one of the foremost proponents of the Aryan Identity message during the past century (Castells 2004).

Located on twenty acres in Hayden Lake, deep in the forests of Northern Idaho, Butler began laying the foundations for an organization that would go on to become a major source of inspiration for thousands of White Nationalists, National Socialists, Christian Identity believers, survivalists and all white men and women who are adherents to pride in their genetic legacy as Aryans. Aryan Nations also subscribed to the principle of a *Territorial Imperative*: a future territory for White Aryans in the United States. This homeland is known as the *Ten Percent Solution*. The Territorial Imperative advocates in behalf of five states in the Pacific Northwest: Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming being set aside for White Nationalists to inhabit as separate from the remaining 45 states of the Union (Castells 2004).

With an operating Church, meeting halls and outdoor facilities that became home to the annual Aryan Nations World Congress, the Aryan Nations soon became the prime nerve-center for the Aryan movement in the occupied United States. Aryan Nations vigorous printing projects served, among other tasks, to promote the widespread dissemination of Aryan literature to incarcerated individuals, thus fomenting the radicalization of a large sector of White prisoners (Castells 2004).

Aryan Nations also gained global attention during the early 1980s when Robert J. Matthews and several members of that organization formed *The Order*, a group that carried out tactical acts of economic sabotage, assassination, and other forms of clandestine direct action against the perceived tyrannical and anti-Aryan, Zionist system. Aryan Nations was brought into the focus of world attention again when Randy Weaver rejected a proposal that sought to leverage him as a federal informant under the control of the Bureau of Alcohol Tobacco and Firearms to work against Aryan Nations. The Weaver family in the town of Naples, Idaho endured the tragedy that has since become known as ‘The Siege at Ruby Ridge.’ The details of that incident are not repeated here. However, those who are interested may investigate the details further by reading *Every Knee Shall Bow* (Walter 1996) and *Ambush at Ruby Ridge* (Bock 1995) as the incident has, and will continue to be, a flashpoint for many Aryan activists for many years to come (Castells 2004).

In a lawsuit brought against Aryan Nations, by the Southern Poverty Law Center the organization was forced to forfeit ownership of the Hayden Lake compound. As a consequence, Aryan Nations became more decentralized in its form (Castells 2004). Aryan Nations World Headquarters was transferred to a ten-acre compound in rural

Potter County, Pennsylvania, which was host to the 2002 Aryan Nations World Congress. Shortly before his death, on September 8, 2004, Richard Butler appointed Pastor Ray Redfeairn as National Director of Aryan Nations. Redfeairn, a man of violent and radical tendencies, directed the evolution of Aryan Nations' worldview to a perspective that was very different than originally envisioned by past Aryan activists. Redfeairn is the architect responsible for Aryan Nations embracing Aryan Jihad in an attempt to garner common cause with radical Islam (Castells 2004).

#### Vanguard News Network

Alex Linder Personal Background. The *Vanguard News Network* (VNN) is considered an above ground, political action group that is not directly identified as a militia. Nevertheless, the political and social philosophy expressed by Alex Linder on this website is of significant import in the extreme right wing. In a 2003 interview, the founder of VNN, Alex Linder declared that he had grown up in an upper-middle-class suburban home. He graduated from Pomona College in Claremont, CA in 1988. After graduating from Pomona College, Linder worked as a researcher for the Evans & Novak political program on CNN. He later worked on the staff of the *American Spectator* magazine. Linder terminated his employment at each of these jobs after discovering that his employers were not predisposed to what Linder characterized as (ADL 2005a). For a short period of time he worked in the publishing industry until he launched *Vanguard News Network* online in 2000 (George and Wilcox 2005).

Ideology. Linder is a White Nationalist/Supremacist, neo-Nazi, and anti-Semite. He includes among those individuals who have influenced him the most the late William Pierce, former leader of the National Alliance; evolutionary psychologist Dr.

Kevin MacDonald (California State University, Long Beach); Revilo Oliver (professor of Classical Philology, Spanish, and Italian at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign); and, the 1950s and 1960s-era anti-Semitic and racist ideologue (George and Wilcox 2005).

Extremist Affiliations. Linder was previously a member of the National Alliance lead by William Pierce. When other members dissented concerning his decision to allow criticism of the National Alliance to be posted on his internet site, Vanguard News Network (VNN) forums, Linder parted ways with the National Alliance. VNN has since become a haven and sounding board for White Nationalists, white supremacists or just about anyone who may be critical of the National Alliance. Linder is publisher and editor of *The Aryan Alternative* newsletter. Former Ku Klux Klan member and founder of the Texas Emergency Reserve, Frasier Glenn Miller is the distributor of *The Aryan Alternative*. He also broadcasts a radio program called “Goyfire.” At the present time, Linder does not have any close ties to any other nationalist groups or extremist organizations (George and Wilcox 2005).

On January 19, 2005, Linder announced the establishment of a new organization, the *White Freedom Party*. There was a minimalist web page that addressed the salient features of the organization. The White Freedom Party was described as “America’s first political party advocating Aryan interests and specifically naming the jew (sic) as the agent of White genocide and greatest obstacle to our people’s self-preservation as a distinct and protected people” (Vanguard News Network 2005). By June of that same year, Linder had stopped posting any further information concerning

the party. The dearth of information has lead to speculation that the White Freedom Party did not survive beyond the early stages of formulation (George and Wilcox 2005).

Vanguard News Network. In August of 2000 Linder and his partner, Regina Besler launched the Vanguard News Network. After a short period of time, Linder assumed leadership control of the website. From its inception, VNN disseminated information produced and released by the *National Alliance* (NA). However, after Linder refused to suppress submissions and material critical of the NA on the VNN forums, Linder resigned his membership with the NA and ended all participation in the campaigns it promoted. At this writing, VNN is an independent White Nationalist/white supremacist site (George and Wilcox 1996). The Internet site is divided into two sections. The first division consists of a news section. It is in this section that Linder posts other authors' opinion pieces and news articles relevant to White Nationalists and white supremacists. The second division is made up of an online message forum. Here white Nationalists, white supremacists, and other sympathizers from around the world may post messages on any subject and of any content or they may engage in on-line debates and discussions (George and Wilcox 1996).

VNN's header: "No Jews, Just Right," is manifest for all to see and it summarizes what is an integral part of the site and that of Linder's ideology succinctly. The site's content is virulently racist, misogynist, and above all, anti-Semitic. Linder believes his postings on VNN to be the best of satirical humor. However, many visitors to the website consider the rhetoric that appears there to be crude. Some within the white supremacist community even believe this to be the case. Be that as it may, factionalism and turmoil within the white supremacist movement have precipitated a significant

increase in the popularity of VNN. VNN's forum is unique in one crucial aspect. It is one of the few extremist online message boards that allows, indeed encourages, whatever criticism that those who contribute to the forum may level at the white power movement, its leaders and organizations. It appears likely, judging from its popularity, that the VNN forum will continue to be an important component of the online white supremacist movement into the foreseeable future (George and Wilcox 1996).

The Aryan Alternative. In October of 2004, Alex Linder and former Klan leader Frasier Glen Miller published and distributed the first issue of *The Aryan Alternative*. The Aryan Alternative (TAA) boasted a print run of some 50,000 copies. Sympathizers, White Nationalists, and white supremacists have conducted middle of the night, driveway, and front lawn distribution campaigns as a means of disseminating the message to various suburban communities. These methods of distribution are used in addition to direct mail campaigns as well as the publication being available on the Internet. With a masthead proclaiming, "Uncensored news for whites...and free thinkers of any stripe," as of June 2009, it had printed four issues (Linder 2005, 2).

Like its parent website, Vanguard News Network, *The Aryan Alternative* is a platform for vicious racism and anti-Semitism. Issue #3 attacked black victims of hurricane Katrina as a "sweating mob of sub-humanity" whose televised images demonstrate the "eternal truth" that "it is race, not place, that matters" [emphasis in original] (Linder 2005, 5). In that same issue, a second article one page later, suggested that immigrants from Mexico, who TAA alleges carry all manner of "dread diseases," pose to white Americans (Linder 2005, 6). A third article alleged that Jews have been

responsible for killing 600 million white men over the course of the twentieth century as part of a “Talmudic mission” to exterminate the white race (Linder 2005, 8).

The Fourteen Word Press: David Lane

We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children.

~David Lane

According to David Lane, some of his earliest childhood memories are of dressing as a Nazi soldier and saluting with a raised, straight right arm. Later, Lane believed that there is collusion between the Federal government and a Jewish conspiracy that is conducting a continuing program that is determined to exterminate every member of the white race. His beliefs led him to earlier membership in groups such as David Duke’s Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Tom Metzger’s White Aryan Resistance, and Richard Butler’s Aryan Nations. His pivotal role as a founding member of the extreme right-wing, domestic terrorist organization The Order brought him national notoriety; that and prison sentences totaling 190 years on racketeering charges and civil rights violations. This latter charge stemmed from Lane’s involvement in the 1984 murder of Denver radio talk show host Alan Berg. Since his imprisonment, Lane and other members of The Order, has remained steadfast in his promotion of anti-Semitic, White Nationalist, and racialist views. Shortly after his conviction and incarceration in Federal prison, Lane and his wife Katja created The 14 Word Press newsletter to distribute his writings and other items relating to White Nationalist ideology. Then in 1995, the pair formed the The 14 Word Press publishing company. In October 2001, Katja announced that Steve Weigand, a New Jersey based distributor of hate music, would take over day-to-day operations of the press. Shortly after announcing his retirement from producing

The Fourteen Word Press, David Lane died on May 27, 2007, Lane remains an influential and respected voice in the far-right movement (Durham 2007; Robins and Post 1997).

### The National Alliance and William Pierce

Although not an actual militia, The National Alliance is a watershed organization that has exerted extensive influence on every group on the extreme right for decades, especially after its founder, William Luther Pierce published and distributed his seminal work, *The Turner Diaries* under the pseudonym, Andrew Macdonald. It is crucial, therefore, to include an examination of The National Alliance within the body of this thesis (Castells 2004).

William Luther Pierce (9/11/33 – 7/23/2002), founded The National Alliance (NA) in 1974. Pierce, a native of Atlanta, Georgia, had been active in the extremist movement since the 1960s. Holding a Ph.D. in physics, he taught at Oregon State University from 1962 to 1965 and, during that time, briefly joined the John Birch Society, a hard-right political organization. He stopped teaching as his political views grew more radical and, in 1966, moved to Washington, D.C., where he began associating with George Lincoln Rockwell, the founder and leader of the *American Nazi Party* (ANP). Pierce claims that he was never a member of the ANP, but he met with Rockwell often and became the editor of the *National Socialist World*, a quarterly aimed at intellectuals and academics that was published by Rockwell's *World Union of National Socialists* (Castells 2004).

After Rockwell's assassination in August 1967, Pierce became one of the principal leaders of the *National Socialist White People's Party* (NSWPP), the successor to the ANP. In 1970, Pierce left the NSWPP and joined the *National Youth Alliance*

(NYA), a far-right political group with neo-Nazi leanings, founded by Willis Carto in 1968. The NYA attempted to recruit college students to crush liberal causes on campuses across the nation. By 1971, Pierce and Carto were openly feuding. Carto accused Pierce of stealing the Liberty Lobby mailing list to send letters that vilified Carto's group. Ongoing disagreements between Carto and Pierce and their supporters caused the NYA to split into factions. By 1974, Pierce's group became known as the National Alliance. Since that time, Pierce ran the group and edited its magazine *National Vanguard* (originally titled *Attack!*). Pierce also published an internal newsletter, *National Alliance Bulletin*; formerly titled *Action*. He also broadcasted the group's "American Dissident Voices (ADV)" weekly radio address and controlled other businesses associated with the NA which included National Vanguard Books, Resistance Records and Cymophane Records (Castells 2004).

The Cosmotheist Church. Weekly during the formative years of the National Alliance, near Washington, D.C., Pierce held meetings designed to attract especially young people to the organization. Simultaneously, Pierce was formulating what he called *Cosmotheism*. It is a philosophy based on a racist religion. Cosmotheism stresses white racial superiority over that of other races and it emphasizes the importance of unity between members of the white race and their unity with nature (Castells 2004).

Pierce relocated the National Alliance from Arlington, Virginia in 1985 to a 346-acre farm in Mill Point, West Virginia. Pierce purchased the property for \$95,000 in cash. He called his new grounds the Cosmotheist Community Church. It has been speculated that much of the \$95,000 of the cash that Pierce used to leverage the purchase of the Mill Point property came from the labors of The Order. The Order, also known as

The Silent Brotherhood was a White Supremacist, domestic terrorist group that committed a series of bank and armored-car robberies designed to finance the hoped for White Revolution against what the group and many others on the far-right called the *Zionist Occupation Government*, also known as the Federal government. Members of The Order included former and active members of the National Alliance. The goals of this group were alleged to have been drawn from the novel, *The Turner Diaries*, authored by William Pierce. It has been alleged that the formation of the Cosmotheist Community Church was an unsuccessful effort by Pierce to avoid paying Federal and state income taxes. Several years earlier, in a claim that his organization was an educational institution, Pierce had attempted to secure tax-exempt status for the National Alliance itself. Following a standard investigation of the application, in 1978 the Internal Revenue Service denied his application. In a subsequent action, a Federal Appellate court upheld the IRS decision to deny his application after an appeal that Pierce had filed. In 1986 ironically enough, the Cosmotheist Church was successful in receiving federal, state and local tax-exempt status. However, the organization did lose exemptions for state taxes except for 60 acres of land and those buildings exclusively used for purposes of religious exercises (Castells 2004).

Autocratic Leader. The strength of the National Alliance derived from the leadership style of William Pierce. Pierce was an autocrat. He stands apart from most of the leaders on the American far right owing to his high intellect. Pierce also exercised extreme control over his followers. The National Alliance message was tightly controlled. Pierce required that members and adherents to NA philosophy and doctrines must obtain written permission by him prior to any public speaking engagement or his

personal approval before they created and disseminated any new National Alliance materials. The strict enforcement by Pierce of these requirements enabled the National Alliance to carry out its programs and activities with a minimum of the internal strife and inter-personal political conflict that has depleted the vigor of other right-wing organizations. Although Pierce was not a uniquely charismatic figure nor an exceptionally dynamic individual, Pierce was highly educated, holding a Ph.D. in physics, as well as single-mindedly focused, and very organized, he did carefully tend the image of the National Alliance. His organization's very high profile among right-wing groups and organizations was maintained by Pierce publishing a steady stream of materials relevant to the movement, producing and delivering the speeches broadcast weekly on ADV radio broadcasts, and producing and editing copy for the members-only, National Alliance monthly publication, the *National Alliance Bulletin*. Pierce also produced articles for, while carrying out the oversight of publication of *Resistance Magazine* as well (Castells 2004).

Ideology. Pierce was extremely conscious of the persistent reality that the over-riding majority of Americans reject as being viable any political ideology associated with *National Socialism*. Therefore, Pierce attempted downplayed any connection to that ideology while modulating his views so as make them more palatable to a broader American audience. Pierce has particularly modified his message in an attempt to attract middle-class professionals to the organization. This technique has become known as “mainstreaming.” Pierce had emphasized in various interviews that he shuns the use of the term neo-Nazi and does not wear Nazi uniforms, nor does he display or advocate the display of Nazi symbols. He had intimated that the majority of people everywhere, those

generally level-headed individuals, even though they may consider themselves to be a National Socialist, are not going to readily become involved with that type of organization because of the stigma that follows with it. Pierce instead, has used other resources to a distinct advantage. He particularly availed himself to the global reach of the Internet. Moreover, his weekly ADV radio addresses, the *National Alliance Bulletin*, *Resistance Magazine*, and a myriad of articles through which he had disseminated his message kept him relevant to a wide range of audiences on the right, left, and center of the socio-political spectrum around the world (Castells 2004).

The ADV broadcasts continue to be aired on local radio stations and can be picked up in most of the country on shortwave radio. They can also be downloaded in audio form from the NA's website. Transcripts of the speeches are sent via e-mail to subscribers and are sent to financial supporters in the form of a monthly newsletter called *Free Speech*. Much like his writings, Pierce's weekly radio broadcasts remain incendiary. While the particular topic varies depending on current events, Pierce's message has not essentially changed. Each broadcast is a springboard for the NAs enduring bigotry and anti-government contumely. And while Pierce's invective targets several minorities, he depicts Jews as being at the root of social, economic and political problems affecting the white population of the United States and Europe (Castells 2004).

Although Pierce openly rejected the visible icons of Nazism, his speeches clearly extol the virtues of National Socialist ideology. During an ADV broadcast of December 16, 2000, Pierce espoused the vision of a future United States that would resemble the Third Reich of Adolf Hitler and Nazi Germany. He catalogued a multiplicity of policies that were modeled directly from the National Socialist form. This

Nazi pattern he declared he had envisioned would include the implementation of economic incentives for healthy white women to bear large families who would live in clean, orderly minority free communities where lots of healthy white children would go hiking and camping and would learn crafts and white American folk traditions. These programs also made provisions for the forced sterilization of women and their offspring who received welfare benefits, the forced sterilization of those with congenital defects, and those who are of low mental capabilities (Castells 2004).

On January 27, 2000, approximately one month later, Pierce invoked imagery taken directly from the Nazi era. Pierce compared Jewish people to viral agents, pathogens, and parasites that suck the blood from their victims who have a set course to destroy the white race.

We were fit three thousand years ago when we lived in an environment that did not include Jews. Even in Europe when Jews were present, we eventually developed antibodies against them that allowed us to survive....Letting Jews into the United States was like giving smallpox-infected blankets to the Indians. They used us to break down the Old Order in Europe with two ruinous, fratricidal world wars. (Pierce 2000b)

#### The Turner Diaries: The Inspiration for Seditious and Violent Acts

Although Pierce claimed that he does not advocate violence, the promotion of the violence he states he rejects is no more evident than in *The Turner Diaries*; a novel Pierce authored and published under the pseudonym Andrew Macdonald. *The Turner Diaries* is considered the bible for violent action against the Federal government by the United States white supremacist movement, militias and right-wing groups, and by virtually every member of many extremist movements abroad. *The Turner Diaries* describes a seizing of world governments by The Order, also known as The Organization.

This group is an all-white guerilla army. In addition to world-wide revolution, this organization carries out the systematic extermination of what they call “race traitors” as well as that of Jews, blacks, and all other minorities (Castells 2004).

Although he Pierce authored *The Turner Diaries* more than two decades ago, his continued advocacy in behalf of its whites only world vision betrays a violently dystopic perspective. Arguably, *The Turner Diaries* is believed to be Timothy McVeigh’s inspiration for multiple violent crimes. Foremost among those crimes is the April 19, 1995 bombing of the Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City. This bombing, the most heinous act of domestic terrorism ever committed at that time in the United States, killed 168 people. So enamored with *The Turner Diaries* was McVeigh, that he mailed copies of this novel to his friends. In each copy, he wrote notes encouraging them to take the time to read it. McVeigh traveled to weekend gun shows around the country where sold or gave the book away to anyone who would accept it. Indeed, during a search of McVeigh’s vehicle, the car he drove on April 19, 1995, FBI agents discovered a copy of *The Turner Diaries* that contained highlighted passages. Those sections that had been highlighted focused on bombings that The Order planned against the Capitol of the United States as well as that of a Tel Aviv bound airliner (Castells 2004).

The Order, also known as The Organization comprised the inner circle of resistance fighters in *The Turner Diaries*. *The Turner Diaries* is also believed to have provided the real life inspiration to a crime wave perpetrated by an actual white supremacist group also know as The Order in the early 1980s. The Order. Led by Robert Mathews, this group, also known as The Silent Brotherhood, attempted to finance a literal Aryan revolution. The crimes carried out by this new *Order* included everything from the

bombing of a synagogue to counterfeiting and, robbery. The group did not stop at those felonies either. They crossed a line that the majority of individuals and groups except state militaries are hesitant to cross; they even committed murder; not just one but two. Both of these murders were summary executions, in cold blood. Moreover, between 1992 and 1996 *The Turner Diaries* is also believed to have been one of the major motivating factors that drove members of the Aryan Republican Army, another white supremacist gang, to commit 22 bank robberies and bombings that ranged across the widest expanses of the American Midwest (Castells 2004).

Furthermore, the fictional crime activities of The Order are also suspected to have served as a role model for the alleged conspiracy of an East St. Louis, Illinois group calling themselves The New Order. Federal authorities arrested three members of the group of white supremacists in March of 1998. The New Order had planned to bomb the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles, the Montgomery, Alabama headquarters of the Southern Poverty Law Center and the New York headquarters of the Anti-Defamation League. The New Order had also discussed poisoning various municipal water supplies with cyanide and bombing multiple post offices and state capitols. Like their fellow admirers of The Order, members of this group were allegedly very strongly inspired by the pages of the fictional *The Turner Diaries* (Castells 2004).

*Hunter*, Pierce's fictional sequel to *The Turner Diaries*, also became extremely popular among militia members, white supremacists, and many others on the extreme right. *Hunter* provides an account of a fictional drive-by killer who attempts to cure the "sickness" plaguing America through the murder of interracial couples. The publication's protagonist eventually works his way up to the assassination of several key

Jews. William Pierce dedicated *Hunter* to Joseph Paul Franklin. Franklin is a convicted synagogue bomber and racist murderer. From his prison cell, Franklin confessed that between 1977 and 1980 he had killed 18 individuals. He stated that the killings were his part in the effort to initiate what he described as a “race war.” The victims of Franklin’s madness were all blacks, white women who said they had dated men of another race, interracial couples, and Jews (Castells 2004). Charles Manson had attempted to start his own version of this same race war in the late 1960s. Manson called his plan “Helter Skelter.”

Economic Diversification. Since writing *The Turner Diaries* and *Hunter*, William Pierce initiated several new business ventures. He quickly grasped the power and enormous economic potential that the Internet could afford an innovative entrepreneur. Pierce began to take aggressive action that would incorporate this staggering potential into the National Alliance media outlet. The *National Alliance* organization capitalizes on the Internet’s reach as one of its main recruitment tools for both domestic and foreign audiences. Pierce also realized that the Internet provided the means for immediate, broad, and inexpensive dissemination of his philosophies and doctrines in the America and around the world. Consequently, *The Turner Diaries*, *Hunter*, National Alliance literature, and thousands of other publications are available through the NA website. All of these publications and this literature have been made available in most of the major languages of the world. These languages include German, Russian, Portuguese, Swedish, and French. *Mein Kampf* has been translated in to Modern standard Arabic and Turkish and in 2003, after the *Koran*, was the largest selling

publication in the Middle East. Pierce made his ADV broadcasts available in multiple electronic and print formats (Castells 2004).

Pierce did not limit his expansion to the print industry. A pragmatic capitalist, Pierce also extended his philosophical and political reach into the world of music specifically, white power music. Originally founded by a group of Canadian Neo-Nazi and skinheads in 1993, *Resistance Records* was popular with a large percentage of those in the right-wing who listened to Rock music and its various sub-genres. Resistance Records is a white power music company that features bands playing songs with fiercely violent and denigrating lyrics directed against blacks, minorities, and Jews. Resistance Records also provides Oi, heavy metal rock, and other music that is aimed at younger white males between the ages of 18 and 34. The group was based in Canada but they operated their company in Detroit, Michigan. This enabled them to side-step the draconian, anti-free speech, anti-hate propaganda laws that have been enacted in Canada. Beyond the sale of music CDs, Resistance Records also published *Resistance Magazine*. This magazine featured white power music articles that kept its readership abreast of the latest events in that scene. However, in 1997, despite its legal operation in the United States, American authorities in cooperation with Canadian officials conducted raids against Resistance Records. These raids temporarily forced the company to cease its operations until 1998 when it was purchased by Willis Carto and his business partner, former staff member in the Reagan administration, Todd Blodgett. Willis Carto had been the long-time nemesis of William Pierce. Pierce however, later worked out an agreement with Blodgett that enabled Pierce to assume control of and ultimately purchase Resistance Records (Castells 2004).

Pierce purchased Resistance Records in April of 1999. In the fall of that same year, he also purchased a Swedish white power music company, *Nordland Records*. *Nordland Records* was merged with Resistance Records. This had the effect of doubling the inventory of Resistance Records. Over and above the selling of music CDs, Pierce restructured and launched a new *Resistance Magazine*. The publication of this magazine had also ceased when the original offices of Resistance Records were raided by Canadian and American authorities. Pierce envisioned young, alienated neo-Nazis, racists, White Nationalists, and skinheads as a large and growing potential audience to carry forward the white revolution vision. He also understood that he had an opportunity to reach out to the group that these enterprises would afford him. In the first issue of the revived *Resistance*; Fall 1999), he wrote, “Resistance Records will be producing and distributing music which speaks directly to the soul of our people. It will be the music of our people’s renewal and rebirth....It will be music of defiance and rage against the enemies of our people” (Pierce 1999, 1).

Pierce expressed his hope that “resistance music” would influence young people who are not yet politically motivated. Pierce wrote on the editorial page of the Spring 2000 issue of *Resistance Magazine*: “Through music I want to give them more awareness and a better understanding of what needs to be done. Music is truly a mass medium which reaches and influences everyone, not just those who are already politically committed” (Pierce 2000, 1).

These excursions into the “hatecore” or resistance music business were not simply the only element of a well reasoned business venture to progress the socio-political agenda Pierce was mounting throughout North America, Europe, and the United

States. His entrepreneurial activities also have the potential to be extremely lucrative for him. Pierce remarked that he was expecting sales in 2000 from Resistance Records to gross between \$500,000 and \$700,000. *DM News*, a direct marketing magazine speculated that through the combined sales of Resistance Records and *Resistance Magazine*, the National Alliance, as a clearinghouse for the doctrines presented by Pierce, stood to reap profits in the millions of dollars. These profits would generate returns on his initial investment by several thousand fold (Castells 2004).

Global Extremists Ties. The embracing of the white power music market by William Pierce has signaled an over-arching intent on the part of all parties involved to exponentially compound the strength of the ties that pre-exist between United States White Nationalists and the same and similar organizations in Britain, Europe, and elsewhere around the globe. Pierce declared in the pages of *Resistance Magazine* that the same White revolution that is being constructed in the United States is also being formed by other White Nationalists in every country in Europe, England, Canada, and Australia. One of the major means that this revolution would be accomplished was through the racial music that these nation's youth would share. Pierce was also insightful enough to realize that the interests of building links to and bonds with nationalists around the world extended further than the narrow limits of neo-Nazi youths. Throughout the passing years, Pierce had gone about establishing close ties with influential leaders in the *British National Party* (BNP). The BNP is a neo-Fascist, anti-minority, racist, party located in London, England. Pierce had also established good working relationships with members of the ultra-right-wing nationalist party of Germany; the *Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (NPD), the *German National Democratic Party*. In 2000, German

authorities have recently considered imposing a ban on the NPD. This proposal follows as a consequence of a violent series of anti-Semitic and racist incidents in that country. The NPD is attractive to a large neo-Nazi following that is experiencing a resurgence throughout Germany. Pierce had conducted a number of trips to Germany, where he attended several NPD events. In October 1999, Pierce gave a presentation before the NPDs youth congress. It was reported that Pierce exhorted the participants at the congress that it is incumbent and not just a good idea but imperative, for all committed White Nationalist groups around the globe to step up their degree of cooperation across all the world's borders. That same week, after he had addressed the German *NPD Youth Congress*, Pierce traveled to Thessaloniki, Greece where he attended the International Conference of Nationalists. This gathering of the most influential nationalists from around the world included racist leaders from Greece, Germany, Austria, Holland, Denmark, Belgium, South Africa, Portugal, and Romania. Pierce has also extended an open invitation to the members of the NPD as well as attendees of the International Conference of Nationalists to visit with him at his West Virginia headquarters (Castells 2004).

National Alliance Future. Pierce had stated he considers that the only viable, politically mature and serious organization in the United States that is able to adequately represent White Nationalists interest is the National Alliance. He also added that it is equivalent to the British National Party and the National Democratic Party of Germany. The National Alliance has significantly increased its membership since its inception. Currently the National Alliance consists of over 1,500 members with more than 35 cells spread across the United States. Pierce has observed that the National Alliance is

presently engaged in the task of creating and raising the racial and political consciousness of whites who have heretofore never considered race as an aspect in their lives. The leader of the National Alliance had promised that he would direct the organization with a firm hand while he attempts to offer his vision of White Nationalism to the multiple elements of the white American population. This is to include young skinheads and neo-Nazi along with all middle, upper middle-class and upper-class individuals and groups of all professional. Pierce was convinced that he could persuade enough Americans so as to generate the White Nationalist revolution he sought. Interestingly enough, the optimism that Pierce expressed was substantiated by the fact that he was one of the most widely known and highly regarded personalities on the far right as well as being held in high esteem among those the White Nationalist movement here in the United States and abroad (Castells 2004).

With the death of William Pierce on July 23, 2002, at the age of 68, elements within the *National Alliance* have fundamentally and adversely been affected. The operation of the organization is now fragmented into several warring factions. Without the force of Pierce's personality to guide the organization, it has lost almost all of the influence it once held over the majority of extreme right wing elements in the U. S. and abroad (Castells 2004).

### The Army of God

The original founder and current host of the *Army of God (AOG)* website ([www.armyofgod.com](http://www.armyofgod.com)) is the Rev. Donald Spitz. The slaying of Dr. Barnett Slepian is mocked on the website by Army of God member, "Atomic Dog," James Kopp. In 1998 Kopp was tried and convicted of fatally shooting Dr. Slepian. Authorities also suspect

Kopp is linked to three shootings where, on November 8, 1994, Dr. Garson Romalis of Vancouver, BC was wounded. The second shooting occurred on October 28, 1997 in Rochester, NY where an unnamed physician was wounded. The third incident took place in Winnipeg, MB when Dr. Jack Fainman was shot on November 11, 1997. In another incident, Kopp was charged and convicted of shooting Dr. Hugh Short in Ancaster, ON, on November 10, 1995. Correspondence written by Clayton Waagner has been posted by Rev. Spitz. This correspondence openly threatened abortion center staff members on the Army of God website. This occurred during the period of time when law enforcement officials searched for Waagner who was a fugitive from justice. Prior to the capture of from Eric Robert Rudolph, Spitz also posted Rudolph's writings on the Army of God website. During the weeks preceding convicted murderer, Paul Hill's September 2003 execution, Spitz was in attendance as Hill's spiritual advisor (National Abortion Federation 2009; Army of God, n.d.b.).

The Army of God consists of a network of domestic terrorists who work in the "underground." They are convinced that violence is an acceptable and appropriate means to end the practice of abortion in the United States. On the internet site of the Army of God contains the *Army of God Manual*. An excerpt from the Army of God Manual says that,

The Army of God is a real Army, and God is the General and Commander-in-Chief. The soldiers, however, do not usually communicate with one another. Very few have ever met each other. And when they do, each is usually unaware of the other's soldier status. That is why the Feds will never stop this Army. Never. And we have not yet even begun to fight. (Army of God, n.d.a.)

It is believed that Don Benny Anderson first used the term "Army of God" in public when he mention the name in 1982. It was in 1982 when Anderson and the

brothers, Matthew and Wayne Moore, kidnapped two Illinois abortion providers. The two providers were released unharmed after a short period of time. Anderson and the Moore brothers were tracked down, arrested, tried, and convicted of that kidnapping. The trio was also believed to responsible for arsons at several abortion clinics. Members of the *Army of God* are believed to be the perpetrators of many other threatening and violent incidents (National Abortion Federation 2009). For example, a death threat addressed to Supreme Court Justice Harry Blackmun was sent by the Army of God through the United States Postal Service, in 1984. Also, the American Civil Liberties Union, several abortion clinics as well as the offices of the National Abortion Federation were bombed in 1984. A scrap of paper found at one of the crime scenes had the phrase, Army of God written on it. Michael Bray, Thomas Spinks, and Kenneth Shields were responsible for the crimes and spent time in prison (National Abortion Federation 2009; Army of God, n.d.b.).

The Army of God, by claiming to be responsible for bombing an abortion clinic and a gay bar in Atlanta, GA, mocked the National Abortion Federation through letters posted to various media. In 2002, the FBI placed Eric Robert Rudolph on its Ten Most Wanted List was prior to his capture on May 31, 2003. Rudolph pled guilty to these crimes (National Abortion Federation 2009; Army of God, n.d.b.).

The Army of God Manual. In 1993, after the non-fatal shooting of Dr. George Tiller in Wichita, KS by Shelly Shannon, law enforcement officials, while searching Shannon's home and property, discovered a photocopied edition of the *Army of God Manual* in her backyard by (National Abortion Federation). It is reported that the *Army of God Manual* was first drafted in October 1988 during the Democratic National Convention in Atlanta, GA. During this time, after more than three weeks of protests, a

large number of pro-life activists were apprehended and incarcerated together. It is also reported that during this period of incarceration that pro-life activists joined together and formed the Army of God. Within this context the new members chose aliases, with James Kopp assuming the moniker of “Atomic Dog” (National Abortion Federation 2009; Army of God, n.d.b.).

There are three known editions of the *Army of God Manual*, each published within a year of the previous edition. Each succeeding edition advocates in behalf of escalating the acts of violence directed against abortion providers, their staff members and the clinics themselves. The third edition informs the reader that the only way to effectively stop the practice of abortion is to kill the providers of that service. Essentially the *Army of God Manual* presents a “how to seminar” on procedures for carrying out violence against abortion clinics. The manual specifies means and methods for impeding entrance to abortion clinics, how a particularly odious smelling liquid called butyric acid may be incorporated into an attack against a clinic or its staff, and a “how-to” section detailing methods of arson, bomb making, as well as other illegal acts that may be perpetrated against clinics and those who work in them. The manual contains not only strong anti-government rhetoric but also anti-abortion statements as well as anti-gay/lesbian language (National Abortion Federation 2009; Army of God, n.d.b.).

The declaration at the beginning of the manual states:

Beginning officially with the passage of the Freedom of Choice Act - we, the remnant of God-fearing men and women of the United States of Amerika (sic), do officially declare war on the entire child killing industry. After praying, fasting, and making continual supplication to God for your pagan, heathen, infidel souls, we then peacefully, passively presented our bodies in front of your death camps, begging you to stop the mass murdering of infants. Yet you hardened your already blackened, jaded hearts. We quietly accepted the resulting imprisonment and

suffering of our passive resistance. Yet you mocked God and continued the Holocaust. No longer! All of the options have expired. Our Most Dread Sovereign Lord God requires that whosoever sheds man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed. Not out of hatred of you, but out of love for the persons you exterminate, we are forced to take arms against you. Our life for yours, a simple equation. Dreadful. Sad. Reality, nonetheless. You shall not be tortured at our hands. Vengeance belongs to God only. However, execution is rarely gentle. (Army of God, n.d.a.)

The Army of God and Justifiable Homicide. Violence against those who provide abortion is wholeheartedly and unreservedly supported by participating members of the Army of God. Members of the Army of God, in support of Michael Griffin's and Paul Hill's use of deadly force against Drs. Gunn and Britton and Britton's bodyguard, Jim Barret, circulated justifiable homicide or Defensive Action petitions during the trials of Griffin and Hill. Hill and his attorneys attempted to raise "justifiable homicide" as an affirmative defense during his murder trial. However, the presiding judge rejected that defense. The judge ruled justifiable defense invalid as a result of that defense not meeting Florida's standards for justifiable homicide. The judge declared that justifiable homicide is only applicable in cases when a defendant killed another person in defense of a third person's life or in the defense of one's own life (National Abortion Federation 2009; Army of God, n.d.b.).

#### The Operational Underground Militia "Leaderless Resistance"

As a result of the inherent porosity and the inability of any hierarchical pyramidal coherent that follows a regimented or administered political strategy to resist infiltration by outside forces, the concept of a visible militia has been rejected. The methodology that has replaced it is known as *Leaderless Resistance*. This new survival strategy, first widely publicized and popularized by Louis R. Beam, a former member of

the United States Army, Special Forces, is a concept originally operationalized and articulated during the Cold War by United States Army Colonel, Ulius Louis Amoss. Amoss, as a highly trained and skilled Intelligence Officer, first wrote of Leaderless Resistance on April 17, 1962. Writing for the Department of Defense, as an Intelligence Liaison Officer resisting Communism, it was Col. Amoss, a student of the American Revolution and Marxist insurgency, who suggested what he characterized, the “*Phantom Cell*” mode of organization. Col. Amoss described this cell strategy as Leaderless Resistance. This system of organization that Amoss based upon a formal cell organization does not report to, or have any ties with a central command and control structure to which it looks for direction (Bayo [1963] 1996). This form is in fact nearly identical to those methods used by the revolutionary Committees of Correspondence, established in all twelve Colonies to provide information on British activities, during our American War for Independence. Utilizing the Leaderless Resistance concept, each cell may meet secretly together or correspond by other secure means of communication with one another, in order to discuss matters of the day. Each cell, however, is completely autonomous in their decisions as to what actions to take. All individuals and groups operate independently of each other, and never report to a central headquarters or single leader for direction or instruction, as did Communist cell orders, or as would those who belong to a typical pyramidal form of organization. From this perspective, they are free to act when, where and how often they determine is in their best interests, and that of their cause, to do so. These cells are free to act against any authority they see as a threat to their way of life. Beam, made the concepts that Amoss had written about for the U. S. Department of Defense available to a wide range of individuals and groups through his

publication, *The Seditionist* in 1992. The government of the United States represents the threat of governmental tyranny to everyone in the United States, everyone, and especially to anyone who would choose to oppose its “order” in any manner that may be considered of a significant threat to that “order” (Beam 1992).<sup>5</sup> Contemporary examples are found in Al-Qaeda, Hamas or any of a dozen other Islamic Fundamentalist groups that have declared open war upon the United States government and its “order.” These are foreign representatives of an obvious nature that few people in this country would dispute as being legitimate concerns of foreign terrorism (Lia 2008).

On the domestic scene however, there are fewer examples that immediately come mind, with the exception of “right-wing militia groups.” These groups came to national prominence during the era of “Waco,” and “Ruby Ridge.” They were catapulted to international attention, and, rightly or wrongly thereafter designated as “domestic terrorists,” when Timothy McVeigh demolished the Murrah federal building in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma by detonating a five-ton ammonium-nitrate fuel oil explosive device on April 19, of 1995. At that time, the “visible” militia became a threat to the governmental order of the United States. With direct government attention focused upon the militia movement, as it was known at that time, active militias, militias that advocated the violent, armed overthrow of the United States government, became immediately vulnerable, not only to covert government surveillance, but also to infiltration by government informants. As a consequence of their pyramidal construction, a paramilitary militia with its hierarchical chain-of-command is too porous a concept to successfully resist infiltration or manipulation by law enforcement and government agencies. With the command structure formed as a pyramid, with the overall commander at the top and each

succeeding level of command descending and spread out from the top down to the base, with line soldiers forming the broad base, in that structure and order, any where along and up and down that chain-of-command, any one is vulnerable to external pressure from the government as a result of any information they may have as to the activities of that unit. All the government need do is to wait, or to “trick” anyone in the unit to run afoul of the law. At that time, law enforcement/government operatives “lean on” the individual with threats of lengthy prison sentences, and promises of immunity or reduced sentences, as a means of “turning” that individual to the services of law enforcement, and consequently the government (Beam 1992). Since these facts and realities have become obvious, those who remain as serious and committed opponents of the government have adopted the principles of “Leaderless Resistance” as a necessary and successful strategy and technique for survival. Leaderless Resistance is based upon the premise that an individual acting alone, or a small, “cell” of no more than six men acting in concert will, like the Committees of Correspondence during our Revolution, communicate through secure means and gather intelligence concerning targets and objectives of their own choosing. Ideally, smaller units will consist of only very close, long-time friends, and/or, of nuclear or extended family relatives whose trustworthiness is not only a known quantity, but also one that has been tested over time and circumstances. No one group takes orders or follows directives from a “higher” command. Each unit picks its own targets and plans its own strategies according to its own judgment and choosing. Then, waiting until they are sufficiently prepared to execute their plan, they will strike at a time and place of their own determination. If they should be apprehended by law enforcement while they are carrying out a planned anti-government activity, or at some later time, they

will not be able to betray an entire organization even when pressured to do so. Indeed, even in a small unit, no one person need know every man involved in the group, or their activities, and will therefore be unable to disclose any more than one or two names. Consequently, in the event of arrests, there are less numbers likely to be lost due to betrayals, convictions and incarceration. The archetype allows for flexibility in that, even individuals, known within this matrix as “Lone Wolves” or “Werewolves” (Beam 1992; see also Endnote 5) may function with complete autonomy while also being members of a Phantom Cell. Membership however, is neither unilateral nor multilateral. The decision to identify oneself as a member of one group or the other, or both lies exclusively with each individual. It was one of the strengths as well as the weakness of Robert Jay Mathews and The Silent Brotherhood, also known as The Order, in that they did and did not put into practice the principles of Leaderless Resistance. Of this doctrine, Louis Beam presciently wrote of the coming need for this very contingency. Within the pages of April 1992 issue of *The Seditionist* Beam warned that men who have joined together libeled as being terrorists of the domestic kind or should be suppressed because of their cultic tendencies. He further opined that it would become a necessity to rethink organizational hierarchies and assume an asymmetric form in order to combat government infiltration (Beam 1992).

The concern over “abortion, birth control, and zero population growth, readily embraced by many whites, were knives with which the race was slitting its own throat” (Flynn and Gerhardt, 1990, 466), created the demand for an effective fighting tactic to combat these social forces. The militia and those sympathetic to the principles for which the militias were struggling saw abortion as the left’s means of slowly dismembering,

literally and figuratively, White America. Multiple actors, many with diverse ideological backgrounds, rapidly and effectively employed the ‘lone wolf’ strategy in the national drama. Eric Robert Rudolph is a prime example of this type of operative. Rudolph has been indicted, in absentia, for the fatal bombing at Centennial Olympic Park on July 27, 1996, which killed Olympic spectator Alice Hawthorne and seriously injured more than 100 other people. Included in that indictment is the bombing of a Sandy Springs, Georgia, family planning clinic on January 16, 1997, which resulted in the injury of more than 50 people. Additionally, Rudolph is charged with the bombing of a Midtown Atlanta homosexual nightclub, the Otherside Lounge, on February 21, 1997. This blast realized the injury of five people. Rudolph was also indicted in the Northern District of Alabama for the fatal bombing of a Birmingham family planning clinic on January 29, 1998. The remotely detonated device at this clinic caused the death of Birmingham Police Officer Robert Sanderson while also critically injuring abortion nurse Emily Lyons. Although not a known member of any militia per-se, Rudolph had attended the Christian Identity, Church of Israel headed by Dan Gayman in Missouri. In North Carolina, Rudolph associated with a group founded by the late Nord Davis, Jr., known as the *Northpoint Tactical Teams*. His explicit anti-abortion statements and sentiments are the nexus between his religio-political and racial/ideological perspectives. Consequently, the strategy and tactics employed by Rudolph provide the exact blueprint for a working example of the pragmatic application of the principles of Leaderless Resistance. Working alone and remaining hidden deep within the Nantahala National Forest in Western North Carolina, as well as that of the surrounding states, Rudolph successfully managed to elude local, State and Federal authorities for two years before finally being apprehended.

Another example, although assuredly not a member of any militia, is Theodore Kaczynski, the “Unabomber,” who remained dangerously anonymous, while murdering numerous people and maiming others for over 17 years while practicing these same techniques. There is much to be said for this principle as both strategy and tactic as a means for increasing the odds in an individual’s favor for slipping through the fingers of law enforcement. The less any one knows, the less likely anyone is able to “give you up.” Kaczynski was finally apprehended as a result of law enforcement making public his *Manifesto*. Kaczynski’s brother recognized the structure, syntax and style of the Unabomber’s work and suggested his name to law enforcement. As a consequence, Kaczynski was eventually apprehended, tried, convicted and imprisoned. The “Unabomber” is mentioned in this context as a clear working example of the effectiveness of the Leaderless Resistance strategy when it is practiced in its most effective form (Schlatter 2006).

Closer to home and more recently, 31-year-old Benjamin Matthew Williams, along with his younger brother, James Tyler Williams, 29 have been charged in the July 1 double slaying of Gary Matson, 50, and Winfield Mowder, 40, prominent homosexual partners who lived near Redding in the rural community of Happy Valley, about 160 miles north of Sacramento. When the brothers were arrested, both were heavily armed. Law enforcement authorities discovered a large cache of “hate literature,” including material from the *World Church of the Creator* (Matthew F. Hale), in their home. Matthew and Tyler Williams were each charged with two counts of first-degree murder in addition to lesser counts of burglary. At the time of their arrest, the brothers faced the death penalty were they to be convicted. Both brothers were also suspected of setting fire

to a Sacramento, California synagogue, with resulting damages estimated at over 1.5 million dollars. In mid 2003, Benjamin Matthew Williams committed suicide in his Redding, California jail cell following his escape attempt of the same year. James Tyler Williams was convicted of two counts of first-degree murder, with special circumstances using a firearm in the commission of a crime. He now faces the death penalty. Matthew had served for a short period of time in the U. S. Navy. After his separation from the Navy, Matthew moved to Moscow, Idaho to live with his younger brother, Tyler. In Idaho, Matthew then attended classes at the University of Idaho at Moscow. While a student, he also became active in a charismatic Christian Church in the adjacent town of Pullman, Washington, known as the Living Faith Fellowship. After becoming disillusioned with the church in Pullman, the brothers returned to the Redding area to live. The Redding area has become a focal point for militia activity, as well as a gathering point for followers of the Christian Identity movement, which views Jews and other non-Christians as descendants of Cain and therefore of a distinct racial bloodline. In January of 1999, the area hosted John Trochmann, founder of the Militia of Montana. Trochmann is one of the nation's more prominent leaders of militia activity. Mr. Trochmann visited Redding to share information with interested individuals in order that they might prepare for any Y2K problems that many people believed to be coming at the advent of the new millennium. A woman who wished to remain anonymous, that had attended Trochmann's presentation stated she saw Matthew Williams in the conference center selling literature. If not for the compelling trail of physical evidence left by the Williams brothers, FBI Special Agents and local law enforcement officers might still be "interviewing" the tattooed members of White Supremacist groups that are located in Sacramento's suburbs.

and searching for suspected local arsonists. Deputies of the Shasta County Sheriff's Office may never have found the killers of Matson and Mowder. True to the best Leaderless Resistance form, the Williams brothers had been operating under the radar screens of law enforcement. Furthermore, the William's brothers fit seamlessly into the psychological and ideological paradigm of a "leaderless cell." Matthew, the intellectual force of the duo, kept their plans between himself and his younger brother. Neither brother had a criminal record. No one in law enforcement had any reason to suspect them of any illegal activity. Matthew and Tyler Williams were followers of *Christian Identity*, with its inherent militant White Nationalist doctrine. Despite their "invisibility," Matthew Williams was extraordinarily busy during this time period. He made calls from his home telephone to gun shops, as well as to known White supremacist/separatists and others across the country. One company in Arizona, that manufactures folding rifle stocks for the United States Secret Service was called. Another phone call, where Williams had intended to connect with the Glock Firearms Manufacturing Corporation in Georgia, wound up connecting him to an individual whose telephone number was off by one digit from that of the Glock Corporation. Several men living in the Redding-area, described as militia leaders, who networked with others of like mind in Shingletown and Susanville, California, as well as Seattle, Washington, Reno, Winnemucca and Elko, Nevada, Laramie, Wyoming, Meridian, Idaho, and Elohim City (being translated as *City of God*, at that time the metaphysical as well as material center of the Christian Identity universe) outside of Mulford, Oklahoma also received telephone calls from Matthew Williams. The FBI terrorist report, Project Megiddo places Elohim City at the top of its security index, threat assessment list. The critical mass of Elohim City's "black hole" captured within its

gravitational pull the orbits of several other far-right, super-novas that will be explored at a latter point in this investigation. At issue, however, was the phone call that was made from another phone two hours after Matson and Mowder were found dead that put detectives onto the Williams brothers and enabled them to “reverse engineer” their plans. That call, placed to a company in Scottsdale, Arizona, specializing in ammunition reloading equipment, gave police the break they needed. Court documents stipulate an order was placed for \$2,276.09 worth of reloading equipment and gun belts. One gun belt, size 32, the other size 34, matched the Williams brothers’ waist sizes. The Court record also indicated that the person placing the order specifically requested that all of the equipment be forwarded to a private mailbox firm in Yuba City, Calif., c/o Gary Matson. It was Matson’s VISA card that was used to make payment for the items. Alerted by the credit card activity, Shasta County Sheriff’s detectives traced the address to where the materials were being delivered. They then proceeded to Yuba City. It was by utmost coincidence that they arrived at the same time that the Williams brothers were there. The brothers had just begun loading the equipment into their father’s Toyota hatchback when officers surrounded them weapons at the ready. Matthew Williams, wearing a bulletproof vest, a fanny pack with a 9 mm Glock pistol inside, also had Matson’s driver’s license and credit card in his possession at the time of his arrest. Matthew had reached for the pack, as if to draw the concealed weapon, hesitated and then turning to his brother asked, “Well, partner, what are we going to do?” (Stanton and Delshon, 1999, 47). Despite the weapons available to them, the brothers apparently were not ready to martyr themselves for the cause. Without further resistance, they were taken into custody. The brothers had become greedy and left a visible “paper trail” that destroyed their anonymity, a vital

commodity for the successful application of the Leaderless Resistance principle (Schlatter 2006).

As a means of lowering their profiles, truly active and serious militias have already incorporated the principle of leaderless resistance into their operating orders, first by “disbanding as a visible entity,” and secondly by reducing their numbers to a maximum of no more than six members. In this capacity, a strict “need to know” basis would be the order of the day for any and all plans, as much as could be possible. As stated earlier a visible militia is a vulnerable and inherently porous organization, not only because it is easily susceptible to infiltration, but also as a result of its use by the government as an “anti-Berkeley” do-nothing organization. This type of organization is set up and used to identify naive and foolish individuals for easy manipulation by law enforcement, or government “agent provocateurs” in working their way into other groups and organizations (Schlatter 2006). Furthermore, they may be maneuvered, by law enforcement, into some activity they may not have been inclined to proceed with, except through the provocateur’s leading. Needless to say, any militia unit or right-wing group that may be located on the Internet is a possible open invitation to a lengthy prison sentence. One web site, pointing to this obvious high risk fact, wryly created a hyper link that would connect a would be “net warrior” with an organization that was actively seeking recruits willing to bomb and kill for the “cause.” The link took any eager volunteers to the FBI Internet web site. The militias that remained “visible” after the Oklahoma City bombing are little more than social clubs that have attempted to become community service groups offering disaster relief and assistance for children and the elderly, not that there is anything wrong with that type of activity. It is just that they don’t

quite fit into the “revolutionary” image that one would expect for a militia. Examples of this type of organization include the 51<sup>st</sup> and 52<sup>nd</sup> Regiments of the Missouri Militia, as well as the Montana and Michigan Militias. Dexter, Michigan was also the home base of “Mark from Michigan” Koernke, once a prominent right-wing public speaker who claims to have been trained by the Army in intelligence work. Koernke, until his arrest, conviction, and incarceration for assorted conspiracy charges, alleged that the Federal government was systematically planning to arrest, on a massive scale, all gun owners in the United States, who would not surrender their weapons. This would be affected due to the threat to “national security” that non-compliance with the order to surrender their arms posed to the United States and its “citizens.” There is a masterstroke of circular reasoning, if ever there was one. It will be left to the individual reader to determine whose reasoning was circumvolutory. Several witnesses at Koernke’s trial stated under oath that Timothy McVeigh accompanied Koernke, as the latter’s bodyguard. McVeigh, it was also discovered after his arrest for the Oklahoma City bombing, had been drawn to Elohim City. Type in the word militias as a search term in any search engine and the list will be extensive, not coincidentally, before too extended a search, one will come across Elohim City as well. The web based militia groups, however are essentially “Virtual Weekend Warriors” in the literal sense. They have, by virtue of their prominent visibility, rendered themselves as ineffective, but more importantly immediate and, indeed, easy targets to be eliminated when the government determines that they have outlived their political usefulness or have become a “threat to public safety and good order” (Federal Bureau of Investigation 1999).

### Phantom Cells: The Phinehas Priesthood

Leaderless Resistance then, effectively neutralizes two of the government's most powerful and efficacious weapons against active and therefore truly viable groups. First, by eliminating the availability of information about itself, an underground paramilitary unit reduces the risk of infiltration and attack. Secondly, by becoming invisible, those authentically unconventional guerrilla operatives reduce their vulnerability to detection, and retain the element of surprise, thereby increasing their flexibility with respect to possibilities for efficacy of movement and action. This compounds the difficulty for law enforcement due to an inability on the part of law enforcement in not knowing how many men there are comprising a group, what their strengths, capabilities and weaknesses are, the psychological profile of those individuals, and where, when and how a unit may strike. Furthermore, by melding another strategy into that of leaderless resistance, suggested by those of the order of *The Phinehas Priesthood*, any truly committed and active anti-government paramilitary unit adds the element of zeal to the equation. Ardor equal to that of any Islamic fundamentalist was seen in the instance of Robert Jay Mathews and a number of his companions in *The Bruders Schweigen*, The Silent Brotherhood. The Silent Brotherhood was the penultimate ultra-right wing militia group. The late William L. Pierce, Ph.D., provided the inspiration for Mathews' group in *The Turner Diaries*, written and published under the *nom de plume*, Andrew Macdonald. In this fictional account of a right-wing coup d'etat in the United States, Pierce's group is also known as The Organization. Pierce, a former aide to American Nazi Party leader George Lincoln Rockwell, was also the founder of The National Alliance, a White Nationalist political action organization in Virginia. The far

right had not seen a group of White Nationalists like The Order since the halcyon days of the night rides of the Invisible Empire of The Ku Klux Klan. The Order was immortalized by reporters/authors, Kevin Flynn and Gary Gerhardt, of Denver, Colorado's *Rocky Mountain News*, in their 1990 book entitled with the same name as Mathew's group The Silent Brotherhood. "Mathews was not content as were other extremists, to play soldier in the woods or cheerleader from the sidelines" (Flynn and Gerhardt 1990, 20). Indeed, it was "amid a resurgence of white racial activism in America since the late 1970s, [where] *he saw the line racist leaders wouldn't cross, and he vaulted over it*" [emphasis added] (Flynn and Gerhardt 1990, 20).

A transcending zealousness such as that evidenced by Mathews, Bruce Carroll Pierce, Richard Scutari, David Lane, Gary Lee Yarbrough is very difficult to combat and overcome, even in the best of circumstances. This is especially so when it is considered that the best of government agencies are manned by individuals who are fighting for a paycheck and want to go home to their wife and children at the end of the day. The religious zeal of The Phinehas Priesthood, as embodied in the members of The Silent Brotherhood in conjunction with Leaderless Resistance is the cause of the government's public remarks, as Silent Brotherhood member Scutari stated the matter. "It is worried about leaderless resistance groups. They cannot infiltrate what they do not know about. And they cannot stop what they cannot infiltrate" (Citizens Against Hate 2004). Scutari was passing along a lesson purchased by The Brotherhood at the ultimate premium, their freedom and their lives. Although The Order had not perfectly practiced the principle of Leaderless Resistance, the group was pragmatic when it passed its learning experience along to others who would seek to avoid their mistakes while still walking the path of

White Revolutionary Resistance against ZOG (the Zionist Occupation Government). It is in this latter capacity that the psychological advantage tips in the favor of the Phantom Cell. When law enforcement expresses open concern, with respect to their inability to cope with Leaderless Resistance cells, then the practitioners of that principle have gained a tremendous advantage, one that can only serve to embolden them. The source of their courage follows from their religious commitment of faith. It is a faith grounded deep within the Old Testament, in the form of The Phinehas Priesthood.

The Phinehas Priesthood derives from the Biblical example found in the Book of Numbers 25: 6-13 [King James Bible]:

And, behold, one of the children of Israel came and brought unto his brethren a Midianitish woman in the sight of Moses, and in the sight of all the congregation of the children of Israel, who were weeping before the door of the tabernacle of the congregation. And when Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest, saw it, he rose up from among the congregation, and took a javelin in his hand: And he went after the man of Israel into the tent, and thrust both of them through, the man of Israel, and the woman through her belly. So the plague was stayed from the children of Israel. And those who died in the plague were twenty and four thousand. And the Lord spake unto Moses saying, Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest, hath turned my wrath away from the children of Israel, while he was zealous for my sake among them, that I consumed not the children of Israel in my jealousy. Wherefore say, Behold, I give unto him my covenant of peace: And he shall have it, and his seed after him, even the covenant of an everlasting priesthood; because he was zealous for his God, and made an atonement for the children of Israel.

What had transpired in these passages was the following. The Israelite had brought a foreign woman (a Midianite from the territory of Moab) into the confines of the Israeli camp, into his tent and was having sexual intercourse with her. Not only was the man not married to the woman, and thereby committing fornication, he was fornicating with a foreign woman, who was not consecrated, by Mosaic Law into the tribe of Israel. Both of these acts were proscribed by Divine law. Over and above these facts, the Hebrew

man was committing these blasphemies within eyesight of The Lord God, as well as Moses, in a deliberate and blatant act of rebellion against the spiritual laws of the Israelites. Inter-racial marriages and inter-racial sexual contact between the Israelites and all other races was strictly forbidden, except as decreed through certain exceptions, one being that the woman must be a virgin. The very act of what the Bible describes as, “whoredom with the daughters of Moab,” was the act that had brought the plague down upon the people of Israel in the first place. Phinehas had demonstrated his love and obedience toward God, and zeal for the commandments of the Lord through his act of thrusting his javelin through the bodies of the fornicating Israelite and the Midianite woman, resulting in the plague being stayed by the Lord God. From this episode comes the Priesthood of Phinehas, an enforcer of God’s laws and a punisher of those who violate them. Thereafter, Phinehas was a warrior of God. This is emphasized when one reads Numbers 31, verses six and seven, where it is written, in reference to war with the Midianites that, “And Moses sent them to the war, a thousand of every tribe, them and Phinehas the son of Eleazar the priest, to the war, with the holy instruments, and the trumpets to blow in his hand.” And they warred against the Midianites, as the Lord commanded Moses; and they slew all the males.” Also, Phinehas serves as an ambassador between the Israelite tribes, along with ten other “princes” who assisted him (Joshua 22:13). Phinehas also served as a Judge between the Hebrew tribes and went to war, at the direction of the Lord God, against the tribe of Benjamin (Judges, Chapters 19 and 20). From the acts of Phinehas, the Priesthood of avenging zealots continued throughout Hebrew history. This Priesthood is also mentioned in the Book of Ezekiel (9:1-11) where the righteous are sealed with a mark designated by the Lord God and the

wicked are slain as a result of their unrighteousness by a group of “six men...and every man a slaughter weapon in his hand; and one man among them was clothed with linen, with a writer’s inkhorn by his side.” With the underlying principles of nationalism and racial exclusivity, in addition to a willingness to “take up the sword” in defense of these principles. A compact, armed and committed group of men determined to follow Biblical principles, to a literal end, herein lies the very core, the true essence of the modern day principle of “Leaderless Resistance” (Beam 1992).

Richard Kelly Hoskins, in his book, *Vigilantes of Christendom*, illustrates in voluminous detail how the Phinehas Priesthood has come down through the centuries to the modern day. The Phinehas Priesthood serves as an example of those who avenge the laws of God through the punishment of those who choose to ignore or desecrate those laws. The groups that inhabit the outer fringes of the extreme right perceive the world through the glass of religion, but not darkly, at least not in the sense that Saint Paul wrote of when he was expounding spiritual matters in I Corinthians 13:12. The Phinehas Priests, six men, each with a slaughter weapon and one with the “writer’s inkhorn by his side,” who serves as the scribe, as is expressed through his possessing the inkhorn to record the repayment for the breech of God’s Laws, and as a righteous witness to the vindication of the Laws of God, as implied by his being clothed in linen, are the paradigm for all who would follow in the footsteps of those who take up this sacred task. They had become “the committees of six” (Hoskins, 1990, 337). This is not to say, however, that the men involved are not aware of the inherent risks involved as they undertake the charter of the Priesthood of Phinehas. Mathews, speaking to Brotherhood Lt., Richard Scutari expressed with perspicacious alacrity the reality his group faced:

*With what we're planning, the chances of any of us coming out of this alive or free from prison for the rest of our lives are pretty slim. But somebody has to start it. Once others see us, more kinsmen will be inspired to follow. You and I will probably never see it come to be, but by our dedication and vision, I assure you someday it will be accomplished [emphasis added].* (Flynn and Gerhardt 1990, 440)

This perspective, when applied to the socio-political landscape of contemporary America is not one that should be considered extremist or even radical, especially in light of what has followed since Mathews and his group were crushed by Federal authorities. Nor is it necessarily extreme or radical when compared to the mindset of American law enforcement operatives, post 9/11.

Take for example an excerpt from an August 2002 edition of The Homeland Security Institute publication titled, “Combating Terrorism: With a Helmet or a Badge?” by Jeffrey H. Norwitz:

While distinguishing terrorism as a crime or an act of war, Stephen Gale, a counterterrorism expert at the University of Pennsylvania, points out, ‘If you think someone is going to take out your electrical grid, in a criminal investigation you arrest him. In a war you shoot first and ask questions later.’ (Quoting Stephen Gale from Ford 2002)

The Naval Criminal Investigative Service (NCIS) currently employs Norwitz, a former Military Police Army Captain and a law enforcement officer of over 28 years experience, as a civilian Special Agent. He is therefore one who knows of what it is he speaks. NCIS Special Agent Norwitz continues in his essay, with respect to terrorism and its context, past or present, to declare:

This essay will examine old paradigms about terrorism and offer a perspective on how criminal approaches have not grasped the nature of this war. Words have meaning when viewed legally, terrorism will always be a crime regardless of whether the act is a murder, hijacking, kidnapping, or bombing. Within legal vernacular, terrorist crimes have “elements of the offense,” each of which must be proven beyond a reasonable doubt; venue must be established to determine the appropriate court to hear the case; finally, if convicted, a defendant will be

sentenced in accordance with precedent, and appeals can run their course as well. Viewed through a political lens, terrorism is a tool of non-state or state actors, driven by religious or political ideation designed to manipulate governments and politics through violence. Consequently, terrorism can be dealt with either as a crime or as an attack on the body politic. Since defeating terrorism is clearly in our national interest, all elements of power (diplomatic, economic, and military) ought to be employed. (2002, 1, 4)

Clearly then, from Norwitz's perspective, and therefore that of the Homeland Security Agency, those who would take up the manifest of the *Phinehas Priesthood* would clearly fall within the parameters of those with whom American law enforcement officers are at "war." As a consequence, and because "terrorism will always be a crime regardless of whether the act is a murder, hijacking, kidnapping, or bombing," those so designated are consequently individuals of a group whom officers must "shoot first and ask questions [of] later." This policy results from the Patriot Act II, which classifies individuals or groups that run afoul of the newly authorized classification as terrorists. Whether they are of domestic or foreign vintage is of little or non-existent consideration. So, this is where America finds itself at this point in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. Our own citizens may be considered "terrorists" if they disagree with the government to the point of violating the law of the land. A circumstance not unlike that which precipitated the *Alien and Sedition Acts* of 1798. What then of Thomas Jefferson, James Madison and Abraham Lincoln, or even Henry David Thoreau and their mention of the right of the people to revolution? Jefferson, in a letter to Mrs. John Adams, on February 22, 1787, inveighed that "the spirit of resistance to government is so valuable on certain occasions, that I wish it to be always kept alive...I like a little rebellion now and then. It is like a storm in the atmosphere" (Malone 1951, 2:158). In November of that same year, Jefferson elaborated

on the theme of revolution as he wrote to, W.S. Smith. Citizen Jefferson, admonishing, as to “lethargy [being] the forerunner of death to the public liberty,” questioned:

What country can preserve it's (sic.) liberties if their rulers are not warned from time to time that their people preserve the spirit of resistance? His solution, ‘Let them take arms. The remedy is to set them right as to facts, pardon and pacify them. What signify a few lives lost in a century or two? The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots & tyrants. It is it's (sic.) natural manure.’ (Malone 1951, 2:165, 167)

This same understanding of the American spirit remained vibrant into the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. No less an American Icon than Abraham Lincoln, speaking on the occasion of his First Inaugural affirmed to his audience,

This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their *constitutional* right of amending it, or their *revolutionary* (italics in original) right to dismember, or overthrow it. (Basler 1955, 4:269)

But should not that individual or group that chooses the path of civil disobedience, even violent revolutionary disobedience, expect the full weight of the society against which they rebel to fall upon them for all of the consequent results of that rebellion? Our history has the examples of the Fries, Shays's and Whiskey Rebellions, not to mention the War of Northern Aggression, also known as the War Between the States and lesser known “insurrections.” Herein lies the crux of the controversy of the day and the driving wheel that motivates the New Right, the psychology of their “homeland security.” Should not Americans, who are in active and violent resistance to American Constitutional government be considered as a phenomenon separate and apart from foreign agents who seek the violent overthrow of our government? Or, do they deserve to be considered within the category of those enemies “foreign or domestic” who

threaten the stability of our nation? A group calling itself Citizens Against Hate (CAH), in reference to *The Bruders Schweigen* has declared that:

When the penal system of our society reaches such states as to allow those who murder and maim and rob, those who have been tried, convicted and sentenced to continue to affect our youth and our societal mores from within the bowels of punishment the time has come to revisit and to revamp that which is no longer working. No man convicted of such abhorrent behaviors as those evidenced by the members of The Order should ever be allowed to recruit or to indoctrinate others within our society. (CAH 2004)

But what then of the members of the radical and militantly racist group during the 1970s known as *The Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPP)*? In the psychology of their violent methods for dealing with what was perceived as a repressive government, what of their right to freedom of expression? From this group came books such as, *Soul On Ice* by Eldridge Cleaver; *SEIZE THE TIME: The Story of the Black Panther Party and Huey P. Newton* by Bobby Seale; *War Against the Panthers: A Study of Repression in America* by Huey P. Newton, and *Soledad Brother: The Prison Letters of George Jackson* by George L. Jackson? Jackson, Newton, Seale and Cleaver wrote of their revolutionary experiences as they resisted a government they believed had systematically, methodically and deliberately suppressed and repressed blacks as a race and as individuals. They did so as a means not only to recruit new black members into their cause, but also to raise money for their personal benefit. At that time it had not been made illegal for a convicted felon to profit from his or her notoriety while incarcerated. Moreover, following the *Citizens Against Hate* line of thinking, as well as that of the Patriot Act II, black racist radical and University of California at Santa Cruz Professor, Angela Y. Davis should not have been allowed to “affect our youth and our societal mores from within the bowels of punishment” (Citizen Against Hate, 2004) by publishing

her books exploring the institutionalization of racial politics. These include *If They Come In The Morning* (1971), *Angela Davis: An Autobiography* (1974), *Women, Race & Class* (1981), *Women, Culture and Politics* (1989), *Blues Legacies & Black Feminism* (1999a) and *The Angela Y. Davis Reader* (1999b). Indeed, when references are made to militant racists, there is an obligation to include those of *The American Indian Movement* (AIM). Radical racists such as Russell Means, John Trudell and Leonard Peltier, just to name three of that group's members, would of necessity, be forced onto any list of individuals and organizations that must be considered as threats to "national security." The members of *The American Indian Movement*, laid siege to the trading post at Wounded Knee on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in the Black Hills of South Dakota during the mid-1970s. Their actions necessitated the involvement of the FBI and ultimately the deaths of two FBI Special Agents, as well as that of a protesting civilian. Leonard Peltier was convicted of the murder of one of the FBI Agents and is serving a life sentence as a consequence of that conviction. For a full recounting of F B I involvement with both the BPP and AIM through the FBI's *Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO)*, the interested reader is referred to *Agents of Repression* (Churchill and Vanderwall 1988). Not to be forgotten in this cavalcade of 20<sup>th</sup> Century racial militants is Malcolm X and The Nation of Islam (NOI), the Black Muslims and their subsequent leader, Louis Eugene Walcott, who changed his name to Louis X, then to Abdul Haleem Farrakhan, and finally to Louis Farrakhan. As fiercely racially oriented, as were the Panthers, Malcolm X added Black Separatism into the demands for black rights. X, like the Panthers explicitly stated that the Muslims, who were fighting the "white devil," (Davis 1993, 22) would achieve their autonomy "by any means necessary" (Davis 1993, 44). These "means," that alluded to

violence, were a necessary adjunct to “the Nation of Islam’s program,” that “attempted to move [black] people away from the adoption of the dominant [white] culture” (Davis 1993, 19). Furthermore, according to Davis, “Muslims were emulating the model of closed immigrant communities, such as the Chinese-American community” (Davis 1993, 19). Farrakhan, more mimetic and derivative than innovator and original thinker, has “followed” very closely in the footsteps of, his predecessor, Malcolm Little. It may be argued that the BPP, AIM, and the NOI were not racist groups, nor was/is Angela Y. Davis a racist. Instead, they were black and red racial militants, each defending their respective race against oppressive governmental and societal systems that systematically disenfranchised and marginalized them as a people and reduced them to the status of second-class citizens, if that highly. That is precisely the same perspective from which Mathews and his group, as well as those in the Patriot and Militia movements approach their grievances and battles with the United States government. When the two former groups, the BPP and AIM, are to be included by definition, as terrorists, clearly then, the issue of terrorism and censorship is not as clearly drawn as it may first appear. Especially when it is remembered that the American examples of the War of Independence and the War Between the States were truly revolutionary and were not simply exercises in academic theory. Every book written that addresses the issue of militias or patriot movements, without fail, wonders in one form or another, why these individuals, who, prior to their involvement in these movements had been ordinary law abiding citizens, would suddenly and apparently without explanation, become violent revolutionaries? Additionally, every author states that although these groups appear to have an insignificant and insufficient force of numbers to effect violent change, and they occur in

isolated areas of the nation, these same citizens feel compelled to rise up against the government they believe has turned against them. Despite the best observations of investigative journalists, these same authors inadvertently overlook the answer to their questions which they themselves provide by listing incident after incident as examples of the various movements that cover the entire nation in their scope of occurrence and intensity. These authors fail to discern the answering forest of the militias while they dissect the minutiae surrounding the individual trees. They fail to grasp and understand the true depth of the marginalization and alienation that the mainstream American is experiencing. It is akin to the estrangement that the Provisional Irish Republican Army strikes out against. The Phinehas Priesthood taps into and integrates the patrio-religious zeal that the *IRA* embodies. For it is from the same intensity that the Regulars of the IRA function that impels the adherents of the principles of the Priesthood to carry out his commission as a Phinehas Priest. Just as the Irish Catholic believes and can point to a historical record of marginalization and degradation to second-class citizenship in his own country by the Protestants and the British Government, so too can, and does the Phinehas Priest faithful argue against his racial and religious ostracism in his own country. The United States is no longer the America in which they grew up. As the demographic complexion of the country changes, more and more, the nation's cities have become areas where one must be cautiously vigilant when walking the streets at night. Moreover, the nation that for over 200 hundred years had understood the explicit as well as the implicit right of the people to keep and bear arms as being an individual right, now tells its law abiding, gun owning citizens that up until the late 1960s, the nation has misread the Constitution. Now, more and more, Americans are being informed by "legal

scholars and academics who study such things,” that the right to keep and bear arms is not an individual right. Rather, they emphasize; it is a State’s right that applies only to the National Guard. As a result of these circumstances, and many others, it is an increasing sense of alienation and marginalization that drives White, middle-class Americans, who had never been in serious violation of any law, from their comfortable, middle class existence, into armed resistance to the government as it is manifest in the United States today. However, on June 26, 2008, in a 5-4 vote, the U.S. Supreme Court declared for the first time that the right to keep and bear arms, as guaranteed in the Second Amendment to the Constitution, is an individual right of Americans that is not connected with military service (Totenberg & Montagne 2008). We are a nation that is not at peace with itself, and for good cause. Paramilitarists are convinced that America is adrift and in the process of being torn apart by the forces of a maelstrom that is the result of American government turning away from the principles laid down by the Founding Fathers of this nation. What must also be understood is the depth of the conviction on the part of militia advocates concerning their belief that America was founded as a Christian nation. Furthermore, it must be made clear that no investigation of the militia phenomenon, or any of the White Nationalist permutations of this paramilitary occurrence can be fully understood without also providing a clear view of the *Christian Identity* religion, for it is *Christian Identity* that provides the fusive material that forms the nuclear core that powers the majority of the militia/Patriot organizations extant.

## Lone Operators

### Eric Robert Rudolph

Eric Robert Rudolph had been involved since childhood with a number of anti-Semitic, racist and anti-government movements or groups. His interests were centered on Christian Identity. Christian Identity is a virulently anti-Semitic religious sect that preaches God made non-whites inferior to whites, who were created in God's image. Christian Identity also purports that Jews are the offspring of Satan. Identity believers reject the principle of diversity with its forced tolerance and acceptance of homosexuality and they also fiercely oppose abortion and miscegenation. Although Rudolph championed those perspectives, there is no record that he was an official member among the ranks of the extremist groups he supported. Rudolph followed the principles of Leaderless Resistance and no accomplices have been apprehended in the bombings for which he was arrested and convicted of committing (Department of Justice 1998).

Rudolph became one of the nation's most wanted domestic terrorists. After evading the justice system for almost five years, Rudolph was apprehended and arrested on May 31, 2003 in Murphy, North Carolina. From 1996 to 1998, Rudolph carried out four terrorist bombings. Included in the charges are double bombings on January 16, 1997, in North Atlanta at the Sandy Springs Professional Building. Also, Rudolph must answer for the twin bombings in Atlanta at The Otherside Lounge on February 21, 1997. Moreover, the bombing of Centennial Olympic Park in Atlanta in 1996 was included. This bombing injured more than one hundred people and resulted in two deaths. Finally, Rudolph must stand before the bar and give and accounting for the bombing in Birmingham, Alabama of the New Woman All Women Health Care Clinic, on January

29, 1998. That bomb killed Birmingham police officer Robert Sanderson, and severely injured the clinic's head nurse, Emily Lyons Rudolph was charged with and convicted of committing. These charges include the double bombings at the Sandy Springs Professional Building in North Atlanta on January 16, 1997, and the double bombings at The Otherside Lounge in Atlanta on February 21, 1997. Also included in the charges were the bombing of Centennial Olympic Park in Atlanta in 1996, which killed two people and injured more than one hundred and the bombing of the New Woman All Women Health Care Clinic in Birmingham, Alabama, on January 29, 1998. That bomb severely injured the clinic's lead nurse, Emily Lyons and caused the death of Robert Sanderson a Birmingham police officer (Department of Justice 1998).

Paul Ross Evans

On April 27, 2007, following the discovery of an explosive device that was found at the Austin Women's Health Center, located at 1902 S. Interstate 35, North Oltorf Street, Austin, TX, Paul Ross Evans was arrested and jailed as a suspect in the case. The bomb, containing two pounds of nails was a homemade device. Evans was charged with the manufacture of explosive material, the attempted use of a weapon of mass destruction, and of violating the Freedom of Access Act to clinic entrances. The judge sentenced Paul Ross Evans to 40 years in a federal penitentiary (Army of God n.d.b.; Evans n.d.).

Joseph Paul Franklin

Born James Clayton Vaughn in Mobile, Alabama into a poor family, Vaughn changed his name to Joseph Paul Franklin in 1976. He selected *Joseph Paul* in honor of Paul Joseph Goebbels and *Franklin* to commemorate Benjamin Franklin. As a high

school student Franklin was drawn to Evangelical Christianity. At the same time National Socialism also captured and dominated his attention. Later Franklin became a simultaneous member of both the Ku Klux Klan and the *American Nazi Party (ANP)*. From a 1968 marriage Franklin is the father of one child, a daughter (*TIME* 1980).

Roaming north and south along the East Coast, Franklin was searching for opportunities to eliminate inferior people, as he considered them. This was especially true concerning Jews and blacks. Franklin robed banks and frequently traded and sold the guns with which he murdered people as a means to sustain himself. Although he had sight at all in his right eye and only enjoyed partial vision in his left eye, amazingly, Franklin was an expert marksman. He shot or murdered the majority of his victims from a distance of over 30 meters (100 feet). With the majority of those he victimized, the man would not initiate physical contact. Rather, Franklin would execute them from an extended distance. Consequently, this modus operandi suggests that Franklin should be categorized as a “mission oriented” serial killer. In every task he took up, Franklin was extremely organized. He would incorporate complex strategies that would ensure he would not leave any evidence. Each act of violence was plan out in advance and they would invariably include multiple escape routes in case of an emergency (*TIME* 1980).

Following a year-long string of shootings that spread across the West and Midwest, Franklin was run to ground and convicted for his crimes. Among those he claimed through his rampage, eight black men and two white women lost their lives. Four of these assaults involved black males accompanying white females. The wounding of National Urban League President, Vernon Jordan was included among the shootings Franklin carried out (*TIME* 1980).

Stephen Jordi

On February 13, 2004, A thirty-five-year-old former Army Ranger from Coconut Creek, Florida, was charged with having planned a terrorist bombing campaign. In U.S. District Court, Stephen John Jordi, plead guilty to a single count of attempted firebombing. The FBI arrested Jordi in Miami Beach on November 11, 2003, following information supplied by his brother Michael, who lives in Alabama. Michael Jordi advised the FBI that his brother had talked about planting bombs at a number of targets. The sites targeted included abortion clinics, churches, and gay bars. An informant had gained Jordi's trust by claiming to be a former police officer that held the same views as Jordi, Federal prosecutors stated. Allegedly, Jordi discussed planting bombs at abortion clinics and gay bars, indicated the informant. During the period after the arrest of arrest of Eric Robert Rudolph in May 2003, Jordi relatives stated that he allegedly became increasingly fixated on conducting a campaign of bombing (ADL 2004a).

Jordi is alleged to have said he would put the survival skills he had learned while in the Army to enable him to hide in the mountains following the execution of the bombing campaign he planned, according to law enforcement officials. Jodi is said to have added that he expected eluded authorities in much the same manner as Eric Robert Rudolph had after the alleged bombing in Alabama in 1998. Until he was dissuaded by the informant Jordi is alleged to have also expressed the desire to assassinate former President Clinton and President Bush, stated the authorities. Jordi is alleged to have conducted stakeouts on targets in South Florida as well as ordering books on explosives prior to his arrest. Prosecutors have indicated that as part of a plea bargain Jordi agreed to, two other charges against him have been dropped. Those charges include possession

of a silencer without proper registration and the distribution of information about explosives (ADL 2004a).

Sean Gillespie

Sean Michael Gillespie enjoyed posting messages on neo-Nazi Internet forums such as *Stormfront* when he was a teenager. Gillespie used pseudonyms such as “Yahweh88,” while he actively surfed the Internet and the *Stormfront* Internet site for recruits to join Aryan Nations in Northern Idaho and Eastern section of Washington State. Christian Identity followers refer to God as Yahweh. While the phrase, “Heil Hitler” is symbolized by the numeric code of 88. Gillespie, like a majority of recruits in the neo-Nazi movement, believed that the number 88 may have been the initial influence for his activities in the far right at such a young age. Gillespie was already identifying himself as an active member of Aryan Nations by the time he was 17. He had also chosen Christian Identity as his religion of choice. Reportedly an Aryan Nations corporal at the headquarters of the Coeur d’Alene Idaho-based group, Gillespie conducted himself as a staff member (ADL 2004b). Gillespie then joined the Idaho National Guard, at a later time but ostensibly was discharged as a consequence of his racial perspectives. After allegedly attempting to disrupt a Martin Luther King Day rally in Spokane in 2002, Gillespie was arrested, according to the *Spokane Spokesman-Review*. The disposition of that case is still unknown (ADL 2004b).

On April 1, 2004, Gillespie was accused of throwing a Molotov cocktail at Temple B’Nai Israel. Only minor damage was caused by the device. On April 16, 2004, , for allegedly attempting to firebomb a synagogue in Oklahoma City two weeks earlier Gillespie was arrested in Russellville, Arkansas. He was arrested at a fast food restaurant

by the Pope County Sheriff's Department, FBI agents, and Arkansas State Police. A surveillance video of the firebombing was reported to be one of several leads used to identify Gillespie. Gillespie is currently being held by authorities in Little Rock, Arkansas while awaiting extradition to Oklahoma City. Gillespie faces up to 25 years in prison if he is convicted of all charges for which he has been indicted (ADL 2004b).

#### Paul Jennings Hill

In 2003 at Florida State Prison, shotgun killer, Paul Jennings Hill, 49, a former minister, was executed by lethal injection. Hill became the first American to be executed for anti-abortion violence. Hill was condemned to death for the dual murders of Dr. John Britton and volunteer escort James Barrett, as they arrived at a Pensacola abortion clinic in 1994. The murders became the exclamation point to a decade of violence by anti-abortion advocates in Florida cities. As a result of Hill's actions many pro-life groups have disavowed him. Although Hill's execution drew protestors against it from as far away as California and New Jersey, few of those who attended were major national activists (Kennedy and Mahlburg 2003).

In a prison interview 24 hours before he was to be executed, Hill, married and a father of three children, told reporters believed in his position as a martyr for the anti-abortion cause. He added the statement that he hoped there would be more clinic attacks that are inspired by his death. Hill said in an interview, "I believe in the short and long term, more and more people will act on the principles for which I started" (Kenedy and Mahlburg 2003, 5), he did not express remorse. Founder of the pro-life group Army of God, the Rev. Donald Spitz, who has been serving as Hill's spiritual advisor, also met with Hill. Hill is prepared to meet his judgment, Spitz said. Hill had served as a

Presbyterian minister in both the the Orthodox Presbyterian Church (OPC)and the Presbyterian Church of America (PCA). He was an outspoken advocate in behalf of the use of whatever force is necessary in carrying out the duty of defending both born and unborn children (Kennedy and Mahlburg 2003).

Shelley Rachelle Shannon

Born in 1956 Rachelle Ranae “Shelley” Shannon is a pro-life activist and saboteur who lived in Grants Pass, Oregon. On August 19, 1993, in Wichita, Kansas, she assaulted Dr. Goerge Tiller outside his abortion clinic, shooting him in both arms. Shannon had been in pro-life activism for five years when she wounded Tiller. She shot Tiller with a semiautomatic pistol after she had traveled to the Wichita clinic. That clinic attracts frequent demonstrations by pro-life activists and supporters of abortion-rights. She and had written letters to support to Michael Griffin who murdered Dr. David Dunn. Shannon called Griffin “the awesomest, greatest hero of our time” (Juergensmeyer 2003, 277). Upon hearing of Shannon’s actions at the Wichita clinic, Pro-life activists immediately condemned her use of violence.

At her trial in Kansas, Shannon calmly testified that she did not believe it was immoral in attempting to kill Dr. Tiller. She also admitted she had attempted to pay her bail so she would be free to carry out arson attacks at abortion clinics. It did not take the jury long to decide Shannon’s fate. She was convicted of attempted murder after the jury had deliberated for only an hour. Shannon was sentenced to 11 years in prison (Juergensmeyer 2003). While incarcerated in Lansing, Kansas, Shannon signed an Army of God statement supporting the actions of Paul Jennings Hill.

Shannon pled guilty to several charges of arson against abortion clinics in Nevada, Idaho, Oregon, and California, on June 4, 1995. Federal grand juries had indicted Shannon on 30 counts of arson in connection with fires at nine clinics. The charges against her included interstate travel in aid of racketeering, interference with commerce by force, and arson. James Redden, U.S. Federal District Court Judge, on September 9, 1995, pronounced Shannon's sentence for the crimes. The Court, saying "Though I am loath to call anyone a terrorist, you are a terrorist," sentenced Shannon to 20 years in prison, an upward departure from the applicable federal sentencing guidelines (Juergensmeyer 2003, 301). Shannon's ten year incarceration for shooting Tiller must run its term before the new sentence is set to begin. November 7, 2018, is Shannon's projected release date. She is serving her sentence at the Federal Correctional Institute, Dublin, California (Juergensmeyer 2003).

#### Clayton Waagner

Clayton Lee Waagner was born on August 25, 1956 in North Dakota. Waagner is a pro-life activist, domestic terrorist, and convicted bank robber. Waagner is currently serving a prison sentence stemming from a hoax he perpetrated in November 2001, in which he sent envelopes containing a white powder to more than 500 abortion providers. Recipients included Planned Parenthood with return addresses of the Marshals Service and the Secret Service beginning in October 2001. The envelopes also contained a note, which said, "You have been exposed to anthrax. We are going to kill all of you. From the Army of God, Virginia Dare Chapter" (Raboin 2001, 1). The U.S. Marshalls Service placed Waagner on its Top 15 Fugitives list on March 6, 2001 (Raboin 2001).

Since it arrived shortly after the September 11 terrorist attacks on America, the threat was considered serious. Moreover, a different perpetrator recently had the U. S. Postal Service, deliver letters to various governmental officials that contained genuine anthrax (FBI 2001). Through November 2001, Waagner was accused of threats to kill 42 low-level abortion clinic employees and stalkings, in addition to the wave of mailed letters. Waagner was captured on December 5, 2001, in Springdale Ohio, following the circulation of a wanted poster by members of the U.S Marshall's Service, after an alert clerk at a Kinko's copy shop identified his photograph. It had previously been Waagner's habit to patronize Kinko's stores, consequently every store in the chain received a copy from the Marshals office. Waagner was preparing to fax a bomb threat to a mass list of clinics when he was arrested. On December 3, 2003, he was convicted on 51 of the 53 counts for the anthrax letter spree Waagner had received a 53-count indictment that included charges of mailing threatening communications, threatening the use of weapons of mass destruction, and violating the Freedom of Acess to Clinic Entrances Act. Waagner was sentenced to a term in a federal prison for 19 years (Ertelt 2005). Waagner continues to correspond with outside individuals, including other members of the Army of God and has distributed a manifesto while in prison. Waagner is housed in the United States Penitentiary at Lewisburg, Pennsylvania. January 17, 2046, is his projected release date (Ertelt 2005).

Michael Frederick Griffin

Michael Frederick Griffin was born on September 11, 1961. Griffin shot and killed Dr. David Gunn in Pensacola, Florida on March 10, 1993. The murder of OB-GYN abortion provider, David Gunn was the first killing of its type. Griffin, then 31 years old,

waited outside Gunn's clinic where he shot Gunn three times in the back. Reportedly, just before shooting Dr. Gunn, Griffin yelled "Don't kill any more babies." Griffin is reported to have told the police, "We need an ambulance." He made no attempt to conceal his involvement in the murder (Risen and Thomas 1998a, 29). On March 4, 1994, prior to finding him guilty, a jury deliberated for three hours. The judge sentenced Griffin to life in prison. Griffin is currently housed in the Okaloosa Correctional Institution in Crestview, Florida. Passage of the federal Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act was influenced by Griffin's murder of Dr. Gunn.

#### Theodore John Kaczynski

Theodore John Kaczynski was born May 22, 1942. He is infamous as the "Unabomber." Kaczynski is, some say, a brilliant mathematician who published his neo-Luddite view of our contemporary thechnically oriented, socio-political structure. This perspective has gained him notariaty as a social critic. His radical views eventually led him to carry out a campaign of mail bombings across the United States. Kaczynski was born in Chicago, Illinois. As a child prodigy of exceptional intellectual ability, from an early age Theodore Kaczynski excelled in academics. Kaczynski took his undergraduate degree at Harvard University. He then enrolled in a course of study at the University of Michigan where he completed his mathematics PhD. Kaczynski then worked at the University of California, Berkeley as an assistant professor at age 25. Two years later however, he resigned (Mello 1999).

In 1971, Kaczynski moved to an isolated wood and tin shack in Lincoln, Montana. The crude frame building lacked any insultaion and had no running water or electricity. Here he trained himself in survival skills as he became self-reliant. After

witnessing the destruction of the wilderness around his home by specualting developers, Kaczynski embraked on a protracted and elaborate campaign of bombings. Kaczynski sent 16 bombs, from 1978 to 1995, to targets including airlines and universities, which resulted in the deaths of three people while injuring 23. On April 24, 1995, Kaczynski sent a letter to *The New York Times* and promised end his terrorist acts if the *The Washington Post* or *Times* published his manifesto. In his manifesto entitled, *Industrial Society and Its Future*, Kaczynski argued at considerable length that his bombings were extreme but also extremely necessary in that they were the only means to attract social attention to human freedoms that were being eroded as precipitated by modern technologies' perceived need for large-scale organization. This manifesto is colloquially referred to as the *Unabomber Manifesto* (Mello 1999).

Kaczynski's activities were the motivating factors behnd one of the Federal Bureau of Investigation's most intense, continuous, and costly investigations in the history of that agency to date. The Unabomber was the central focus of an investigation that consumed nearly 18 calendar years of the FBIs time, resources, and talent. The FBI had nicknamed the case, UNABOM. This moniker was an anachronim that consisted the first few letters of the words University, Airline, and BOMber, prior to discovering Kaczynski's actual identity. Of course the media picked up on this anachronim and began calling Kaczynski the Unabomber. However, Kaczynski was not tracked down and apprehended through the labors of the FBI, despite that agencie's best efforts. Indeed, it was Kaczynski's brother, David Kaczynki, who recognized Kaczynski's philosophical beliefs and analytic, rhetorical writing style in the manifesto's context that alerted him to share his concerns with the FBI. As a means to avoid the death penalty, Kaczynski's

lawyers brokered a plea bargain, under which he pled guilty and would spend the rest of his life in prison without the possibility of parole (Mello 1999).

### Chapter Summary

Chapter V has illustrated the attitude of the militia and its fringe elements with respect to their perceptions of the Federal government's policies and laws as they relate to the American people. Ranging from the emotional issue of abortion and its opponents to technological industrialization, gun control, and Federal control of open land across the nation, the militias, their political action brethren, and phantom cells with their lone operators following the principles of *Leaderless Resistance* continue to confront, often violently, the government of the United States and any and all policies or laws that they believe persecutes or marginalizes them or that they find antithetical to the original intent of the founding fathers. Chapter VI presents a summary of the early militias juxtaposed to that of their contemporary counterparts in the United States today and the salient arguments presented concerning both manifestations of that phenomenon to document and firmly establish the links between both groups across the divide of American history.

## CHAPTER VI

### SUMMARY

The militias of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> Centuries are in many ways the direct successors to the various socio-economic, religious, racial, and political tax resistance movements of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century and the religious/racially driven insurrection of John Brown and the States Rights War Between the States in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century.

Beginning with Bacon's Rebellion or the Virginia Rebellion, led by Nathaniel Bacon, in 1676, where discontented frontiersmen, many of whom were former indentured servants themselves or descendants of indentured servants, rebelled against the importation of African slaves which was disrupting the economic stability of the white colonists by robbing them of jobs as a result of the white groups inability to compete against the lower labor costs induced by the introduction of black slaves. This dissolved the common social and economic interest that had existed between the poor English and indentured Africans of Virginia that had existed at the time of Bacon's Rebellion. The Paxton Boys Rebellion is another example of the tumultuous relationship between Whites and minority races that has waxed and waned throughout American history in a manner that the militias of today closely parallel. In a like manner, contemporary militias and those sympathetic to their message today find common cause with their earlier predecessors against the tide of illegal aliens that they see flooding across our South Western border and into ports on the East and West coasts of the United States.

The example of The Green Mountain Boys serves to demonstrate a populist armed band under the auspices and direction of Ethan Allen who ranged throughout the Green Mountains of what is modern day Vermont with the express intent and purpose of preventing the Green Mountains from becoming part of New York. Allen and his brothers, and settlers banded together in armed groups to defend their lands. They incorporated methods that would be considered today as terrorist tactics. These tactics of terrorism included threat, intimidation, and actual violence against New Yorkers. This strategy of terrorism enabled them to keep the region free from the control of New York. In 1777, they were successful in establishing a separate government that ultimately achieved statehood for Vermont. Although not seeking Statehood for their region, these methods are not dissimilar from those incorporated by The New Minutemen along today's border with Mexico as a means to stem the flow of illegal aliens and drug dealers into the United States and to protect their property and economic livelihood.

During the rebellions of Shays and Ely the significance of the *Jubilee* connection and the literal interpretation in and application of the Biblical injunction in behalf of the forgiveness of debts and the return, by the government, of property to those who had forfeited same for whatever reason was the main issue for the farmers of those rebellions. The Riot Act of 1787 in Vermont that authorized county sheriffs' to shoot rebellious farmers on sight, in conjunction with Massachusetts issuing what the farmers believed to be worthless paper currency was a source of the farmers' wrath. Modern 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> Century militias do not believe that there is a supposed wall of separation constructed between the religious practices of the people and the application of same in their relationship to the government. The modern militias believe that the government

must remain outside of any regulation of religious activities as practiced by the militias or those who sympathize with them but the supporters of those same religious policies and doctrines are free to dictate to the government what its responsibilities and duties are with respect to those same policies, practices, and doctrines. Moreover, contemporary militias also manifest the same strong distrust in modern “Federal Reserve Notes.”

Similarly, the Boston Tea Party, which resulted in violent civil disobedience against the Tea Tax imposed by Great Britain and the later Whiskey Rebellion against the Federal Excise Tax on distilled spirits, provided a portal to the vast array of theologies and ideologies of the current American milieu, including the doctrines of the Posse Comitatus and The Tax Protest Movement of modern times, who regard all jurisdictions higher than that of the county as illegitimate and the IRS to be an illegal and illegitimate Federal bureaucratic entity. Tax resistance has resonated down through American history with an ecumenical appeal, offering a connection between the militias of early America and those of the current era.

Common cause with the Posse Comitatus and The Tax Protest Movement of modern times and that of the early American populace is also discovered in Fries' Rebellion of 1799, which Federalists had classified as the “Northampton Insurrection.” Fries' Rebellion was a rebellion against what the participants perceived as the “unconstitutional” legislation of an “aristocratic” (Newman 2004, xi) Federalist Party. The rebels stood in armed resistance against Quakers and Moravians who enjoyed Federalist patronage in support of a system that assessed their taxes. Moreover, they stood in armed resistance against that Federalist system for their right of self-government, at both the local and national levels. They sought to play this role either in accord with

the policies of political parties they formed or free from that influence. Finally, the rebels risked their lives and freedom in order to secure their property and the pursuit of happiness (Newman 2004).

The saga of John Brown in Kansas and at Harper's Ferry provided a bridge between the militias of 18<sup>th</sup> Century America, the divided and reconstructed United States of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, and those militias of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> Centuries in America. With Noah's Curse providing the supporting theological link as the doctrine of the times, the racial and religious theme that is the nexus between early and contemporary American socio-cultural thought, it becomes apparent that old racial and religious battles of our early history were still being fought in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century and are still being fought during the 21<sup>st</sup> Century in the United States.

The four major forms of the militia as manifested today, the unorganized militia, The National Guard, the visible militias, and the underground militia in its separate permutations remain at war with the government and some portions of society just the same as their earlier counterparts had battled against central control of what they believed to be their right to self determination.

### Causes of the Rise and Fall of the Militias

#### Socio-political and Economic Conditions

Just as the early militias experienced an ebb and flow in their forming, activities, and dissolution, so too is the experience of the militia as manifest today. On deep levels, the sudden and dizzying changes that took place in America, precipitated by the end of the Cold War and the staggering economic setbacks in the economy today,

combined with the even more bewildering changes of political fortunes, foster radical social movements in every era of American history and of every description. Adverse economic conditions in the distant American past have proven to be fertile breeding grounds for racism and socio-political foment of every description. Today, racism and anti-Semitism mirror those socio-cultural upheavals of earlier times. It would be surprising if contemporary militias and their supporters were to prove more resistant to this demonology than others have been. An atmosphere of anger and paranoia fuels the desire to find a scapegoat, is also linked to conditions and circumstances that occurred in early American society as well.

#### Political Correctness

The militia movement is more diverse in terms of gender, ethnicity and religious background and focuses on issues with wider resonance. These links to the mainstream culture on the one hand and the wider reaches of the cultic milieu on the other may so far have dampened the anti-Semitic paranoia, which today afflicts only a portion of the movement.

Nevertheless, anti-Semitism will increasingly be typical of the militia movement just as a certain element of xenophobia was one factor in the profile of the early American militias. There are three reasons for this. First, there has been an across-the-board rise in temperature among oppositional religious and political movements, a condition not dissimilar to the early American period during Fries' Rebellion. Both in interviews and in their literature, members of such movements as the militias, the skinheads and the pro-life rescue movement express increasing anger. This darkening mood may be traced most directly to Waco and Ruby Ridge, and may have motivated the

bombing of the Murrah Building in Oklahoma City. These incidents are similar in cast and circumstance to those events at Lexington and Concord which sparked the American War for Independence.

In his book *A Force on the Plain*, Stern notes the argument that an overly aggressive legislative, and by implication, police response to militias might risk increasing the militias' paranoia, but he dismisses it with the flat assertion that the militias are already so paranoid that their attitude simply cannot get any worse (Stern 1997). This is a dangerously myopic view and it reflects the same blurred vision through which the early governments of the Colonies and the British viewed the militias of their time.

The result of repressive legislation will most probably cause the militias to become much more paranoid. Previously, when American paramilitary groups became convinced of the inevitability of official persecution, their most militant adherents shifted from a defensive to an offensive mind-set, unleashing terrorist violence. This is the course followed by The Order's leader, Robert Mathews, in his evolution from tax protester to revolutionary. Mathews shares a path very similar to that walked by many of those who filled the ranks of the early American militia movement. It is a course that Stern's aggressive prescriptions may make inevitable for the most dedicated of the militia movement. Repression in any age is almost always met with resistance, often violent resistance. The proof of this warning is highly evident in the responses of the Colonial, pre-Revolutionary militias, and in the actions of post-Revolutionary American movement from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, during the 19<sup>th</sup>, and through the 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries and into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. Modern day Christian Identity activists and sovereign citizens inspired

the creation of an entirely new movement consisting of armed militia groups formed to prevent another Ruby Ridge or Waco in exactly the same manner and method that Colonists, revolutionaries, and insurrectionists of previous American centuries formed groups to resist the tyranny they believed had raised its hand against their freedoms.

Speaking to the issue of tyranny and conspiracies, The Posse Comitatus developed an elaborate conspiratorial view of American history and government one that claimed the legitimate government had been subverted by conspirators and replaced with an illegitimate, tyrannical government, much the same as the early militias and much of the populace in Colonial, Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary America had. Posse members believed that the people had the power and responsibility to “take back” the government, through force of arms if necessary. A central figurehead among these was William Potter Gale. Gale, who died in the late 1980s, was a Christian Identity minister and was one of the founders of the Posse Comitatus. In the 1980s, he appointed himself chief of staff to the Unorganized Militia of a group known as the Committee of the States which in form and practice was not unlike the Committees of Correspondence during the pre-Revolutionary period in early America.

The events that angered Christian Identity adherents, The Posse Comitatus, the Unorganized Militia, the Committee of the States and others in sympathy with these groups ranged from the election of Bill Clinton to the Rodney King riots to the passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement. These parallels bear a strikingly similar resemblance to those issues that captured the attention and ire of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century militias and of John Brown. The issue that dominated all the thinking of every modern militia member however, was the deadly standoffs at Ruby Ridge, Idaho, in 1992 and Waco,

Texas, in 1993. These two seminal incidents inflamed widespread passion and outrage against the United States government.

The final element *informing* the modern militia movement is its concern with conspiracies. They are not alone in that concern for the militias of early America were just as concerned with what the British were doing and what the newly formed United States government might possibly do with regard to their freedom and pursuit of happiness. Conspiracies were easy to accept for a people who believed that the British were actively pursuing a policy of usurping the freedoms that had previously been assured for the American Colonists. Just as easily accepted was the belief that the Federal government had deliberately murdered people at Ruby Ridge and Waco and that door-to-door gun confiscation could begin at any moment, in exactly the same manner that the British had attempted two centuries earlier in the American colonies.

But the militia movement not only accepted the traditional conspiracy theories, it created a host of new ones. They described shadow elements in government intent on creating a one-world socialist government no matter what the cost. This New World Order, a phrase taken from a speech by President G. H. W. Bush (1990), and using the United Nations as its primary tool, had already taken over most of the planet. The United States was still a bastion of freedom, but its own government was collaborating with New World Order forces to strip Americans slowly of their freedoms in preparation for the final takeover. The government was erecting large numbers of concentration camps in which to place American dissenters; meanwhile, the number of United Nations troops secretly encamped in national parks grew by the month. Stickers on the backs of street signs would guide the New World Order to strategic points, while the authorities

enlisted urban street gangs to help enforce gun confiscation (Robins and Post 1997). One need only review Colonial and post-Colonial American history to discover the strikingly similar, if not exact parallels between the thinking of today's militias and those of the past.

The combination of anger at the government, fear of gun confiscation and susceptibility to elaborate conspiracy theories are some of the influences that formed the core of the modern militia movement's ideology. So too did that form of thinking pervade the minds of the earlier militias. Although there were white supremacists in the movement, and although groups and individuals within the movement often made common cause with or at least tolerated hate groups, the orientation of the militia movement remained primarily anti-government and conspiratorial. The militia movement appealed to many radical libertarians just as it appealed to traditional proponents of extreme right-wing causes. There was room even for African American militia leaders like J. J. Johnson of Ohio and Leroy Crenshaw of Massachusetts. Their positions of leadership in the militias were an implicit statement that it was not just white, heterosexual males that were justified in their fear of the Federal government. That Johnson and Crenshaw also were leaders of a militia themselves undermined the liberal argument that the militias were all racists, as well (Durham 2007).

For groups with names such as The Silent Brotherhood (*The Bruders Schweigen*), Covenant Sword and the Arm of The Lord, Church of Jesus Christ Christian-Aryan Nations, The Aryan People's Army, Posse Comitatus, Aryan Youth Movement, White Aryan Resistance, The American Nazi Party, Christian Patriots Defense League, The Aryan Republican Army, American National Socialists, World Church of the

Creator, The Militia of Montana, The Michigan Militia, the militantly Pro-life, Army of God and various elements of the Ku Klux Klan, not to mention hundreds of National Alliance Charters and “Skin-Head” groups across America, “race” and “religion” are the principal components of the nationalist militia movements and are an especially significant consideration in the member’s thought processes. Mark the word *race*, for it is the keynote word, along with *religion*, writ large. One catchphrase of the more militant factions of the phenomenon under review is the acronym, **ORION: Our Race Is Our Nation**. Race has been an over-riding issue in American society regardless of the era.

While Christian Identity finds its roots in British-Israelism, Christian Identity and British-Israelism are no different than the religion of the ancient or modern Hebrews and the early American settlers who practiced racial exclusivity as a national and religious precept. Indeed, contemporary China and Japan eschew foreigners as citizens, demanding that anyone who would become a citizen must produce racial provenance that demonstrates only Chinese or Japanese ancestry. From the perspective of the Christian Identity practitioner it is asked, “why may the people of modern Israel, China or Japan claim racial exclusivity as a component of national self-determination, religious practice and sovereignty while the practitioners of Christian Identity are not afforded the same right, and this in their own nation?” Early American rebels and insurrectionists asked many of the same questions, albeit in a slightly different form, as those asked by the modern militias.

### Chapter Summary

Chapter VI has documented the nexus between the early militias in 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Century America with that of their modern brethren. It has been demonstrated how the influences of taxation, religion, racial, socio-economic, and political/ideological conditions have contributed to the causes of the rise and fall of the militias throughout the span of American history. Chapters VII and VIII are the concluding chapters that present a number of issues that remain unresolved with regard to the militias and their relationship to contemporary American society.

## CHAPTER VII

### CONCLUSION

At the outset of this paper it was stated that the intent of this work was to argue in behalf of and to substantiate that contemporary militias in the United States today can trace their religious, racial, ideological, socio-cultural, and Constitutional roots all the way back to the earliest Colonial, pre-revolutionary, revolutionary, and post-revolutionary armed citizen groups that fought against what they perceived to be oppression from what ever direction it came at them. It was also posited that through documented references to the religious, ideological, and socio-cultural events of their day, this paper would provide the nexus between the basic issues of early American armed resistance to government oppression and repression in behalf of what they believed and that of the religious, racial, and socio-cultural motivations that still drive the majority of contemporary American militias. Moreover, it was declared that this paper would provide a contextual perspective that would offer crucial insights into how it all relates to the militia movement in this day of domestic terrorism. This task has been accomplished. However, there are still a number of pressing questions relating to the relationship between mainstream American society, the militias and its sympathizers, and the recent evolution of the modern domestic militia movement in conjunction with the phenomenon of “Aryan Jihad” that must be addressed.

If the questions raised by Mathews and others like him cannot be answered, questions upon which the entire subject at hand turns, then the United States will continue to experience the violence, bloodshed and waste precipitated by those unanswered and unsolved problems. In an open letter to the 1986 Aryan Congress held in the Hall of Flags at Pastor Richard Butler's Aryan Nations headquarters in Hayden Lake, Idaho, Richard Scutari urged others within the Christian Identity, militia/Patriot movement to "learn from our mistakes, succeed where we failed. *The Bruders Schweigen* has shown you the way" (Flynn and Gerhardt 1990, 25). Moreover then, the pressing question that remains is, if the Israelis can determine major issues of national self-determination and sovereignty, then why cannot the Americans who identify themselves as biological and spiritual descendants of the Biblical Israel do the same? Gary Lee Yarbrough told U. S. Federal District Court Judge, Walter McGovern, who sentenced Yarbrough to 60 years in prison as a result of Yarbrough's conviction in the Seattle racketeering trial, "What we did wasn't out of racial hatred, it was love of my own kind, my country, my faith, and my culture. I won't plead to this court for any leniency" (Flynn and Gerhardt 1990, 106). The same Judge, Walter McGovern, listened intently as Bruce Carroll Pierce expressed and displayed a similar defiant attitude. Pierce intoned, "I'm not going to waste my time or yours...whatever happens to me, I'd like to bring honor to my family and kinsmen, and glory to God" (Flynn and Gerhardt 1990, 471). The Judge then sentenced Pierce to 252 years in Federal prison under the provisions of the The Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (RICO) Act and for the murder of Alan Berg, Denver shock radio talk show host. David Lane declared before Judge McGovern, "I have given all that I have to assure there will be future generations of white children. If

the final victory be yours, then god have mercy on the last generation of white children” (Flynn and Gerhardt 1990, 135). Mathews (1983) had written of Bruce Pierce, Lane, Yarbrough, Scutari and himself in a letter to the editor of the *Newport Miner*, Washington titled “For the Resurgence”:

I know not what the future will bring for men like Mr. Pierce and myself. What I do know is that while our fellow whites sheepishly continue down the path of racial and national suicide, tolerating homosexuality, abortion and miscegenation, we will stand strong for our race and our heritage even if it cost us our lives. For the resurgence of my people.

Subsequent to Mathews’ death and the ensuing prosecutions, convictions and sentencing of The Silent Brotherhood, the militia/Patriot movement began to reassess itself and its strategy for contending with those forces and elements that were engineering the destruction of the United States. Some of the militias began to diligently and ruthlessly practice and put into action, the principles of Leaderless Resistance. These Phantom Cells, when they act, do not attract the same level of national attention as that of Mathews or others of those who followed his example. Consequently, it is difficult for law enforcement to establish a coherent connection between their activities and any organized movement that is acting in behalf of the destruction of the liberal status quo. A timely example of this is the instance of the murder, on February 28, 2005, of the husband and mother of Federal Judge Joan Lefkow. Judge Lefkow had presided over the copyright infringement case involving the Reverend Matthew Hale of the World Church of the Creator; a group included among the “political action” elements of the White Nationalist movement. As a result of the appellate ruling against Hale, two years later Hale was arrested tried, and convicted on charges of conspiring to have Judge Lefkow murdered. Within a year of Hale’s conviction, which he appealed and was awaiting the

result of that appeal, Judge Lefkow's husband and mother were murdered in Judge Lefkow's home in Chicago, Illinois. Chicago is the city where Hale is in custody. The immediate speculation by Federal officials, leftist, and self-appointed watch-dog organizations of right-wing activists, was that one or more of Hale's followers had carried out the murders in retaliation for Lefkow's involvement in the copyright case that the Appellate Court had ruled against Hale. Furthermore, it was absurdly suggested that Hale, whose telephone calls and mail were monitored, and whose visits were limited to his mother, father, and his attorney of record, had directed the murders from his prison cell. Less than three weeks following the murders of Mr. Lefkow and his mother, one John Ross, pursuant to a routine traffic stop shot himself in the head, leaving a suicide note. In the note, Ross took full responsibility for the murders of Judge Lefkow's husband and her mother, explaining that he had killed the two in retribution for a bankruptcy ruling against Ross, rendered by Judge Lefkow. Ross had indicated that he had become fearful of discovery while he waited for the Judge herself to come home, so he left before he could murder her. No ties or affiliation between Ross, Matthew Hale or any White Nationalist groups have been established. However, there is still an element of reasonable conjecture by conspiracists on the left, despite the lack of any material nexus between Hale and Ross, or any White Nationalist group. This incident serves as another possible textbook example of the realistic, rationalist principles of Leaderless Resistance being brought to bear for practical results. One individual, who exercises a certain position of prominence in a White Nationalist political action group, is jailed. Others, who may or may not be affiliated with the first individual, carry out an act of retaliation in behalf of the White Nationalist movement as a whole. The person or persons who

perpetrated the act did so without the knowledge or express involvement of the jailed individual. Within keeping of a pragmatic philosophy, others who had either been involved in the militia/Patriot movement, or had followed the phenomenon at a distance, took the message that Richard Scutari had delivered to the 1986 *Aryan Congress* literally and acted upon it.

Learning from the mistakes of *The Bruders Schweigen*, other individuals, who are sympathizers as well as fellow believers, realized that the timing was not yet right for an armed insurrection against ZOG. In this capacity, they moved against agents of the government and eliminated them. Others of compatible sympathies, however, took a different tack. Following this premise from a logical and intellectual perspective, they concluded that the means to fight the “culture war” was within the institutions where the battle had begun in the first place, academia for example. They have taken a page from the book of the sixties radicals and are penetrating the very institutions that were being used to deconstruct and eliminate White hegemony. Consequently, thousands of men and women have avoided violent confrontations with the protectors of the leftist hegemony or visiting mayhem upon their lackeys and have followed the example of those leftists by penetrating the academy itself. Additionally, these committed individuals quietly pursue professional careers in law, primary and secondary education, public policy and politics. Carol Swain, black professor (Ph.D. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1989) of Vanderbilt University, School of Law fretted in a superficial analysis of this very phenomenon in her 2002 book, *The New White Nationalism in America: Its Challenge to Integration* (Swain 2002). In her epilogue, Swain discusses the post September 11 world. Swain sagely advises her reader that David Duke laid the blame for the tragedy on

American support of Israel. However, Swain offers no refutation for Duke's claim. Nevertheless, she makes a connection to the National Alliance, which, the reader is admonished, is "an organization that the FBI considers one of the most dangerous in America" (Swain 2002, 521), yet there is no forthcoming expansion of her blanket charge. It is as if because the FBI makes the statement, then it is beyond question. Swain did not mention that this same FBI considered Michael King (a.k.a., Martin Luther King) to be a dangerous subversive. Swain's non sequitur thought however is not confined to her parallax concerning American security.

In conclusion, I believe that America is more vulnerable to heightened racial and ethnic tension stemming from the aftermath of September 11 and its potential for exploitation by sophisticated white nationalists who may use the events as proof that governmental officials are not doing enough to protect American interests here and abroad. (Swain 2002, 521)

At this point, Swain simply drops the issue. Nowhere in the length of her book, does she offer even the most general example of "how" White Nationalists may attempt to exploit 9/11. Furthermore, Swain does not determine that White Nationalists would, in fact, be wrong by raising issues relating to American foreign policy. She dismisses them out of hand as "dangerous." Thomas Jefferson writing of Chief Justice Marshall's penchant for the appearance of unanimity from the Supreme Court suggested, "An opinion is huddled up in conclave, delivered as if unanimous with the silent acquiescence of lazy or timid associates" (Ford, 1899, 189). Swain resorts to, in the words of Jean Bethke Elshtain, who writes of "worn-out categories and false analogies" in her 2003 book, *Just War Against Terror*, "evasive language...[that] substitutes for analysis" (Elshtain 2003, 82). Swain's critical failing, is her scrupulous avoidance of the

underlying beliefs of White Nationalists. There is no direct address made, no point-by-point confrontation, with the fundamental ideas of the movement.

The avoidance of a dialogue by Swain with that which is proposed by White Nationalists may be characterized in the same manner that Michael Walzer, author of *Just and Unjust Wars* expressed the matter when writing of the incompetent Russian General in Alexander Solzhenitsyn's book, *August 1914*. Walzer tauntingly reminds the reader that the General's, "elaborate battle reports barely concealed his total inability to control or direct the battle...[and this] was, so to speak, *the tribute that incompetence pays to understanding*" [emphasis added] (Walzer 2000, 19). The timid, lying morality of such incompetents' however, "describe the lineaments of justice" (Walzer 2000, 19), for wherever ineptitude is discovered, an understanding may still be found. Although Swain is averse to answering the demands of White Nationalism, her pathetic attempts to escape facing those questions only serves to set them in bold relief. Indeed, why is the desire for a White living space morally wrong? The First Amendment, with its inherent and upheld "freedom of association" guarantees the right to company with whomsoever one will, or, conversely, the implied right not to associate with whomsoever one would not. On this Constitutional point Swain is conspicuously silent. Within this same general purview, why should Whites not be allowed to determine their own racial destiny, again no response? What of the scientific facts of genuine racial differences? Swain's tactic throughout the book is to present a White Nationalist idea, include no substantive conclusion, and then dismiss her opponents' position with pejorative rhetoric such as, "disturbing," "threatening" and "alarming." Not once does the law professor present any sound analysis. At the only point in her book where she approaches the fundamental

question, whether nature has indeed drawn indelible lines of distinction between the races, as Jefferson put it, Swain, in an embarrassing attempt at Ebonic wit, draws up short, then turns to warn others: “Don’t go there.” Shirking a question suggests that Swain does not have a viable rebuttal or alternative to offer in behalf of that inquiry. Law schools train their prospective attorneys to explicate concepts by detailing why one thing is or isn’t so. It is the exercise of a basic element of persuasion that is sorely lacking in Swain’s repertoire. One sycophant review on the book’s dust jacket praises Swain for writing a “brave” book. Without blushing, Swain pretentiously emoted to the Tennessee media that she is “willing to die” for her “beliefs.” This woman is applauded for her statement; Robert Jay Mathews was branded as paranoid. Ms. Swain’s invalid logic is not made somehow valid because false logic is possible. Moreover, her superficial arguments are not rendered in-depth by virtue of their quantity. Indeed, one would expect more erudite reasoning to issue from an intellect capable of achieving a Ph.D., let alone from a law school professor. Instead, the dearth of Swain’s analyses only serves to expose the transparency of her attenuated reflection. Her book only serves to emphasize these arguments. It becomes obvious then, that affirmative action is not without its own sense of irony. The sword of the culture war has two edges. Oftentimes the irony lies in the hands of those who attempt to wield it.

It would not be overstating the point to emphasize the importance of fully understanding what it is that animates and obliges those who embrace the *Weltanschauung* of those on the far-right. It had not been until the advent of the social engineers and critiques of American culture that developed first, unrest and then the fomented violent resistance to their programs began to occur. Experience indicates that

any unrest has been instigated from those “outside” or vehemently hostile to the White American culture, specifically, and Western culture, generally. The lesson to be learned here then is that the unrest is a provocation that has not been a positive force in the United States. Indeed, the past sixty years provide example after example of failed social “experiments” foisted upon the American public. Those “experiments” are those that have moved us from a position of stability to one of self-destructive introspection. This subjectivity manifests symptoms of pathology induced through techniques of psychological conditioning imposed by a systematic program designed to demoralize and debilitate a proud race of people. The men of The Silent Brotherhood were not career criminals and recidivists. Nor were they following the path they walked on a whim. Fr. Alexander F. C. Webster writing in chapter one of his collaborative work with Professor Darrel Cole, *The Virtue of War: Reclaiming the Classic Christian Traditions East and West* expressed the opinion that “for...citizens of the United States, ‘Nine-Eleven’ has certainly assumed biblical proportions” (2004, 1). For Mathews and all of the other individuals who believe, first of all, that enemies domestic are systematically eviscerating America, followed by those of foreign origin, the struggle had already become, and remains, one of biblical proportions. For them, every false prophecy of a Utopian paradise survived incarnation after incarnation, to be recycled in a “new” form” that was as empty as that which preceded it. This declinism is the malignant process that Mathews, and countless others like him, seek to stop. In an age when every other nation on the planet asserts its rights of national sovereignty and self-determination in questions of immigration, deportation, and racial demographics, the freedom of association, with its contra-positive principle of freedom not to associate, then why can not the majority race

in the United States, which is currently still White, conduct its affairs as they serve their own White interests best, without world-wide paroxysms of racial hysteria? Indeed, why not? Hannah Arendt, writing *On Revolution*, details those things that necessitate violent reactions to and revolutions against a government. She writes of “the social question” of revolutions, as “not being for the sake of bread or wealth, but for the sake of freedom as well” (Arendt 1990, xii, xiv). The challenge to the American people and their leaders is to address these problems honestly and forthrightly to answer the questions posed.

#### The Evolution of the Militia Movement

As a necessary adjunct, the evolution of the militias and the permutations assumed by some of those groups has revealed their departure from early and contemporary American ideals and principles into that of “Aryan Jihad” with its common cause connection to Islamic Fundamentalists who seek the destruction of the United States. The concluding chapter will summarize the cause and effect relationship between those previously enumerated influences and the possible directions in which they are driving the militias and the nation.

On April 6, 2005, Matthew F. Hale, Pontificus Maximus of The World Church of the Creator was sentenced to a 40 year term in a federal Supermax prison after being convicted for conspiring to Murder Judge Joan Lefkow. The irony of Hale’s conviction rests in the fact that an individual convicted of murder and sentenced the same day as Hale was given a twenty five-year sentence. Hale had not actually committed murder, yet due to his conviction and sentencing falling within the guidelines of the USA PATRIOT Act (Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools

Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism), Hale is considered a “domestic terrorist” and therefore suffered a more severe penalty than another man convicted and sentenced under the “standard” penal code for actually carrying out a murder. In a pre-sentencing statement, Hale proclaimed his innocence with respect to the charges for which he was convicted. He declared himself a political prisoner who had been entrapped by federal law enforcement working through a paid informant who had ingratiated himself with Hale in order to set the stage for Hale’s arrest and conviction. Edgar J. Steele, White Nationalist attorney of record for Matthew F. Hale, immediately filed an appeal of that conviction.

In a related instance, Eric Robert Rudolph, convicted of murder and several bombings, managed to slip the hangman’s noose through a plea bargain brilliantly crafted and brokered through his attorney. According to United States Attorneys David E. Nahmias and Alice H. Martin, on April 4, 2005, Rudolph was sentenced to four consecutive life sentences, without the possibility of parole, in return for revealing to federal authorities the location of more than 250 pounds of dynamite that he had cached in the Nantahala National Forest in Western North Carolina. In Birmingham, Rudolph pleaded guilty to the bombing charged in the Northern District of Alabama indictment before United States District Judge Lynwood Smith. The United States Marshal’s Service transported Rudolph to Atlanta, where he pleaded guilty to the bombings charged in the Northern District of Georgia indictment before United States District Judge Charles Pannell. In a written statement released on April 13, 2005, Rudolph triumphantly thumbed his nose at the federal government by gloating that, “I have deprived the government of its goal of sentencing me to death.” Although he may have lost the battle,

it would appear that Rudolph did win the war, at least in his area of operations, and from the perspective of some of the militia/Patriots that is the end they sought to obtain.

With death of Pastor Richard Girnt Butler, long time leader of Aryan Nations, others however, are not satisfied with pyrrhic local or regional stalemates. August Byron Kreis and James Wickstrom, now the de-facto leaders of the reformed *Aryan Nations.org.*, actively solicit contact with members of al-Qaeda, Hamas, the Taliban and any number of Fundamentalist Muslim Jihadists groups on their web site. The writings of radical Fundamentalist Muslims such as, Abdul-Aziz Ibn Myatt, proclaiming Jihad, are now a permanent part of the on-line references for reading. In their vehement opposition to United States support for Israel, Kreis and Wickstrom have adopted the Machiavellian premise that “the enemy of my enemy is my friend.”

In August of 1994, Ali Akbar Mohtashemi, one of the patriarchs of Iranian terrorism, made the intentions of the HizbAllah or the Islamic militant movement quite clear. He said, ‘the HizbAllah should extend its defensive and aggressive lines over the region, into Europe, and *even into the United States*’ [emphasis added]. (Keith 1996, 153)

The extension of those lines appears to have begun through Andreas Strassmeir. Strassmeir is one of the mystery men who is documented to have collaborated with Timothy McVeigh at Elohim City, and it is argued, was the real brains behind the OKC bombing. Even in the aftermath of the OKC bombing Elohim City continues as a focal point of the extreme right. At the same time, the property and buildings of The Covenant the Sword and the Arm of the Lord, approximately fifty miles away, were raided by the FBI Hostage Rescue Team and have subsequently deteriorated into a ghost town. It is at this point that one may easily infer that Elohim City is allowed to survive as a clearing-house for United States government, *agents' provocateur*. Subsequent to the

turning point of Oklahoma City in American militia history, Strassmeir returned to his native Germany. Andreas Strassmeir is the son of Gunter Strassmeir, the major architect of German reunification and Chief Deputy Assistant to German Chancellor and Bilderberg potentate, Helmut Kohl. Furthermore, Strassmeir's grandfather was one of the founding members of the *National Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter Partei*. Over and above these considerations, Strassmeir was a German Bundeswehr officer for seven years where he served as an elite intelligence operative. It was through his military occupation specialty (MOS) as an Intelligence Officer that Strassmeir worked in close conjunction with American Central Intelligence Agency operatives. This collaboration precipitated his later emigration to the United States. There is speculation by opponents of Zionism that it was Zionists, working behind the scenes and with the cooperation of the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), who destroyed the militia movement's credibility and effectiveness. This was accomplished by attracting the negative attention of the FBI in that the militias were presented as a national security threat through the means of their own self-defeating, self-destructive, counter-productive behavior, and the Oklahoma City tragedy. As part of his anti-Zionist Occupation Government program, Robert Jay Mathews had directed two of his men to research the Rothschild banking empire through the resources of the University of Washington library. While there, the two soldiers passed by the office of the Arab American Student Association. Seizing on the opportunity to enlist the aid of "the enemy of my enemy," Daniel R. Bauer and Denver Daw Parmenter II, placed a "please contact note" on the door of that office that alluded to "common goals" and looking for financial backing" (Flynn and Gerhardt 1990, 469) from the Arab group. The petition went unanswered. Euro-terrorist groups of

the 1970s and 1980s, such as the West German Red Army Faction, however, garnered more than silence from Middle Eastern terrorists. Groups that included the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine extended not only financial support, but also small arms, demolitions and small unit training to the RAF. In one of life's most sublime of ironies, the Marxist Red Army Faction became rabidly anti-Zionist. In keeping with that same anti-Zionist "spirit," "testing of the bomb used in the world Trade Center," as documented by Jim Keith, "was carried out in February 1995, near Bloomfield, Pennsylvania" (Keith 1996, 175). Pennsylvania was the home state of August Kreis. South Carolina now hosts the reformed Aryan-Nations.org. It may only be a matter of time before Kreis, who is of German descent, and extremist Muslims, who have a documented history of affiliations with fascist organizations that began with the Third Reich, succeeds, where Mathews failed, in forming a "Neo-Nazi," HizbAllah connection. In so doing, they have the potential to visit atrocities worse than the OKC bombing and 9/11 on the American public in an effort to destroy the United States government. Under the provisions of the PATRIOT Act and the PATRIOT Act II, if one is convicted of sedition, that crime carries with it the death penalty. It may also be in this that both HizbAllah and Aryan-Nations.org will only hasten their ultimate demise as well as that of all Neo-Nazi, right-wing militia/Patriot movements and their collaborators in the United States of America?

Drawing from the information that has been presented, the study of the militias reveals an intellectual evolutionary maturing of the movement that is redirecting the energy and nationalistic idealism that is part of the motivating force behind the militia phenomenon. This maturation publicizes the willingness and the ability of the extreme

right to become pragmatic. The visible leaders of these disparate groups have begun to shed paradigms that have proven to be counterproductive. In the process, they have begun to assimilate doctrines heretofore only associated with the extreme left as a means to accomplish their ends. Tom Metzger of White Aryan Resistance for example, discusses the years he has devoted to the study of Marxist and Maoist doctrine as a means of effecting social change in America by sidestepping violent action. Many younger members of the militia movement, *cum* White Nationalists, have earned advanced technical degrees as a means of entering the 21<sup>st</sup> Century of communication technology so that they may better communicate their message to an audience that may access it through cyber-space. Others have taken a page out of the book written by the radicals of the 1960s—that being one of fomenting change through infiltration of the power structure. These individuals have pursued legal and academic degrees in order to facilitate their infiltration of the educational and political systems of the nation where they may disseminate their mediated message to an even wider audience. Several recent studies have indicated that the average age group of the white American middle-class who sympathize with or adhere to the principles espoused by White Nationalists is from 18-35. Many within this demographic also sympathize with the complaints of the militias. Of this same demographic, over one third of this group hold college degrees. These are trends that carry increasing significance in the face of middle-class disillusionment with the “political correctness” that is rampant in American colleges and universities. Furthermore, the proven higher rates of black on white crime in the streets, affirmative action programs, abortion, and unchecked immigration, with its concomitant influx of illegal aliens, and other policies supported by the federal government only serve to

exacerbate the growing sense of alienation experienced by the white middle-class of America today. The militia movement, although generally not much in the public eye any longer, has not vanished. It has simply changed its form. That new form demands attention if our society truly believes in the free expression of all viewpoints as a means of solving our pressing social problems.

What is the future for the militia in America? Fox News commentator, Glenn Beck believes that there is a “Road Warrior” type scenario looming in the near future for America. Of course, the militias have always believed that anyway.

What is a reasonable or probable future for the militia? It probably will manifest itself somewhere in the gray middle. There will be incremental changes in gun laws. Ones that initially create some level of controversy but then all the excitement on both sides will settle down until the next round of shootings, assassinations, and “new tough gun control legislation” is enacted. Then the cycle will continue until one day the militias believe “authorities” will come to your door because you have not voluntarily turned in your gun, the amnesty period expired months ago, by the way, and they will either take your guns or they will take you. Is this scenario fetched? Is it the paranoid nightmare and hysteria of a bunch of extremists who should have their firearms confiscated for the safety of the rest of society and themselves as well? Within this exact context the citizens of New Orleans experienced that very thing following the end of Hurricane Katrina. New Orleans Police went through the city forcibly confiscating firearms from citizens who had not violated any law. “No one will be able to be armed. We are going to take all the weapons,” declared Deputy Police Chief Warren Riley (Gun Owners of America 2009). It was not until Wednesday, April 19, 2006 that the New

Orleans Police began returning firearms confiscated from law abiding citizens during Post-Hurricane Katrina raids. Unfortunately the returns began only after a law suit was brought to bear against the New Orleans Police Department (NOPD) by the National Rifle Association and the Second Amendment Foundation forcing them to return the firearms (Fox News 2006). That incident occurred in 2006. However, on Friday, June 19, 2009, just prior to the completion of this thesis, Special agents of The Federal Bureau of Alcohol Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives (BATFE) had gone from door to door in American States that border Mexico requesting entry into homes of National Rifle Association (NRA) members so that the agents could check the serial numbers on recently purchased firearms that “matched types of guns that are frequently recovered in Mexico” Indeed, NRA members reported that it was demanded that one gun owner “return home early from a business trip” to have his firearms cleared, while another member had been told by an agent that the agent would “report” the member as “refusing to cooperate” (National Rifle Association, Institute for Legislative Action (NRA/ILA) 2009).

In light of the last two documented incidents perpetrated against law abiding American citizens the so called “paranoia” of the militias and fellow sympathizers is more reality than delusion. These incidents reflect an increasing trend across the nation. Many militia members as well as many mainstream citizens do not believe that their future looks bright with respect to their Second Amendment rights. This is especially evident when it is realized that with the election of the first black President of the United States purchases of firearms and ammunition have risen 30 to 50 percent nationwide, with many outlets reporting shortages of ammunition and waiting lists for firearms

(Marcum 2009). At this point in time it is difficult to predict what the future may hold for the freedoms that the militias and Middle Class Americans hold so dear.

## CHAPTER VIII

### EPILOGUE

As the final lines of this paper were being written, an 88-year-old gunman with a violent and virulently anti-Semitic past opened fire with a rifle inside the crowded U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum fatally wounding security officer Steven Tyrone Johns before the gunman himself was shot by other Police Officers. The assailant, James von Brunn was hospitalized in critical condition. In his wake follows a sprawling investigation by federal and local law enforcement. The Israeli government and prominent Islamic organizations expressed shock over the shooting. James W. von Brunn, a white supremacist, was under investigation in the shooting. His car which was found near the museum was tested for explosives. The weapon von Brunn used in the killing was a .22-caliber rifle, law enforcement officials said. James von Brunn had worked in the Northern California at one time in the 1970s as a real estate agent for Associated Brokers in its Redding and Shingletown offices (*Redding Record Searchlight* 2009).

In Wichita, Kansas, longtime, late-term abortion provider George Tiller was shot and killed while attending Church by militia member and Christian Identity activist, Scott Roeder. Within weeks of Tillers killing, Quinton Ezeagwula, 18, of Jacksonville, Arkansas was wounded and William Long, 23, of Conway, Arkansas died in the same attack at the Army-Navy Career Center by gunfire perpetrated by Abdulhakim Mujahid

Muhammad, 23, a Muslim convert, of Little Rock, Arkansas. In this time of economic meltdown and continuing counter-insurgency warfare being waged in the Middle East by the United States the underlying fears, anger and values reflected in the American militia movement continue to exist in the present day. These fears and that anger reemerge and become aggravated in times of widespread and threatening social change. For contemporary American militias, their members, and their sympathizers, these emotionally trying times are trigger points that have been activated by a confluence of events. These include the election of the first Black American president, one whose pro-choice and anti-gun beliefs are seen by the militias as a direct threat to their values and their way of life. Furthermore, with a Democratic Congress in control of the Federal legislature, the militias and those who believe in many of the same doctrines and philosophies that they do fear that they may be singled out in a manner similar to those that occurred during the 1980s and 1990s. All that has recently transpired, coupled with the behavior of the Federal government during the late 20<sup>th</sup> and into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, with respect to the militias and others who languish at the fringes of society because of their religious, political, racial or philosophical beliefs, makes manifest the same concerns as those groups and individuals of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Although the dates have changed, the message remains the same, just beneath the surface and hidden from view, waiting for the opportune moment to express itself once again, often in a violent manner. While the militias have often receded from public view, many of their core beliefs have passed into the mainstream of modern American politics. In thought and in deed, many of the most enduring aspects of the militias, past and present, their belief systems, and their psychology continues to permeate American political, religious, racial,

economic, and ideological thought. Among these beliefs are strong connections and support for individual gun ownership and the Second amendment; anti-tax sentiments; anti-abortion militancy; Christian Identity doctrines and politics; as well as libertarian commitments to individual freedom. No lesser an individual than Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis once remarked that “The makers of the Constitution conferred the most comprehensive of rights and the right most valued by all civilized men—the right to be let alone” (Skousen 2002). Indeed, Supreme Court Justices Blackmun, Brennan, Stevens, and Marshall took up this same cry and argued in their dissenting opinion in *Bowers v. Hardwick* (1986), in behalf of “the right to be left alone.” However, contemporary militias and their fellow travelers are unsure, indeed, not optimistic concerning their future. They believe that if no solutions, if no concrete answers are forthcoming with respect to the militias’ concerns, then according to the followers of militia racial, religious, and political belief systems, the epitaph for White American culture, its heritage, to be sure, the White race itself will be in question. From the militias perspective the question may very well be the same one asked by William Gayley Simpson (1978 chap. 19, pt. C): “Which way then goest thou, Western man?”

## ENDNOTES

## ENDNOTES

### 1. “Two seed-line” doctrine:

“We have now covered thousands and thousands of years through many ages of history on Earth. We see that there were created beings (Enosh) on the planet Earth before Adam and Eve. The Enosh (this name later being erroneously translated to the word ‘man’) were subjected to the great catastrophes of the Earth.

Scientific discoveries of archeologists offer proof along this line. The Enosh were here on Earth at the time when the Creator said to His Arch-angel Michael, “Let us put my family on the Earth. I will plant my seed on Earth to take control from Lucifer.” In reply to Michael’s question, “Who shalt Thou send?” the Almighty said, “I will send my son Adam (which means ‘man’) and I will send my daughter Eve in order that they might have children of the flesh and thereby perpetuate my family on Earth”.

Michael replied, “But they will be alone on the planet Earth where Satan resides with his angels who have lost their first estate. Satan will do all possible to destroy our family there and to bring them under his evil power”.

The Almighty answered saying, “Yes, they will fall under Satan’s power. I have given them the choice of good or evil to test them. I have planned it from the beginning. I will place them in a garden at Eden where Eve will be seduced by the serpent Satan and shall have a son my him. This evil son will I name Cain. I will also give them a good son from Adam’s seed whom I will name Abel. They will be free to do as they choose and they will fall because of their belief in Satan’s lies and his deceit. For their weakness and failure to obey my warnings about Satan I will take away their protective light and they shall be naked, yet I will save them and their children in due time. Cain will murder Abel the true son of Adam which will be their first earthly warning, yet will I give them other children who will carry on and who will do My works.”

So Adam and Eve, the children of the Creator of the Universe, were taken from the spirit and were made children of the flesh. As children of the flesh they were in the image of their Father the King of the Universe, in His likeness with a reddish complexion. Today we call this race the Adamic race.” William Potter Gale, n.d., *The Faith of our Fathers*. [http://www.kelticklankirk.com/GALE\\_Reverend\\_Colonel\\_William\\_P\\_Gale.htm](http://www.kelticklankirk.com/GALE_Reverend_Colonel_William_P_Gale.htm) (accessed June 1, 2009).

### 2. Race as an influence in the success of organ transplants in humans:

□ Lori Rodriguez, “Blacks’ Participation in Donor Networks Lagging - Event Stresses Value of Life-Saving Programs,” *Houston Chronicle Minority Affairs*, April 24, 2003. Patients and donors of different racial and ethnic groups can be suitable matches. But because of specific genetic traits, the best donor after a family member is someone of the same race or ethnicity, said program board member Dr. Alexis Thompson, a physician at Northwestern University Hospital in Chicago.

□ Christopher Heredia, “The Ultimate Offering-An Example for The Many Minorities Reluctant to Donate Organs,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 11, 1999. John Roberts, a transplant surgeon at the University of California at San Francisco-Stanford Medical Center, said some minorities wait longer for transplants because of the difficulty of tissue matching. Experts say having a perfect tissue match is crucial in the case of bone marrow transplants and can increase the success rate for other transplants, such as kidneys.

□ The John Hopkins Hospital, “Race Influences Outcome of Liver Transplants, According to Hopkins Study,” January 25, 2002.

[http://www.hopkinshospital.org/health\\_info/Bladder/Reading/race\\_liver\\_transplants](http://www.hopkinshospital.org/health_info/Bladder/Reading/race_liver_transplants) (accessed June 1, 2009). African Americans and Asians have a worse outcome than white Americans and Hispanics after liver transplantation, both in terms of graft rejection and survival, according to a new Hopkins-led study reported in the Jan. 26 issue of *The Lancet*.

□ John Z. Ayanian, Paul D. Cleary, Joel S. Weissman, and Arnold M. Epstein, “The Effect of Patients’ Preferences on Racial Differences in Access to Renal Transplantation,” *The New England Journal of Medicine*, 341, no. 22 (November 25, 1999): 1661-69. Conclusions. In the United States, the preferences and expectations with respect to renal transplantation among patients with end-stage renal disease differ according to race.

3. Babylonian Talmud, Mishnah and Midrash: The Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmud are an *interpretation*, by those exiles of the Kingdom of Judah, of the Hebrew *Tanakh* (what the Christians call The Old Testament). The Mishnah and the Midrash, on the other hand, are a continuing series of interpretations of those Talmudic interpretations that have been codified and passed down from generation to generation. Mishnah and Midrash interpretative writing continues to the present day. Very closely related is the Kabbalah, Jewish secret arts. Michael Rodkinson emphasizes the view of the supremacy of the Talmud in Jewish life to that of the lesser important Scripture as given by the Talmud: “The modern Jew is the product of the Talmud... The Talmud itself accords to the Bible only a secondary place. Thus the Talmudic monograph *Soferim*, in similitude exults: ‘The Bible is like water, the Mischna is like wine, and the Gemarah is like spiced wine’” Michael L. Rodkinson, trans. *The Babylonian Talmud*. Vol. I (New York: New Talmud Publishing Company, 1903-1918), x.

Statements like these and others are confirmed in that Talmudic treatise *Soferim*, containing the tract *Sopherim XV*, 7, fol. 13b. Talmudic scholar, Rev. I. B. Pranaitis declares, “Additional claims as to the inferiority of the Bible are repeated in the tract of the Talmud, *Babha Metsia*, fol. 33a: ‘Those who devote themselves to reading the Bible exercise a certain virtue, but not very much; those who study the Mischnah exercise virtue for which they will receive a reward; those, however, who take upon themselves to study the Gemarah exercise the highest virtue’” [emphasis in original]. I. B. Pranaitis, *The Talmud Unmasked: The Secret Rabbinical Teachings Concerning Christians* (St. Petersburg: St. Petersburg Printing Office of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1892): 20.

These are the very “teaching for doctrines the commandments of men” (Matthew 15: 9) and “leaven of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees” (Matthew 16:6) of which the Christ warned his disciples to “beware.”

4. Superfetation: “The development of a second fetus when one is already present in the uterus. It occurs when a woman ovulates more than one egg but the eggs are released at different times, sometimes up to 24 days apart, and they are fertilized when they are released. The resulting twins would have different conception dates, so the babies may be very different in size and have different due dates. A woman can also conceive twins at different times when a woman conceives via IVF and also conceives naturally around the same time.” Elizabeth Noble, *Having Twins—and More A Parent’s Guide to Multiple Pregnancy, Birth, and Early Childhood*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Boston, MA: Mariner Books, 2003): 30, 500.

See also: Lawrence Wright, *Twins and What They Tell Us About Who We Are*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 1997); Kay Cassil, 1982. *Twins: Nature’s Amazing Mystery*, 1<sup>st</sup> eds. (New York: Atheneum, Simon & Schuster, 1982); and websites such as the National Health Information Center (<http://www.health.gov/nhic/>).

Documented examples of superfetation:

- “We report the case of a dichorionic and diamniotic pregnancy with the unique feature of an *early ultrasound diagnosis of a 4-week size difference, which persisted throughout pregnancy. At birth, the twins had a 1-month difference in physical and neurological maturity. We believe that only the phenomenon of a superfetation can explain this difference* [emphasis added]. We report the cases found in the literature.” G. Soudre, X. Guettier, L. Marpeau, L. Larue, T. Jault, and J. Barrat, “In Utero Early Suspicion of Superfetation by Ultrasound Examination: A Case Report,” *International Society of Ultrasound in Obstetrics and Gynecology* 2, no. 1 (January 1, 1992): 51-54.
- “Superfecundation and superfetation with resulting heteropaternal twins--a possible resolution of the phenomena in the era of DNA typing.” G. Lefebvre, D. Vauthier, J. Gonzales, and S. Lesourd, “Assisted Reproductive Technology and Superfetation: A Case Report,” *Fertility and Sterility* 53, no. 6 (June 1990): 1100-1101.
- “The first edition of this book was a landmark publication in establishing the study of multiple pregnancy and the perinatal care of children from multiple births as a recognized subspecialty within obstetrics. *The book presented many facets of the clinical, psychosocial and practical issues of multiple gestation* [emphasis added]. The new edition had been fully revised in line with modern obstetrics and perinatology and will include the evidence base to current practice, where available. The text has been expanded in scope to include more on epidemiology, biologic mechanisms, the impact of infertility treatments, prenatal diagnosis (including a more extensive and detailed coverage of ultrasound imaging in multiple pregnancy), and fetal therapy.” Isaac Blickstein and Louis G. Keith, *Multiple Pregnancy - Epidemiology, Gestation & Perinatal Outcome*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: The Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists, 2005): dust jacket.
- “Flavia Tarquini: a 20-year-old Italian woman who is six months pregnant with triplets, gave birth on Saturday to a full-term infant girl conceived three months earlier in a rare case of simultaneous pregnancies, the Daily Telegraph reports (Johnston, Daily Telegraph, 12/18/01). Superfetation -- the presence in the womb of two or more fetuses resulting from fertilization at different times -- is ‘extremely rare,’ according to Lord Winston, the United Kingdom’s leading fertility expert. A spokesperson for the *Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists* said that there have been only 25

known cases of the condition ever recorded in history (Martin, Daily Telegraph, 12/18/01). Pregnancy usually prevents ovulation from taking place, but in rare cases ovulation may continue to occur and a second egg can be fertilized during an existing pregnancy. There has been speculation that Tarquini's atypical ovulation was caused by fertility drugs, but the family has 'vigorously' denied that drugs played any role in the conceptions (BBC News, 12/18/01). Prof. Giovanbattista Serra, head of obstetrics and gynecology at Rome's Cristo Re Hospital, said Tarquini seemed 'credible' in her denial of fertility drug use, adding that he believed 'she was telling the truth.'"

"Mother, Baby and Fetuses Are Doing Well": "During the past six months, Tarquini and her family have worried about 'how the births will work out' (Johnston, Daily Telegraph, 12/18/01). Many physicians have speculated about how to deliver the full-term infant without harming the developing triplets or causing them to be delivered very prematurely (Kaiser Daily Reproductive Health Report, 11/13/01). Tarquini's husband, who will not reveal the name of the couple's obstetrician, reported that the baby's birth was 'natural' and that his wife, the newborn singleton and the triplets remaining in utero all appear to be doing well. 'The baby is fine, and so is my daughter. You can rest assured, soon the others will be coming into the world,' Giuseppe D'Angelo, Tarquini's father, said (Johnston, Daily Telegraph, 12/18/01). Winston said he was 'surprised' that doctors were able to deliver the singleton without delivering or harming the other fetuses. He noted that, in his experience, women with superfetation usually 'lost the remaining [fetuses] after their first labor.' Tarquini is expected to give birth to the triplets in March, making her possibly the first known woman to be pregnant continuously for 12 months (Martin, Daily Telegraph, 12/18/01)." Kaisernetwork.org, "Italian Woman Gives Birth to Full-Term Infant While Remaining Six Months Pregnant With Triplets," [http://www.kaisernetwork.org/daily\\_reports/rep\\_index.cfm?hint=2&DR\\_ID=8630](http://www.kaisernetwork.org/daily_reports/rep_index.cfm?hint=2&DR_ID=8630) (accessed June 1, 2009).

□ "Superfecundation is the fertilisation of two or more ova from the same cycle by sperm from separate acts of sexual intercourse. The term is also sometimes used to refer to the instances of two different males fathering fraternal twins, though this is more accurately known as heteropaternal superfecundation. This therefore leads to the possibility of twins also being half-siblings. This way of formation of multiply pregnancy aroused and it arouses still among doctors on whole world. This problem aroused large interest also among Polish doctors. For example, we found mention of superfecundation in first Polish medical journal, in *Primitiae physico-medicae...*, given in Leszno in years 1750-1753. Authors introduced relate opinion of superfecundation in aetiology of multiple pregnancies in historical aspect, as early as from Old Testament to present times as well as current state of medical knowledge of such a situation."

W. Malinowski and E. Waszyński, "Superfecundation in etiology of twin pregnancy," *Ginekologia polska* 77, no. 10 (October 2006):797-803.

[http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/17219814?ordinalpos=1&itool=EntrezSystem2.PE\\_ntrez.Pubmed.Pubmed\\_ResultsPanel.Pubmed\\_DiscoveryPanel.Pubmed\\_Discovery\\_RA&linkpos=4&log\\$=relatedreviews&logdbfrom=pubmed](http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/17219814?ordinalpos=1&itool=EntrezSystem2.PE_ntrez.Pubmed.Pubmed_ResultsPanel.Pubmed_DiscoveryPanel.Pubmed_Discovery_RA&linkpos=4&log$=relatedreviews&logdbfrom=pubmed) (accessed June 26, 2009).

□ "If a female has sexual intercourse with two males at short intervals within the same ovulatory period, superfecundation may occur. This article reports two cases of

paternity identification in twins. The results showed that each twin had come from a different father. Thus, great attention should be paid to such a situation when the twin paternity identification is asked for.”

H.L. Lu, C.X. Wang, F.Q. Wu, and J.J. Li, “Paternity Identification in Twins with Different Fathers,” *J Forensic Sci.*, 39, no. 4 (July 1994):1100-2.

[http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/8064269?ordinalpos=1&itool=EntrezSystem2.PEntrez.Pubmed.Pubmed\\_ResultsPanel.Pubmed\\_DiscoveryPanel.Pubmed\\_Discovery\\_RA&linkpos=5&log\\$=relatedarticles&logdbfrom=pubmed](http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/8064269?ordinalpos=1&itool=EntrezSystem2.PEntrez.Pubmed.Pubmed_ResultsPanel.Pubmed_DiscoveryPanel.Pubmed_Discovery_RA&linkpos=5&log$=relatedarticles&logdbfrom=pubmed) (accessed June 26, 2009).

□ Peter Daut, 2009, Dallas Twins Have Different Dads,  
[http://www.myfoxdfw.com/dpp/news/weird/Dallas\\_Twins\\_Fathered\\_by\\_2\\_Men](http://www.myfoxdfw.com/dpp/news/weird/Dallas_Twins_Fathered_by_2_Men) (accessed June 26, 2009).

□ “. . . fraternal twins are the result of hyperovulation, the release of multiple eggs in a single cycle. Superfecundation describes a situation where the eggs are fertilized by sperm from separate incidences of sexual intercourse. In a case where a woman has sex with different partners, the twins could have different fathers. The appropriate term to describe this situation is heteropaternal superfecundation.”

Pamela Prindle Fierro, Heteropaternal Superfecundation - Twins with Different Fathers. Can Twins Have Two Different Fathers?

<http://multiples.about.com/od/funfacts/a/Heteropaternal.htm> (accessed June 26, 2009).

□ Kurt Benirschke, Peter Kaufmann, and Peter Kaufmann, *Pathology of the Human Placenta* (New York: Springer-Verlag, 2000).

5. For a comprehensive examination of guerrilla tactics and warfare procedures, the interested reader is referred to *Psychological Operations in Guerrilla Warfare: The CIA's Nicaragua Manual* compiled by Joanne Omang, Vintage Books, a division of Random House, New York, 1985.

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## **APPENDIX A**

## ADDITIONAL NOTES

- Arendt, Hannah. *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, Harcourt, Brace, New York, 1968. Arendt's extensive documentation of the roots of totalitarianism casts a critical eye toward two of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century's rival political philosophies, Soviet Socialism and National Socialism of Germany. Separated into three sections, anti-Semitism, Imperialism, and Totalitarianism, Arendt's book examines each of these phenomena from an historical perspective. The author focuses upon the rise of anti-Semitism as a result of Jewish emancipation, the development of racist philosophies that resulted from Imperialism, and finally, the character of totalitarianism with respect to repressive societies is examined.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *On Revolution*, Penguin Twentieth Century Classics, Clays Ltd., St. Ives Place, London, England, 1990. A review that compares and contrasts the 18<sup>th</sup> Century's most widely recognized revolutionary political movements, the American and the French revolutions. Arendt focuses on the success of the American Revolution as compared to the degenerative excesses and failure of the French revolution. The roles of freedom and terror are explored in a democratic society as Arendt attempts to answer the question of necessity in the political world and its relationship to a free people.
- Babylonian Talmud, Mishnah and Midrash: The Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmud are an *interpretation*, by those exiles of the Kingdom of Judah, of the Hebrew *Tanakh* (what the Christians call The Old Testament). The Mishnah and the Midrash, on the other hand, are a continuing series of interpretations of those Talmudic interpretations that have been codified and passed down from generation to generation. Mishnah and Midrash interpretative writing continues to the present day. Very closely related is the Kabbalah, Jewish secret arts. Michael Rodkinson emphasizes the view of the supremacy of the Talmud in Jewish life to that of the lesser important Scripture as given by the Talmud: "The modern Jew is the product of the Talmud... The Talmud itself accords to the Bible only a secondary place. Thus the Talmudic monograph *Soferim*, in similitude exults: 'The Bible is like water, the Mischna is like wine, and the Gemarah is like spiced wine.'" Statements like these and others are confirmed in that Talmudic treatise *Soferim*, containing the tract *Sopherim XV, 7, fol. 13b*. Talmudic scholar, Rev. I. B. Pranaitis declares, "Additional claims as to the inferiority of the Bible are repeated in the tract of the Talmud, *Babha Metsia, fol. 33a*: 'Those who devote themselves to reading the Bible exercise a certain virtue, but not very much; those who study the Mischnah exercise virtue for which they will receive a reward; those, however, who take upon themselves to study the Gemarah exercise the highest virtue'" (all emphasis in original). These are the very "teaching for doctrines the commandments of men" (Matthew 15: 9) and "leaven of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees" (Matthew 16: 6) of which the Christ warned his disciples to "beware."

- ❑ Bacevich, A. J. "Tradition Abandoned: America's Military in a New Era," *The National Interest*, Number 48, Summer 1997, Published by National Affairs, Inc., William Byrd Press, 1112 16<sup>th</sup> Street NW, suite 540, Washington, D. C. The continuing and perplexing relationship between the United States military and American society has become a topic that demands our focused attention. Despite the current popularity of the Military with the American public there is a serious problem looming on the horizon. So says A. J. Bacevich in his article that follows the frequently disrespectful and sometime insubordinate attitude of the Officer Corps toward some of America's past presidents.
- ❑ Baker, John R. *Race* Oxford University Press, Oxford, England, 1974. John Randall Baker discusses the nature and character of civilization, providing 23 easily recognizable criteria whereby one may identify ancient and modern examples of each. Baker's theories have raised controversy due to his insistence that Mesoamerican societies, Aztec and Mayan specifically cannot be defined as civilizations. Furthermore, Baker claims that Africa has never realized civilizations that were indigenous to that Continent. Baker rejects the anthropological, methodological relativism of Franz Boas for the theories of cultural evolution and biological determinism.
- ❑ Barry, SGT. 1<sup>st</sup> Class, U. S. Army Special Forces, Retired, Steven M. *The Resister: The Journal of the Special Forces Underground*, Volume 3, Summer, 1998, Resistance Publications, Fayetteville, North Carolina. The "premiere publication of the Special forces Underground," was actually written and published by a group of Special Forces operatives who advocated for armed resistance against the United States government as a means of "returning the government to its constitutional prison." While its members, which were comprised of Officers and Non-Commissioned Officers, were still active duty, regular Army soldiers, the group had worked out an elaborate means whereby a potential subscriber could pay for their subscription while at the same time the publishing group could still maintain its anonymity, thereby avoiding Military Courts Martial. Subscribers were instructed to forward a United States Postal Money for the full amount of the subscription term desired. The payee and payer sections of the Money Order were to be left blank thus enabling anyone to cash them. At the time of remittance, the payer was provided with the equivalent of a "dead drop," mail forwarding address to which they could send their subscription fee. The quarterly publication arrived at the subscriber's address in a plain white, oversized manila type envelop. Once the group left the Army, this subterfuge was no longer necessary. Every quarter's edition was professionally produced and contained articles that covered every topic from military history and theory, small unit tactics, to improvised explosive devices (IEDs), as well as political and philosophical theory. *The Resister* published articles from several retired U. S. Navy Admirals in addition to papers written by former high-ranking Marine Corps and Army Officers. Book reviews were also a common feature of this intellectually elevated and cogently written publication.
- ❑ Basler, Roy P. *Lincoln, Abraham, 1809-1865: Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* Eleven Volumes, Rutgers, 1955. This painstakingly compiled and exquisitely executed 11 volume set places between book covers, the most complete collection of the writings

of the 16<sup>th</sup> President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln. Any researcher will discover this set to be a treasure trove of the most obscure thoughts and statements that Lincoln ever made or wrote, as well as the mother lode for Lincoln's most famous and most damning utterances.

- Beam, Louis R. *The Seditionist*, ISSUE 12, FEBRUARY 1992: FINAL EDITION. Louis Beam's last issue of *The Seditionist* contains his most widely read treatise entitled "Leaderless Resistance." The concept of leaderless resistance is one of lone individuals or small, secret cells, also known as "Phantom Cells" that are aware of national and local news and events. For example, these individuals or small groups would keep abreast of activists or organizations whom they considered to be enemies. At their own discretion, the lone operator or the small cell could carry out what ever act of retribution or terror that was deemed appropriate. After each act, the lone wolf, or phantom cell would return to the "underground" until they decided that another opportunity to strike had been presented. These loners and cells are completely autonomous, they do not receive or follow orders from a "chain of command." It is as Louis Beam described the principle. "Lone operators and phantom cells are like the fog. When conditions are right, it forms. When the conditions are not right, it disappears." *The Seditionist* presented material of a revolutionary bent that targeted readers in the nascent American Militia Movement. Beam focused mainly on political theory and articles that attacked the federal government as a degenerate tyranny that must be destroyed in order for White Americans to recapture the reins of power. For a comprehensive examination of guerrilla tactics and warfare procedures, the interested reader is referred to *Psychological Operations in Guerrilla Warfare: The CIA's Nicaragua Manual* compiled by Joanne Omang, Vintage Books, a division of Random House, New York, 1985.
- Blau, Joseph L. *Congress Weekly*, The American Jewish Congress, New York, New York, 1956. A publication of the American Jewish Congress, *Congress Weekly* provided a regular review of the activities of the American Federal Legislature with a special emphasis on those policies and procedures that would impact Jewish society in the United States and abroad.
- Bork, Robert H. *Slouching Towards Gomorrah* Harper/Collins, New York, New York, 1996. Robert H. Bork's *Slouching Towards Gomorrah* offers that distinguished jurist's prescient and controversial perspective of American culture that is now in decline. We are a nation in such an advanced and perilous state of moral decay that its very center is crumbling. Of President Clinton, Bork writes: "Thirty years ago, Clinton's behavior would have been absolutely disqualifying. Since the 1992 election, the public has learned far more about what is known, euphemistically, as the "character issue." Despite these revelations, none of them appears to have affect Clinton's popularity. One is led to the conclusion that something fundamental concerning our moral perceptions and reactions to outrage has changed profoundly. Judge Bork states unequivocally, if that change is permanent, then the implications for the future of America are bleak. Bork argues that the root of our decline derives from the expansion of "modern liberalism, which stresses the dual forces of radical egalitarianism (the equality of outcomes rather than opportunities)

and radical individualism (the drastic reduction of limits to personal gratification). The roots of modern liberalism are deeply embedded in the past two and a half centuries--and perhaps--arise from the very nature of Western civilization itself."

- Breitman, George, editor and compiler of prefatory notes. *Malcolm X Speaks: selected speeches and statements*, First Grove Weidenfeld Evergreen Edition, 1990. This publication tracks the content of the speeches Malcolm X made during the last eight months of his life. They reflect the perspectives of his newly refined outlook since his *Hajj* to Mecca.
- Churchill, Ward & Vanderwall, James. *Agents of Repression: The FBI's Secret Wars Against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement*. South End Press, Cambridge MA, 1988. Co-authored by controversial University of Colorado Professor, Ward Churchill, *Agents of Repression* details the Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) carried out by the F. B. I. against the *Black Panther Party for Self Defense* (BPP) and the *American Indian Movement* (AIM) during the late 1960's and the early to mid 1970's. The BPP agitated on and around college and university campuses in many large metropolitan areas. AIM, on the other hand, came to prominence as a result of the modern siege on the Rose Bud Indian Reservation of the Oglalla Sioux Indian Nation at Wounded Knee. Through a series of covert "psy-ops" and the work of several paid informants, the F. B. I. succeeded in neutralizing or incarcerating the leaders of both the organizations. Many of the members of the BPP and AIM insist that some of their comrades, Fred Hampton and Mark Clark of the BPP specifically, were actually set-up and murdered under color of law by local and federal authorities. Authorities characterized these circumstances as "neutralization" of the parties involved. Several members of both radical groups were killed while arrest warrants were being served or federal authorities were conducting investigations on them. Several others, Leonard Peltier, for example, were sentenced on the basis of circumstantial evidence to life sentences for murder, despite exculpatory evidence being presented in their defense. As a result of leftist outcries concerning COINTELPRO, the Church Commission investigated the program and then prohibited its use by the F. B. I.
- Cleaver, Eldridge. *Soul On Ice* Delta Press, New York, 1968. *Soul on Ice* is the autobiographical account of one of the earliest members of the *Black Panther Party for Self Defense* founded in Oakland, California by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale. Cleaver recounts his early criminal activities, including the raping of white women "as a means of retaliation against a repressive and racist white system that was designed to keep the black man down." Cleaver documents his dealings with the California Adult Parole system, the Regents of the University of California and Regent President Ronald Reagan, as well as his writing for the leftist radical publication, *Ramparts Magazine*. The Black Panther seeks to explain his efforts to remain a free man while at the same time following his revolutionary conscience for "black revolution, by any means necessary." Cleaver recounts his flight to Algeria from the United States in order to avoid prosecution on "trumped-up charges" by the government. Cleaver's book was considered "required

reading” during the late 60’s and early 70’s in undergraduate college and university classes.

- Davis, Thulani. *Malcolm X: The Great Photographs* New York, New York, Stewart, Tabori & Chang, Inc. 1993. The publication follows the chronology of Malcolm X’s life as captured through the lens of a camera in dramatic black and white photographs of those settings. Davis’s book also includes excerpts from the public addresses and speeches Malcolm X delivered at selected events. One particularly intense and vivid moment captures the scene where Malcolm X quotes from a telegram he delivered to *American Nazi Party* leader, George Lincoln Rockwell. In that telegram, the black racialist warned Rockwell of Black Muslim intentions. “I am no longer held in check from fighting white supremacists by Elijah Muhammad’s separatist Black Muslim movement,” Malcolm X declared. “If your present racist agitation against our people there in Alabama causes physical harm to Reverend King or any other black American...you and your Ku Klux Klan friends will be met with maximum physical retaliation from those of us who...believe in asserting our right to self-defense --- by any means necessary.” There is a certain, and inescapable irony in the threat made by X to Rockwell, for it was members of X’s own race who shot and killed X at 3: 10 P. M. on February 21, 1965 in the Audubon Ballroom in Harlem. Another source, *Malcolm X Speaks*, edited by George Breitman, indicates that X was “at a public rally of the *Organization of Afro-American Unity* in Harlem on January 24, 1965” when he “read aloud the text” of the telegram to George Lincoln Rockwell (Breitman, 1990).
- Dewitt, John; Henry, Patrick, et. al. *The Anti-Federalist Papers*. The famous arguments that discussed the content and purpose of the United States Constitution delivered from the perspective of those who favored a less centralized form of government.
- Douglas, William O. *The Court Years, 1939-1975* New York, Random House, 1980. *The Court Years* is an autobiographical account of the years that Associate Justice Douglas presided on the United States Supreme Court.
- Elshtain, Jean Bethke. *Just War Against Terror*, Basic Books, 387 Park Avenue south, New York, N. Y., 2004. This is Elshtain’s discussion of post 9/11 America. Ms. Elshtain concludes that there is no reconciliation with Muslim extremists due to their perspective that Western influence in Arab culture is a degenerative and destructive one. The author chastens pacifist detractors of the war on terror, proclaiming that such a war is not only necessary but it is also ethical.
- Evans, Richard J. *In Hitler’s Shadow*, New York, 1989. Evans declares that each nation must come to grip with its past, regardless of the pain it may cause its people. He renounces the theory that the German Wehrmacht was performing its honorable duty by defending that nation against Bolsheviks and that Auschwitz was unremarkable in history.

- ❑ Hamilton, Alexander; Madison, James; Jay, John. *The Federalist Papers*. *The Federalist Papers* is the counterpart of *The Anti-Federalist Papers*, written by John Dewitt, Patrick Henry, et. al. Hamilton, Alexander, and Madison argue their position from that perspective that the form of government necessary for the unity and well being of the new nation of America could only be realized through a strong centralized authority that would be empowered to carry out policies that would benefit the United States.
- ❑ Hoffman, Michael A. *Hate Whitey: The Cinema of Defamation*, The Independent History and Research Co., Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, 2000. Michael Hoffman documents by date, time and program, motion picture and television screenplays that disparage and denigrate the white race or those same types of scripts that promote violence and encourage murder of white people. This 51-page book covers years of theatrical releases and television programming that present members of the white race in humiliating, unfavorable or a violently negative manner. These are films and programs that minorities today will not tolerate members of their race being so depicted yet there is no outrage when the same scenarios cast whites in those circumstances.
- ❑ Hoskins, Richard Kelly. p. 337, *Vigilantes of Christendom* Virginia Publishing, Lynchburg, Virginia, 1990. This 1990 publication traces the history of vigilantism from Biblical times, through the middle ages into the enlightenment, and on into the modern era. Covering figures such as Phinehas and Gideon of the Old Testament, to John Wilkes Booth in the mid 1860's, and Jesse and Frank James in Post Civil War America, Hoskins describes those individuals who "took the law into their own hands" in order that justice would be served. Although he never explicitly states the premise, Hoskins may be considered an unspoken advocate for Louis Beam's concept of "Leaderless Resistance."
- ❑ Ingersol, E. P. *Lost Israel found in the Anglo-Saxon Race: The Promises made to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, all Fulfilled in the Anglo-Saxon Race*, Topeka, Kansas, 1886. In this volume, Ingersol writes of his epiphany concerning the knowledge that the ten lost tribes of Israel have been discovered in the Anglo-Saxon race. Ingersol, following the lead of Astronomer Royal to Scotland (from 1846 to 1888), Professor Charles Piazzi Smyth, traces the odyssey of those ten tribes from their exile in Assyria, over the Caucasus Mountains into Western Europe, finally migrating into Great Britain. This book marks the earliest importation of British-Israelism into America. Through a series of transformations, British-Israelism became Christian Identity, one of the core religious beliefs of the militant right wing in the United States.
- ❑ Ignatiev, Noel. *Race Traitor*, Harvard University Press, MA. A recent phenomenon, *Race Traitor* is an anti-white publication that was it to suggest that the death of the black race, the brown, yellow or red race is loyalty to humanity *Race Traitor* would not have survived its charter issue. However, in this day and age of racial double standards where denigration of whites is a normative condition in our society, racist rags such as Ignatiev's not only survive, they flourish. The less that is written about this vile, white race-hating piece of trash, by the Marxist, self-loathing Ignatiev, the better.

- Jackson, George L. *Soledad Brother: The Prison Letters of George Jackson* Lawrence Hill Books, September 1, 1994. George Jackson, a self-proclaimed General in the Black Liberation Army, wrote this compilation of letters. Writing to such individuals as Jackson's younger brother, members of the Black Panther Party, Angela Davis, and Jackson's attorney, Jackson records some of his inner most thoughts. They are the thoughts of an individual who believed in Chairman Mao Tse Tung's directive, "political power comes from the barrel of a gun. That gun must never fall from the hands of the Communists." Jackson wrote with depth and clarity, passion, humor, and insight. Yet he never read the axioms of one that could have served him as well, if not better than those of Chairman Mao. General Tsun Tsu, reminded his students of the imperative that "when you enemy is stronger avoid him...because the battle is won or lost before it is fought."
- Kallen, Horace Meyer. 1915. Democracy versus the melting pot. *The Nation* 100, (February 18-25): 116, 122.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1924. *Culture and democracy in the United States: Studies in the groups psychology of the American people*. New York: Boni & Liveright.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1956. *Cultural pluralism and the American idea: An essay in social philosophy*. Philadelphia: Stanley H. Chapman.

Professor Horace Meyer Kallen (1822-1974) of the New School for Social Research was born in Berenstadt, Germany. He took his Baccalaureate Degree from Harvard in 1903 and was awarded his Ph.D. in 1908 from that same institution. A life long student of cultural pluralism, Kallen recognized the dynamic tension between ethnic identity and national unity. Writing a series of articles in *The Nation* and then his essay, *Cultural Pluralism and the American Idea*, Kallen rejected the popular notion of America as a "melting pot," one that "vitiated democratic practice" in a multicultural society. Kallen was an early advocate of identity politics. He championed the concept of fidelity to one's ethnic background and believed that government was obligated to ensure respect and protection of that ethnic exceptionalism. The author explores his concern for cultural pluralism and the paradox created in relation to an "American identity." Dr. Kallen was attempting to address the dichotomy between pluralism and national identity and the loss suffered by both without the presence of the other in an effort to define and synthesize the process of "Americanization" in the face of this fusion.

- Katz, Jacob. *Exclusiveness and Tolerance, Jewish, Gentile Relations in Medieval and Modern Times*, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1962. This author engages the attitudinal changes on the part of the Jews toward their experiences during the Diaspora in non-Jewish environs from the middle ages to the Enlightenment. Katz draws most of his resources from the province of Ashkenazi Jewry, those Jews that are usually found in Germany and Eastern Europe.
- Keith, Jim. *OK Bomb: Conspiracy and Cover-up!*, IllumiNet Press, P. O. Box 2808 Lilburn, Georgia 30226, 1996. Documenting cover-up and conspiracy, Jim Keith presents several hundred sources and over two dozen exclusive interviews in his investigation of the Oklahoma City tragedy. There is much speculation as to whether the bomb that was detonated was actually more than a single fertilizer bomb. Keith believes that many

people were forewarned of the blast and that there are additional perpetrators who have not been brought to justice. From Keith's perspective the threads of the conspiracy stretch from the central United States and Washington, D. C., into Germany and beyond.

- Kundera, Milan. *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*, Penguin edition, New York, 1979. Milan Kundera's romanticized treatment of George Orwell's *1984*, somewhat blunts the sharp edges of love betrayed by political considerations while juxtaposing ugliness of public repression with that of private desire. The novel plumbs the depths of the human condition as they are distorted through the agency of a police state.
- Lindemann, Albert S. *Esau's Tears: Modern Anti-Semitism and the Rise of the Jews*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1997. Lindemann, writing of the rise of anti-Semitic attitudes, directs his focus specifically upon France and Germany with attention given to the United States, England, the Soviet Union, Romania, Hungary, and Italy. Beginning from 1870 through the ascendancy of Adolf Hitler, the author presents the premise that "a modern ideology of anti-Semitism" as a means to curb "the power of the Jews." Lindemann also develops the concept of "culture cracking." As a principle, it derives not only from Marxist theory, but also from the principles practiced by Heinrich Graetz (1817 – 1891). Graetz developed a philosophy of calumny whereby the majority ethnic population and their Christian religion were subjected to a vicious campaign of propaganda. Graetz systematically and viciously assaulted the culture of Catholic Germans in a program that scourged and flogged the majority group in order to undermine and muzzle them, driving them from the public arena. As a consequence, Graetz and adherents to his pathological philosophy were able to gain hegemony within their limited sphere of influence. This same pattern is that which has been practiced in principle on the white American public for the last fifty years wherein American children are taught in public, and some private schools, that their ancestors were oppressors, defilers and usurpers of blacks, the indigenous natives of the North American continent, and enjoyed a "white privilege" that they refused to share with any other race. All of these examples of agit-prop have been used to instill "white guilt" in the majority population in order to silence and demoralize them while those who perpetrate these social and cultural pogroms assume positions of power in order to become the dominant hegemony. One need look no farther than the current American circumstance in the classrooms of our elementary, high schools, colleges and universities to witness these very tactics being applied in the overall strategy designed to subvert and demoralize the American psyche to better enable the destruction of "Western culture." Or in the words of a militant group supporting Jesse Jackson on the campus of Stanford University: "Ho, Ho, Ho, Western cultures got to go!"
- MacDonald, Kevin B. *A People That Shall Dwell Alone: Judaism as a Group Evolutionary Strategy*, Praeger Publishers, Westport, CT., 1994.  
 \_\_\_\_\_. *Separation and Its Discontents: Toward an Evolutionary Theory of anti-Semitism*, Praeger Publishers, Westport, CT., 1998.  
 \_\_\_\_\_. *The Culture of Critique: An Evolutionary Analysis of Jewish Involvement in Twentieth-Century Intellectual and Political Movements*, Praeger Publishers, Westport,

CT., 1998. This three volume set explicates the psychological principle of “group evolutionary strategy” as practiced by the Jewish ethnic group. MacDonald carefully sets out the national and social contexts in which the Jews have found themselves throughout history and then with precise documentation he illustrates the manifestation of the collective mind-set that enabled that ethnic group to survive for millennia. MacDonald was forced to self-publish these volumes due to the controversial, and some said, anti-Semitic content of his theses.

- Malone, Dumas. “Thomas Jefferson to Mrs. Adams, February 22, 1787;” *Jefferson and His Time: Volume Two Jefferson and The Rights of Man* Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1951, p.158. Malone, Volume Two, “Letter to W. S. Smith, November 13, 1787. Many consider Dumas Malone’s six volume personal and political, biography to be the definitive work on Thomas Jefferson. Malone covers Jefferson’s life from his ancestral roots all the way through to his death.
- Marcuse, Herbert; Wolff, Robert Paul; Moore, Barrington, Jr. “Repressive Tolerance,” in *A Critique of Pure Tolerance*, Beacon Press, Boston, 1965. When Herbert Marcuse published his extended essay “Repressive Tolerance,” even radical leftists were shocked at the hubris of the document. Marcuse advocated for the repression of groups on the right to the benefit of groups on the left. Not only did he recommend the repression of speech for the right, he also justified violence by the left as a means to gain political advantage for organizations that subscribed to his “dictatorship of academics and students.”
- *Nation, The*. Originally founded in July 1865 by Abolitionists at 130 Nassau Street, “Newspaper Row,” Manhattan by E. L. Godkin, Editor and Joseph H. Richards, publisher. After 90 years, Henry Villard, newspaper reporter *cum* railroad entrepreneur purchased *The Nation* and reformed its format to that of literary supplement for the *New York Post*, one of Villard’s dailies. Oswald Garrison Villard, Villard’s son, took over *The Nation* as editor in 1918, converting the content to a current affairs publication, creating a publication with a progressive outlook. In June of 1979, publisher Hamilton Fish and, at that time editor, Victor Navasky, moved the “new” *Nation* to 72 Fifth Avenue, Manhattan. Since 1998 *The Nation* is located at 33, Irving Place.
- Newton, Huey P. *War Against the Panthers: A Study of Repression in America* Reprint, Harlem River Press, New York, 2000. Huey Newton presents the struggle of the *Black Panther Party for Self Defense* from the perspective of a founding member of that black militant group. Newton retells the creation of the BPP with Bobby Seale and of the controversial, as well as dangerous efforts of the Party to foment revolution against “a repressive white-racist system.” Newton details incidents when he and other armed Panthers confronted Officers of the Oakland, California Police Department fully expecting to engage in firefights if necessary to assert their civil rights. The author also presents his narrative of the events on the fateful day when he and several other Black Panther members engaged in a gun battle of several hours duration at the headquarters of the Oakland chapter of the BPP. Newton describes his incarceration and trial for the role

he played in that firefight. He also explains the goals the Panthers sought to achieve and the programs they created to bring those goals to fruition.

- Pierce, William L. (MacDonald, Andrew). *The Turner Diaries*, National Alliance Publishing, Arlington, Virginia, 1978. This is the foremost publication of the American extreme right wing. Pierce, using the narrative vehicle of a diary describes the future of America after the passage of the Cohen Act, a law that orders the confiscation of all privately owned firearms in the United States. Earl Turner is the diarist of Pierce's novel who had been captured by the repressive government of the story. Turner manages to escape and begins to document his life in the underground through a series of diaries that are later discovered after the overthrow of the federal government Turner and the revolutionary "Order" had resisted. Many people and organizations believe that the "blueprint" for the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma was laid out in the fictional scenario played out in *The Turner Diaries*. William Pierce denies this connection stating that the plot and the circumstances of his story were simply vehicles to move the action story along. Pierce modeled the America in his novel after contemporary America, one that is decaying from within, having fallen victim to decades of social engineering, unfettered immigration and invasion by illegal aliens, the advent of "civil rights," as well as relative criticism which invites permissiveness in our national social character that results in the deracination of the culture.
- Pranaitis, Rev. I. B (Roman Catholic Priest; Master of Theology and Professor of the Hebrew Language at the Imperial Ecclesiastical Academy of the Roman Catholic Church in Old St. Petersburg). *The Talmud Unmasked: The Secret Rabbinical Teachings Concerning Christians*, St. Petersburg Printing office of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, Old St. Petersburg, 1892. Pranaitis discloses the secret verses of the Talmud, those verses not meant to be read or understood by the Goyim. Through extensive research and cross referencing, Pranaitis reveals the inner thoughts of the ancient Rabbis and the traditions that they past down through the ages as instructions for the Chosen People in dealing with the followers of "the heretic."
- Rabinovitz, Rabbi Chayim Dov. *Law by the Scribes*, Self Published, Jerusalem, 1986. The Reb. Chayim Dov Rabinovitz published his own Midrash (interpretations of The Torah) as a result of its controversial rendering of The Torah.
- Rodkinson, (i.e. Rodkinsohn) Michael. *Translation of the Talmud*, Preface to the, Vol. I. p. x. as Cited in: Nesta H. Webster, "Secret Societies and Subversive Movements" Omni Publications, Eighth edition, 1964 (see Webster, Nesta H. entry). Rodkinson (a.k.a., Rodkinsohn) provides the Hebrew root meaning for words and terms that are used throughout the Talmud and provides a context for those words, terms, and phrases as they relate to the Christian Bible.
- Samuel, Maurice. *You Gentiles*, Harcourt, Brace, New York, 1924. If a Gentile or other non-Jew had written this book it would have been difficult, if not impossible to get

it published, especially by Harcourt and Brace; the age of the book is irrelevant in this context. If David Duke's book *My Awakening* is considered White Supremacist hate literature, then Maurice Samuel's book *You Gentiles* gives credence to Duke's latest book, *Jewish Supremacism*. Maurice Samuel wrote as insightful a book into the psyche of the ethnic group known as Jews as any individual could ever write. Included are a number of excerpts that convey the mood, tone and intent of the book better than any attempt at summary could ever hope to achieve. "When Germany and England and America will long have lost their present identity or purpose, we shall still be strong in ours." (Maurice Samuel, *You Gentiles*, p. 111). "We belong to the One mastering God: you belong to the republic of playful gods." (Maurice Samuel, *You Gentiles*, p. 36). Years of observation and thought have given increasing strength to the belief that we Jews stand apart from you gentiles, that a primal duality breaks the humanity I know into two distinct parts; that this duality is a fundamental, and that all differences among you gentiles are trivialities compared with that which divided all of you from us." (Maurice Samuel, *You Gentiles*, p. 12) I do not believe that the primal difference between gentile and Jew is reconcilable. You and we may come to an understanding, never to a reconciliation. There will be irritation between us as long as we are in intimate contact. For nature and constitution and vision divide us from all of you forever." Maurice Samuel, *You Gentiles*, p. 23). You have your way of life, we ours. In your system of life we are essentially without 'honor.' In our system of life you are essentially without morality. In your system of life we must forever appear graceless; to us you must forever appear godless." (Maurice Samuel, *You Gentiles*, p. 34). Our Jewishness is not a creed, it is ourself, our totality. Indeed, it may be fairly said that the surest evidence of your lack of seriousness in religion is the fact that your religions are not national, that you are not compromised and dedicated, en masse, to the faith." Jew and Gentile are two worlds, between you Gentiles and us Jews there lies an unbridgeable gulf...There are two life forces in the world Jewish and Gentile...I do not believe that this primal difference between Gentile and Jew is reconcilable...The difference between us is abysmal...You might say: 'Well, let us exist side by side and tolerate each other. We will not attack your morality, nor you ours.' But the misfortune is that the two are not merely different; they are opposed in mortal enmity. No man can accept both, or, accepting either, do otherwise than despise the other." (Maurice Samuel, *You Gentiles*, pages 2, 19, 23, 30 and 95) (Maurice Samuel, *You Gentiles*, p. 73). In the heart of any pious Jew, God is a Jew. Is your God an Englishman or an American?" (Maurice Samuel, *You Gentiles*, p. 75).

□ Schmitt, Carl, translated By George Schwab *The Concept of the Political*, University of Chicago Press, 1996 (paper ISBN 0-226-73886-8). As a "political realist," Carl Schmitt begins with the premise that "man is a dangerous and dynamic being." For Schmitt, human nature is problematic to the extreme. This difficult nature manifests itself in man's conceptions of the world and his fellow humans. Recognizing "others" as the enemy, this recognition of other human beings as strangers and not of the fold, implicitly reveals an inherent potential for violence between these aliens. It therefore is incumbent upon the state to properly identify an "enemy" in order for peace and security to be preserved or restored. That the State is liable to inaccurate judgements concerning "enemy recognition" is an accepted hazard in political intercourse. Nevertheless, the risk

must be accepted and choices must be made. Schmitt lays this flaw at the feet of “‘liberal’ political theory” (liberal in the classical sense of the term: the sovereign good of political society is preserving human freedom), one of “ethics” and “morality” as opposed to realistic necessity, a philosophical perspective not dissimilar to that of Niccolò Machiavelli. At the base, Schmitt’s thought is Hegelian. It is the concept that the state represents the ideal. It is a choice between liberalism and politics. For him, “neither democracy nor liberal political philosophy is sufficient for ‘representation.’” That is the underlying principle of Schmitt’s concept of the political.

- Seale, Bobby. *SEIZE THE TIME: The Story of the Black Panther Party and Huey P. Newton*. Arrow, London, 1970. *SEIZE THE TIME* is the story of the *Black Panther Party for Self Defense* as told by co-founder, Bobby Seale. Tape-recorded and written while Seale was being held as a “political prisoner” in the San Francisco County Jail during late 1969 and early 1970, the book was written, as Seale expresses the matter, for an example of “the African and African American age-old resistance to racism and class oppression.” Seale carefully sets out the details of his “consecutive, racist, political trials that [he] eventually won.” Seale also recalls the four hour long siege between the Black Panthers and law enforcement authorities that resulted in the imprisonment of a number of Black Panthers.
- Shahak, Israel & Mezvinsky, Norton. *Jewish Fundamentalism in Israel*, Pluto Press, London, 1999. Norton Mezvinsky is a Professor of History at Central Connecticut State University. Israel Shahak was raised in the Warsaw Ghetto and survived the camp of Bergen-Belsen. From 1945, the time that he arrived in Palestine until Shahak died there, he was a vocal human rights activist and critic of the state of Israel. Their book, written from a critical perspective of fundamentalist in Israel, investigates the various factions of fundamentalism at work in that nation today. Appropriately then, the authors perceive the assassination of Prime Minister Rabin as following in the tradition of retribution against those Jews considered as heretics. Arguing that Jewish fundamentalism is antagonistic toward democratic ideals, as a result of its opposition to equalitarianism, Shahak and Mezvinsky believe that it poses a significant threat to the growth of democracy in Israel. The authors propose that in order to comprehend a workable peace in the Middle East, the world must therefore understand Jewish fundamentalism.
- Simpson, William Gayley. *Which Way Western Man?* National Alliance Publishing, Arlington, Virginia, 1978. Simpson offers the definitive account for the decline of modern Western civilization that details the degenerative causes and effects of multiculturalism, multiracialism and the loss of a homogenous racial society. Simpson reaches back into ancient, as well as, near modern history to provide examples of the decline of empire after empire that was precipitated by the intermingling of disparate races. The author presents extensive evidence to support his thesis while declaring that any race that does not seek to preserve its unique and separate identity is doomed to extinction.

- ❑ Solzhenitsyn, Alexander. *August 1914*. This book was banned in the Soviet Union. Set at the entry of Imperial Russia into WWI, the novel covers the grand panorama of events surrounding Russian's part in that conflict. The nation has not kept itself abreast of technological advances in communications. As a consequence, the Army is surrounded and defeated. The story told from the perspective of Colonel Vorotyntsey, finds the Officer watching helplessly as cavalry Officer, General Samsonov commits to one military blunder after another. As his army crumbles around him, the General shoots himself to avoid the humiliation of defeat and capture. Set in the Battle of Tannenburg, these Officers represent the lengths men will go to in order to conceal the truth. They serve as metaphors for the dying Czarist regime and the Soviet system that would follow it with its brutal repression and corruption of the truth. Moving from the battlefield to the Capitol Palace and from the Romanovs to V. I. Lenin, the reader is carried forward as the Russian peasant soldier is inexorably forced into confronting circumstances he can hardly comprehend. The Bolsheviks would not be denied, neither would history. This is also the story of a signal period of time, one that had the most significant impact on the coming Soviet State.
- ❑ Swain, Carol M. *The New White Nationalism in America: Its Challenge to Integration*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, MA., 2002. Professor of Law and Political Science at Vanderbilt University, Carol Swain offers her perspective as a black woman on the efforts of the “Fifth-era Ku Klux Klan and other white nationalists” to “mainstream” their message to the white-middle class of America. Swain discusses such topics as black on white crime rates, the flaws, from a black perspective of affirmative action, and the means and methods whereby white nationalists attempt to capitalize on white middle-class disenchantment with those issues. Swain claims to seek “an open and honest dialogue concerning the issue of race relations in America today,” but laments the impediment of “political correctness” and the fear that white have of being labeled as racists if they speak openly and honestly on that subject. Professor Swain suggests that only by the setting aside of politically correct limitations can there be any chance for this dialogue she seeks. As she expresses the concept, it is the means for short-circuiting the opportunistic arguments of white nationalists who are unafraid of the charge of racism and consequently speak up about the racial problems in America today.
- ❑ Tucker, Robert C; Edited by Norton, W. W. *The Marx Engels Reader*, Second Edition, 1978. One of several compilations of the works of Marx and Engels, Tucker’s edition offers the most salient essays by both Marx and Engels. Ranging from “The German Ideology,” and “On The Jewish Question,” to “The Communist Manifesto,” and “The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844,” this reader presents the main body of doctrine that Marx and Engels wrote outside of the three volumes of *Das Kapital*, the third of which Engels is credited with completing from Marx’s notes and *The Grudrisse*. This should be the starting point for any student of the works of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.
- ❑ Vinson, John. “Europhobia: The Racism of Anti-Racists” *The Social Contract*, Volume 8, No. 4, Summer 1998, p. 290. John Vinson: President of the American

*Immigration Control Foundation (AICF).* In his 1998 article, Vinson documents the increasing hostility and violence toward Western Europeans in general and European Americans specifically perpetrated by those who claim to be “anti-racists.” Drawing from remarks made at public engagements, Vinson accounts for the language that sets the tone for verbal and physical abuse against White Western Europeans and White European Americans. Vinson’s is the increasingly outspoken voice of European and European Americans who will no longer be vilified and brutalized because of a gratuitous “white-guilt.”

- Walzer, Michael. *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument With Historical Illustrations*, Third Edition, Basic Books, 387 Park Avenue south, New York, N. Y., 2000. Michael Walzer presents the position that “the argument about war and justice is still a political and moral necessity.” Beginning with the assumption that just as individuals have a right to self-defense, Professor Walzer applies that same principle to the behavior of nations. Looking as far back as the Athenian assault on Melos, to the headlines of 21<sup>st</sup> Century newspapers, Walzer interweaves the statements of policy makers and those who suffer the results of those decisions into his examination of the moral issues surrounding warfare. While focusing on the issue of pre-emptive warfare, Walzer addresses “moral relativism” and the justifications necessary for any nation to strike before being stricken by another country. From this positivist vantage-point, Walzer proposes that if there is enough evidence to conclude, beyond a reasonable doubt that one nation is about to attack another, then it is morally and ethically acceptable for the intended victim to strike first in their own defense. Appropriately the, it is a standard of eminent attack that is the scale that allows one nation to act defensively by initiating offensive actions against a clear belligerent. Dr. Walzer uses the example of the Israeli Six-Day in order to illustrate his point. Terrorist practitioners or those who harbor, aid, and abet terrorists are not lawful combatants, they are criminals who attack not only military but also civilian targets. As a consequence their actions cannot be justified by any criteria and they have removed themselves from any acceptable standard of conduct. When captured, they must be tried as war criminals, criminals that assault the dignity of humanity and deserve the harshest punishment possible as a result. Walzer however, makes a clear distinction between terrorism and guerilla warfare, considering guerilla warfare as a moral adjunct to more conventional means for waging war.
- Webster, Nesta Helen (Beven). *"Secret Societies and Subversive Movements"* Omni Publications, Eighth edition, 1964. Ms. Webster (1867-1960) records the path of Free Masonry from the earliest times of Pythagoras leading up to the Jewish Cabala of the Talmud and the many interpretative off shoots of that work: Sepher Yetzirah, Sepher-Ha-Zohar, etc., etc. Webster does not mince words and she is unabashed in her subjective perceptions of the Jews, although she does afford them as often “being more intellectual than their persecutors.” Her text ranges from a review of the Gnostic Gospels, to the internal struggles of Islam, and segues into a section covering that religions involvement with the Knights Templar, the Crusades, the Rosicrucians, into the Grand Lodge Era, and then into the time of Adam Weishaupt and the Bavarian Illuminati, and the French Revolution. This trail then leads to the Modern Era of Free Masonry with its close

relative Continental Masonry, then to Theosophy, and finally into the openly subversive movements of Bolshevism, Socialism, and Communism. Webster chastises followers of the Talmud, in preference to the Bible because the former leads to Jewish Cabalism. Webster believed that:

*...we deal with a mythology which even at its height was denounced on rational and empirical grounds and is clearly nonsense. Why then, were such ideas effective? Why are books embodying them still finding audiences? All these fears rest on simplifying, dramatising visions of politics. In the background there is still a belief in hidden manipulation. Those who hold them have abandoned some of the stage machinery, but the plot is the same. All human institutions can be described in terms of function, mythologies as much as any other. They are all responses to a need to master reality. Secret Societies and Subversive Movements.*

- Webster, Fr. Alexander F. C., Cole, Dr. Darrel. *The Virtue of War: Reclaiming the Classic Christian Traditions East & West*, Regina Orthodox Press, Inc., Salisbury, MA., 2004. Webster and Cole compare the Eastern and Western Orthodox positions concerning just war theory as a means for reestablishing the West's justification for self defense and for preemptive warfare.
- Wiggershaus, Rolf. *The Frankfurt School: Its History, Theories, and Political Significance* Third Edition, Translated by Michael Robertson, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1998. Wiggershaus painstakingly chronicles not only the historical path of the Frankfurt Institute of Social Research but also the ideological origins and progression of this little known yet highly influential German-Marxist organization that has changed the face of Western social and political institutions over a short span of 60 years. Commonly known as the Frankfurt School, this proto-Marxist think tank was forced out of Germany in 1932 by the National Socialist Workers Party. Leaving behind Walter Benjamin, who died of a self-administered overdose of morphine, Max Horkheimer, Theodore Adorno, Max Kirchheimer, Eric Fromm (who was not formally a member of the Institute), and Herbert Marcuse emigrated to America where they began to apply their loosely amalgamated program of "critical theory" to the social and political institutions of the United States. The nation has not been the same since. Eric Fromm and Herbert Marcuse became the poster boys for the radical left during the 1960's. Marcuse was instrumental in the formulation of the "Student Anti-War" and "Berkeley Free Speech" movements. Marcuse had been a professor at Brandies University. When his contract was not renewed he moved to California and taught at the University of California in San Diego, and finally gaining tenure at the University of California at Berkeley. Max Horkheimer and Theodore Adorno had come to the west coast from the Washington, D. C. area where Marcuse had been an employee of the U. S. State Department. In California the Horkheimer and Adorno had become involved in the motion picture industry, spreading their Marxist influence in an enterprise that was already overexposed to that philosophical outlook as it was. After the defeat of Germany, Horkheimer and Adorno returned to Germany and resumed their original efforts at transforming Western Europe into their vision of a better tomorrow. The destructive

results of their influence are apparent in the existence of political correctness, radical feminism, identity politics, affirmative action, homosexual rights, and a host of other social solvents that eat away at the fabric of American society today.

- Zawodny, J. K. *Man and International Relations*, Volume I: Conflict, Chandler Publishing Co., 124 Spear Street, San Francisco, California, 1966. A former textbook utilized in the Political Science Department of California State University, Chico, Zawodny's publication offers a mid-twentieth century perspective on the United States and the Soviet Union during some of the peak years of the Cold-War.