

Bring the War Home

The White Power Movement and Paramilitary America

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Harvard University Press Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England | 2018

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Printed in the United States of America

Second Printing

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Belew, Kathleen, 1981– author.

Title: Bring the war home : the white power movement and paramilitary
America / Kathleen Belew.

Description: Cambridge, Massachusetts : Harvard University Press, 2018. |
Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2017041043 | ISBN 9780674286078
(hardcover : alk. paper)

Subjects: LCSH: White supremacy movements—United States—History. |
Paramilitary forces—United States—History. | Vietnam War,
1961–1975—Veterans—United States. | United States—Race relations.

Classification: LCC HS2325 .B45 2018 | DDC 320.56/909073—dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2017041043>

For G. and O., with all my best hopes

Race War and White Women

The mothers of future Aryan warriors.

—Confederate Leader, *July 1985*



Louis Beam carries his wife, Sheila Beam, after his acquittal on federal seditious conspiracy charges, Fort Smith, Arkansas, 1988. (Danny Johnston, Associated Press Photo)

IN 1987, the federal government indicted fourteen white power movement leaders and activists on federal charges including seditious conspiracy. To convict, the prosecutor would have to prove that “two or more persons . . . conspire[d] to overthrow, put down, or destroy by force the Government of the United States, or to levy war against” it.¹ At the ensuing trial in Fort Smith, Arkansas, prosecutors presented extensive evidence of linkages between white power groups and of their plans for violence. Witnesses testified that the movement had declared a race war that targeted both civilians and the federal government. Attorneys presented physical evidence including stolen military weapons, extensive armament, and more.² Despite a compelling case, the jury delivered no convictions, and white power activists proclaimed a major victory. The 1988 acquittals at Fort Smith were, in one sense, a product of the organization and strategies of the white power movement, including cell-style organizing and a broad paramilitary infrastructure. But they also indicated the centrality of women to the movement. The trial revealed the movement’s deep dependence on social connections, often brokered by women. Acquittal also turned upon the systematic invocation of a primal American story about defending white women. The Fort Smith acquittals can be better understood through a close analysis of the symbolic invocation of women within white power ideology, and the activism and performance—that is to say, the public actions that embodied symbolic and political meaning—of women in the movement.

The defendants, many of whom represented themselves, tapped into a deeply rooted and powerful rhetoric about protecting white female bodies, one that found easy traction not only in the white power movement but among many other Americans. In the purportedly colorblind 1980s, the rhetorical defense of white women from miscegenation, racial pollution, and other dangers continued to structure the worldview not only of white power movement activists but also of several jurors as well as the mainstream media coverage that shaped the trial’s public perception. Danger to civilians, though clearly evinced, failed to move the jury as much as the rhetoric deployed by the defense. That the war on the state would be told as a love story within the white power movement is hardly surprising: narratives of the defense of white women and, by extension, white children and domestic spaces have been deployed to justify violence throughout U.S. history.³ That two defendants formed romantic relationships with jurors after the trial indicates that

white power rhetoric held a romantic appeal for some people in broader American society.

To be sure, the symbolic function of white female bodies was more starkly rendered in white power publications than in the mainstream. In one representative example, a 1985 white power pen illustration reimagined the nativity, showing a blond and blue-eyed Mary, Joseph, and infant Jesus surrounded by white-robed Klansmen on one side of the manger and uniformed neo-Nazis on the other. In the background, a burning cross and a swastika flag framed the Star of Bethlehem. Distributed by Aryan Nations and signed by a woman, the sketch placed the Virgin Mary at the epicenter of the unified white power movement. It used the white female body, powerful through its fertility, to symbolize a mythologized white history and theology.⁴ Indeed, a cult of motherhood framed a wave of cultural representations of women in the white power movement and their real and imagined place within a movement usually understood through the lens of paramilitary masculinity.

However, the work of real white women was equally important both to movement formation, activism, and violence and to the outcome of the Fort Smith trial. Women's activism, while consciously antifeminist in the sense that women almost uniformly avoided leadership roles and combat, worked to forge the social ties that bound the movement, to support the war on the state waged through men's violence, and to perform white womanhood in ways that carried direct appeals both to the mainstream and to juries.

White power activists codified their ideas about gender in the middle of a nationally charged debate about the place of women in American society. The women's movements of the 1960s and 1970s had put forward radical claims for equality in the home and workplace, reproductive rights, and freedom from sexual violence. The Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), passed by Congress in 1972, failed to receive ratification by the states in no small part because of its purported threat of drafting women into military service and emasculating men, and by the early 1980s, its ratification seemed increasingly unlikely in the face of an ascendant conservative movement.⁵ The 1973 *Roe vs. Wade* Supreme Court decision had legalized abortion but had also inflamed a debate about that issue that would prove enormously generative for social conservatives and a rising tide of evangelical voters.⁶

Ideas about women, sexuality, and birth in this period were deeply intertwined with racial ideology, and not just on the fringe. American white su-

premacy had long depended upon the policing of white women's bodies. In order to propagate a white race, white women had to bear white children. While white men's sexual relationships with nonwhite women mattered less to white supremacists, especially if such activity was secretive, profitable, or part of systematic violence against communities of color, for a white woman to bear nonwhite children was tantamount to racial annihilation.⁷ The prohibition of interracial marriage has defined the world's most entrenched racist regimes, and sexual threats to white female bodies have been used to justify the strictest anti-miscegenation laws in the United States. Such bans multiplied and intensified through the first half of the twentieth century, with legislation and enforcement peaking when their intended subjects were white women.⁸

Before the white power movement's unification, the civil rights movement had dismantled legal segregation and made overt racism and segregation less socially acceptable. The landmark *Loving vs. Virginia* Supreme Court decision rendered anti-miscegenation laws unconstitutional in 1967, and public opinion polls showed that Americans not only rapidly came to disapprove of such bans but also quickly forgot that a majority had held them dear just a few years earlier. However, social issues that were related to white women's sexuality, reproduction, and motherhood but typically described without explicitly racist terminology—including opposition to busing, abortion, contraception, welfare, and immigration—appealed well beyond the white power movement. They extended to the mainstream New Right base and mobilized suburbanites in the political center. The continued focus on policing white women's sexuality and reproduction in the post-Vietnam War era indicates the tacit presence of white supremacy in many social issues that remained important to the New Right in the 1980s and 1990s, and belies the idea of a colorblind mainstream.⁹

In white power publications, social issues with implicit relationships to white women's bodies in mainstream society were made emphatically explicit. White power activists claimed that the Zionist Occupational Government (ZOG) wanted to abort white babies, admit immigrants, allow people of color to have unlimited children on the government's welfare dime, allow black men to rape white women, and encourage interracial marriages—all of this, they said, to destroy the white race. In this context, the wombs of white women became battlegrounds.¹⁰

Rather than weakening or disappearing after the legislative and social changes of the civil rights and women's movements, ideas of the pure and chaste white female body remained powerful in the 1980s. The accompanying mythic villain, the black rapist, still appeared regularly in post-Vietnam War white power publications, even as movement rhetoric and violence increasingly used anticommunism as an alibi for racial violence. The Klan newspaper *Thunderbolt*, among others, ran a regular column featuring true-crime stories of the gruesome rape and murder of white women and girls at the hands of black assailants. This feature ran next to a "Sick Photo of the Month," which usually pictured interracial couples or biracial children, implying the interchangeability and equal repulsiveness of rape, miscegenation, and interracial reproduction.¹¹

Protection of white women and their reproductive capacity represented one ideology motivating white power activists to wage war. The future of the white race, activists believed, rested with the mothers of white children. In the movement, this went far beyond anti-miscegenation to the demand that every white woman attempt to bear children. One widely circulated photograph portrayed a white woman sitting on a sand dune before a bank of reeds, long hair draped over her shoulder, nursing a white infant. The sun-drenched, tranquil image appeared with a bold-faced headline: "What We Fight For" or "Fight for White Rights!" The innocent white mother and child symbolized the race under siege. As one caption in the neo-Nazi newspaper *White Power* declared, "If this woman doesn't have three or more children during her lifetime she is helping to speed her Race along the road to extinction."¹²

Significantly, members of the terrorist group the Order encircled a white female infant as they took their membership oath; her body symbolized innocence, but also future fertility. As one Order pamphlet read, "It is recommended that no kinsman be put in combat situations, i.e. raise their sword against ZOG, until he has planted his seed in the belly of a woman. The same for kinswomen, if possible, they should bear at least one warrior before putting their own life on the line." Characterizing birth as intimately tied to the battle at hand, the pamphlet worked to increase the policing of white female bodies, positioning women as mothers first and race warriors second.¹³

White power leaders embraced this pro-natalism with urgency, going so far as to advocate polygamy in hopes of an increased birthrate among move-

ment women. Order leader Bob Mathews, for instance, could not have biological children with his wife, Debbie Mathews, and started a relationship with Zillah Craig, eventually having a child with her. As the movement turned toward open war on the state, several of its leaders emphasized that pro-natalism had become more important than a traditional family structure, and even described the birth of each white child as an act of war.¹⁴

In the early 1980s, a key development in movement strategy would intensify the emphasis on the reproductive capacity of white women. Activists and leaders called for a "Northwest Imperative," urging white separatists to migrate to the Pacific Northwest and establish an all-white homeland there by producing a large white population. The idea of separatism attempted to appeal to a broader audience. People could say they were "separatist," rather than use older, volatile labels such as "segregationist" or "white supremacist," just as they could replace "racist" with the pseudo-scientific "racialist."¹⁵ Many people across the political spectrum shared the white power movement's concerns about demographic shifts and about the waning white majority. The idea of separatism facilitated recruitment even as the movement prepared for and waged race war.

White power activists had long proposed sites where they might attempt to establish a white homeland. *The Turner Diaries* had outlined a California enclave reaching from the U.S.-Mexico border to 150 miles north of Los Angeles, bounded by the Sierra Madre and the Mojave Desert. Activists in the South called for a "Carolina Free State" that would unite North and South Carolina and expel all people of color. The paramilitary Christian Patriots Defense League, likely in affiliation with the white separatist compound the Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord, proposed a "Mid-America Survival Area" that would extend from eastern Colorado to West Virginia and Georgia, and between latitudes drawn just south of Chicago to the southern border of Oklahoma. David Duke advocated a more comprehensive racial partitioning, with designated areas for a black "New Africa" in the South; a Jewish "West Israel" on the East Coast; a Latino/a "Alta California" in the Southwest; and a designated "White Bastion" in the remainder of the country.¹⁶

White power leaders in the 1980s, however, set their sights on something simpler, a territory they believed they could realistically seize, populate, and defend. "All we heretics ask for is the northwestern part of the USA," wrote Mountain Church leader Robert Miles. "Let us pull away in peace. . . . We

are not asking for very much. Just ten percent. Just a geographical tithe in return for which, you have peace and so do we." Miles implied that the state would have to concede a white homeland in order to avoid race war.¹⁷

The Northwest, Miles claimed, was the only section of the nation that could still be salvaged for the white race. He argued that Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming, at 493,782 square miles, had a population of less than ten million people, mostly white. He proposed a refuge for white separatists, "a sanctuary for our Folk . . . since we are an endangered species in America." Miles wrote that the Northwest had everything the movement required: space free of "hostiles, indifferents or aliens," a coast, mountains, water, vacant land, a definable border, and "the warmth of the temperate zones but the cold which our Folk require in order to thrive." He believed that Mexicans were overrunning the Southwest in a peaceful but "total and final" invasion, and that the South was already lost—too racially mixed and too close to the Jewish- and politician-dominated East Coast. Meanwhile, a territory in the center of the country would be militarily indefensible, with no outlet to the sea. The Northwest was not just the white separatist homeland of choice, then, but the movement's last hope.¹⁸

White power leaders and activists across the country embraced the idea of Northwest migration and the founding of an all-white nation. Miles claimed his call to migrate was reprinted in "a dozen different publications," including *Calling Our Nation*, the *Inter-Klan Newsletter and Survival Alert*, *Instauration*, and *National Vanguard*, and was reprinted as a standalone pamphlet with 15,000 copies.¹⁹ Richard Butler advocated the migration, as did the movement faithful to whom he preached at the Aryan Nations compound at Hayden Lake, Idaho.²⁰ White Aryan Resistance (WAR) leader Tom Metzger echoed Miles in romanticizing the Northwest. "To the eyes of WAR members from Southern California, the Northwest area was a truly refreshing and beautiful site," Metzger wrote. "The spirit of the cowboy and the woman pioneer are everywhere evident as tall, mostly Nordic Aryans ranch and farm while their children ride horseback. . . . [T]he prices for food and clothing are fully 10 to 40% cheaper than in other areas."²¹

Just as Metzger's invocation of "the cowboy and the woman pioneer" reinscribed gender expectations for women in the white power movement, it also fit into a longer narrative of romanticization of the West. In its mainstream use, this story elided the genocide of Native Americans by describing the West as an empty land ripe for those who sought economic opportunity

and didn't fear hard work and harsh conditions.²² Movement leaders who chose the Northwest ignored long-established chains of migration that had shaped the region and which would continue to bring Asians to Seattle and Portland and Latinas and Latinos to agricultural areas such as Washington's Yakima Valley through the 1980s.²³ Instead, the movement focused on largely white areas like northern Idaho. Butler built the Aryan Nations compound in Kootenai County, where, according to the 1980 U.S. Census, the population of 59,770 people included only 39 black residents, 197 Asians, 753 Hispanics, and 467 Native Americans. The director of the Chamber of Commerce in nearby Coeur d'Alene estimated "maybe half a dozen" Jewish residents.²⁴ White power leaders waxed poetic about the beautiful scenery—winding mountain roads, pine-covered hills, and brilliant blue lakes. So did journalists covering the movement migration:

Here . . . nature has crafted a landscape beautiful enough to make you weep. Tall pines scrape the sky, reflected in cool, mirror-clear lakes. Mountains and valleys are dusted in Christmas-card snow, like powdered sugar. Everything is dipped in a piercing blue light, at rest and quiet.²⁵

White power migrants worked as loggers, in mines and cement plants, and in the small economy of publication, recruitment, and armament generated by the Aryan Nations compound itself.

At the 1986 Aryan Nations World Congress, Miles pressed activists to pack up and move. He preached that the Northwest nation for whites would be won not by violence or treaty but by migration and reproduction.²⁶ Revolution, he said, would be made "not with guns, not with violence, but with love for each other. We will flood the Northwest with white babies and white children so there is no question who this land belongs to. We are going to outbreed each other." Miles added that this strategy should allow "as many husbands and wives as required" for each white woman to bear five to ten white children.²⁷

According to movement rhetoric, white women would be delighted with their task of bearing and raising white warriors. As Butler wrote in 1984, "The thoughts of Aryan woman are dominated by the desire to enter family life. Aryan woman brings true love and affection and a happy, well-run home to refresh and inspire her man. The world of contented womanhood is made of family: husband, children and home . . . No Equal Rights Amendment

or National Organization for Women buttons allowed." This antifeminist, domestic, and subservient role for white women was paired with strictly white-only sexual relationships. "Miscegenation," Miles admonished, "is the ultimate abomination and violation of the law of God."²⁸

In some ways, the white power movement's emphasis on motherhood mirrored similar currents in both mainstream New Right conservatism and American culture at large. The American housewife had become iconic in the 1950s as Cold War conservatives intertwined populism and antistatism with domesticity. These roles shaped and delimited the grassroots women's activism that gave rise to the New Right.²⁹ Populist housewives framed essentialist notions of gender, particularly in their claim that mothers were uniquely suited to the task of vigilance in crusades against the conflated enemies of communism, internationalism, expert knowledge, and race-mixing.³⁰ The housewife populists of the Cold War had, by the 1980s, influenced and populated the New Right.

Between 1960 and 1980, meanwhile, motherhood itself became a central and highly racialized issue in American Cold War politics. A lower average age of marriage and rigid gender norms harmonized with a nationalist push for white women to stay home and reproduce. Bearing and rearing free white children defined good citizenship for American women, and proponents of hereditarianism and population control sought to limit birth rates among women of color. Those who supported school segregation, restrictions on welfare and public housing, tough-on-crime policing, and mandatory sterilization (largely aimed at poor women of color), as well as those who opposed immigration and overpopulation, all justified their positions by invoking the hyperfertile bodies of nonwhite women. Anxieties about rising nonwhite birth rates mingled with those about school desegregation and the sexual revolution.³¹

White power pro-natalism and the symbolic importance of women's reproduction became distilled in Order member David Lane's slogan, penned in prison and widely circulated within the movement: "We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children." This reproductive mandate, which quickly became known as "Fourteen Words," was linked to the sexual availability of white women. After Lane's arrest, Butler offered white women as a reward for his activism, assuring the Aryan Nations congregation that "there will be many wives waiting for Brother Lane when he walks out of ZOG's prison."³² Indeed, while incarcerated, Lane married and

also wrote several poems for the *White Aryan Resistance* about the beauty of white women.³³

The Turner Diaries also offered a template for white power women's activism within a cell-style organization and race war. The novel described a role of subservience and purity for white women, often by drawing on familiar tropes. One pivotal scene—the public lynching of men and women in interracial relationships, the women marked with "race traitor" signs—emphasized the violent policing of sexually transgressive white women. The novel's protagonist, Earl Turner, begins his racist activism as part of a cell including two other men and one woman, Katherine. She comes to life as a character only through her sexual relationship with Turner—he never speaks to her or thinks about her until then. Turner describes her as an ideal racist woman, devoted both to him and to race war: "She is an affectionate, sensitive, and very feminine girl beneath the cool, professional exterior she has always maintained." Katherine, though an activist, resides in a terrain demarcated as female, writing and editing her own women's quarterly.³⁴

Although Katherine soon refuses to be "nothing but a cook and housekeeper" for the rest of the cell members, gender norms—and the expectation that her ultimate function will be to sexually reward Turner and bear white children—shape her role as revolutionary combatant.³⁵ She takes supportive rather than violent action: disguising the men and driving getaway cars. Meanwhile, sexual danger to white women is the force that drives the Organization to race war. At one point, a black man accosts and nearly rapes Katherine. Her monogamy and her protection by white men mark Katherine as a good woman; she remains safe from assault, and when Turner lands in prison, she waits faithfully for him.³⁶

Symbolic invocations of endangered white women by male leaders and activists provided a crucial rhetorical tool for consolidating and directing white power activism and for making appeals to the mainstream. Several accounts of paramilitary masculinity examine women only in this symbolic register.³⁷ While male movement leaders wrote romantically about the beauty of white women and made pen sketches of topless white women bearing semi-automatic weapons for recruitment stickers, however, the cause required the work of women themselves.³⁸

To be sure, the paramilitary structure of the movement meant that men held all leadership roles and that women's activism was circumscribed.

✓ Movement discourse regularly objectified women. Even when women donned their own camouflage fatigues and marched for themselves, as they did in the White Patriot Party, leaders still viewed them as "the mothers of future Aryan warriors" and objects of sexual reward. "Look-a-here, yaw'll," proclaimed one caption in the *Confederate Leader* under a photograph of a blond woman in camouflage fatigues. "We've got the best looking gals too. 20% of the White Patriot Party is female—Serving proudly to further our cause."³⁹ The double meaning of "serving" emphasized both military and sexual service by women. This recruitment tactic, which may have overstated the female membership of the group, appealed to men but foreclosed the possibility that women might become white power soldiers in their own right.

Although movement rhetoric often reduced women to mute symbols, maternal or sexual, male activists within the movement needed real white women to validate men's activism both rhetorically and practically. The wives of white power activists played critical roles in establishing the credibility of their husbands. Butler and Miles both used their long marriages as evidence of good character within the movement and, when prosecuted, in court. Butler said he once discovered an informant because the man, suspiciously, didn't bring his wife to church on the Aryan Nations compound.⁴⁰ So, too, could women jeopardize the war on the state: the wife of Order member Denver Parmenter, for instance, disapproved of her husband's activism and criminal activities. She prohibited the Order from using her infant daughter in the membership oath ritual—and she may have eventually influenced Parmenter to testify against the group.⁴¹

For some women who rose to prominence within the movement during these years, relationships to men worked to validate these roles: some spoke as widows, others as wives, and others as promised objects of sexual reward for white male warriors. Debbie Mathews, for instance, became a regular speaker at white power events as the honored widow of Bob Mathews after his death; David Lane's wife, Katja Lane, rose to prominence in the movement after their marriage by trading heavily on his status as a "prisoner of war."⁴²

Some wives of prominent leaders also rose in the movement by forming racist women's organizations affiliated with groups run by their husbands, following a long tradition of Klanswomen's auxiliaries.⁴³ Kathleen Metzger ran the suburban Aryan Women's League in the late 1980s, which published a considerable amount of material in its own name while her husband Tom

Metzger's WAR dominated white power activities in California. Several of her publications referred to the frustration of league members at getting "no respect from the men" and having "no place in the movement." However, the league still proposed activities that hinged on traditional ideas of a woman's sphere and—even more important, as one flier proclaimed—as "BEARERS OF THE FUTURE WHITE RACE!"⁴⁴

The Aryan Women's League located its concerns within the bounds of home and family, a terrain marked in the movement as feminine.⁴⁵ Members started a coupon-sharing program to lower grocery bills in order to raise contributions for the race war, and produced racist and antisemitic coloring books for white children. They advocated homeschooling, fearing corruption, Jewish content, and race-mixing in public schools. They discussed memorialization for fallen movement soldiers.⁴⁶

The league strongly emphasized the support of white infants. One flier showed a white child in pajamas, standing on top of a tiny Earth, holding a teddy bear in one hand and giving a Nazi salute with the other. The flier had blank spaces in which to write the name of a newborn white child and his or her parents, and instructed supporters to send them a dollar, thus creating a network of economic support for new families. The league followed these announcements with courteous thank-you letters about the development of each sponsored child, also enclosing more birth announcements and calling for further donations. "Yes, the baby boom for the Aryan race is here!" the letter declared. "Let us promote it!"⁴⁷

In addition to running their own organizations and producing their own printed materials, women in the white power movement worked extensively in the social sphere, contributing to the building and maintenance of social networks, recruitment, the production and circulation of family-oriented cultural products like recipes and homeschooling materials, and the social normalization of young activists.⁴⁸ However, their role remained limited by the rigidly patriarchal and paramilitary structure of the white power movement, both in top-down leadership by men like Beam, Butler, and Miles, and in local operations of male-led cells.

In the war on the state, women were expected to bear future white warriors, train as nurses to heal the wounded, prepare stores of food and other supplies to sustain white people through apocalyptic race war, and carry out support work. Women attended—and even co-owned—paramilitary camps, but while the men trained in weapons, urban warfare, and demolition

tactics, most of the women learned survivalist strategies such as canning, making their own soap and shampoo, and how best to prevent radiation poisoning in the event of nuclear war.⁴⁹ In cells, women did support work including disguising male activists and driving getaway cars, destroying documents, transporting people and weapons, designing medallions meant to identify group members, and proofreading major movement tracts such as the Order's Declaration of War (a role that may also have created opportunities for women to make substantive contributions to such writings).⁵⁰

Women's participation worked to broaden and reaffirm the wide variety of activists incorporated within the unified white power movement, even bridging cultural divides between separatist housewives (survivalist and Christian Identity rural and suburban activists) and younger, urban skinheads. The separatist housewife discourse as written by women appears most clearly in *Christian Patriot Women*, published regularly in the late 1980s by June Johnston, a homemaker in rural Wyoming. Notably, neither Johnston nor her husband has an archival presence beyond this publication, and she may have been an invented character or a pseudonym. Nevertheless, *Christian Patriot Women* was intended for real movement women; like the Aryan Women's League, it framed its message with images, language, and topics defined by the movement as feminine and included practical information for survivalist homemaking. Johnston adorned her photocopied publication with clip-art roses and butterflies. She ran inspirational quotes and witticisms—"What to wear for 'safe sex'? A wedding ring!"—and a regular column of charming things her children said, titled "From the Mouths of Little Aryans." She also coordinated a letter-writing and fundraising campaign to support the widows of white men killed or imprisoned in the war on the state, and wrote and republished articles on a host of incendiary rumors such as stories of white women being forced to have abortions and claims that oral contraception advocates plotted to lower the white birth rate. *Christian Patriot Women* opposed the ERA and abortion and defined good womanhood through Proverbs 31, a biblical passage that outlines the attributes of a submissive, godly wife and emphasizes obedience.⁵¹

Johnston also sought to prepare her readers for apocalyptic race war as foretold by Christian Identity. She shared recipes for food, but also for soap, lotion, and other things women would need to make for themselves. "We must get this knowledge back . . . or we'll never be free of 'the system,'" she wrote, self-consciously quoting *The Turner Diaries*. Johnston regularly en-

treated readers to grow and can their own food, and to hoard store-bought food and clean water: "Life could get pretty [bad] in a very short period of time. We need food, clothing, shelter, and . . . arms!" Johnston framed this call by referencing the "New World Order," connecting the paramilitary white power movement of the 1980s to the budding militia movement that used the term much as the old guard had used "ZOG" to claim that an international conspiracy had taken control of the government. Despite the feminine aesthetic and domestic slant of the journal, it attempted to prepare women for an apocalyptic "hideous upcoming battle." Johnston conceded that even her women readers must prepare to bear arms: "Probably more of us will have to 'man the guns' than has been the case back through history. . . . We must be prepared, WELL PREPARED."⁵²

As survivalist housewives like Johnston prepared for a coming apocalyptic battle with the state, women also appeared among the groundswell of skinhead activists drawn to the movement in the late 1980s. Skinheads presented the most direct cultural challenge to white power leadership. Leaders who had long abhorred drugs, alcohol, and tattoos had to adjust their rhetoric to appeal to this new group of urban recruits. Skinhead women typically wore their hair short or shaved, wore heavy makeup, and adopted androgynous postures and behaviors. Strikingly, even within skinhead publications, both male and female white power activists insisted on motherhood as a woman's most important contribution to the movement, although they rendered it differently. In 1991, for instance, the neo-Nazi SS Action Group advertised with a pen drawing of a skinhead couple and child. The woman wears a plaid miniskirt; though a mother, she holds the baby against her flat, muscular chest. Her face signals nothing soft or nurturing about motherhood.⁵³

Even violent skinhead fighters defined themselves as mothers. In one interview with the Chicago zine *Right as Reina*, skinhead woman and *Bay Aryan* publisher Jessica (no last name given) recounted an incident in which a man attacked one of her friends with a loaded gun. Only sixteen years old at the time, she rushed the attacker, daring him to shoot her. She proudly remembered getting a reputation for being "crazy," a positive attribute in violent skinhead culture. "But my primary interests lie closer to the heart," Jessica said, to conclude her story. "I take care of my family (husband and baby) and try to be a model Aryan wife and mother."⁵⁴

The emphasis on white women's reproduction was so powerful that it worked as a unifying force for activists with dramatic—perhaps otherwise

insurmountable—cultural differences. Motherhood spanned the distance between housewife populism and paramilitary violence. Even *Right as Reina*, which often included semi-sexualized images of young girls and was by no means directed toward women, carried birth announcements.⁵⁵

Women in the white power movement would shape the sedition trial, both because of the symbolic invocation of their bodies as terrain in need of defense, and because of the work real women did in forming the movement, furthering its war on the state, and performing white womanhood to garner sympathy from jurors and the public. This worked precisely because the movement story about women's purity resonated with mainstream Americans. White power women were both symbols of and actors in a common struggle: to protect white women's chastity and racial reproduction and, with it, the future of whiteness itself.

The Fort Smith trial represented a major change in the prosecution of white power violence. Before 1985, those who committed such acts of violence were often either not prosecuted by local, state, or federal authorities or acquitted at trial. The failure to convict the Greensboro gunmen in two criminal trials or to levy any real penalties upon them in a civil trial showed this most clearly.⁵⁶ Indeed, efforts undertaken by outside groups—namely, the lawsuits filed by the Southern Poverty Law Center—had done far more to slow the white power movement than had any criminal trial or state action. While criminal proceedings against violent racist actors failed to produce convictions in Greensboro, and racketeering prosecutions of Order members resulted in only piecemeal success, civil proceedings more effectively hobbled hate group activity. It was an SPLC lawsuit on behalf of the Vietnamese Fishermen's Association that had stalled Beam's paramilitary organization in Texas in 1982, albeit temporarily. In February 1987, the SPLC won a \$7 million lawsuit against the United Klans of America, an old-guard group connected only loosely to the paramilitary white power movement. The court ordered the UKA to surrender its Alabama headquarters to the mother of Michael Donald, a nineteen-year-old black man two of its members had lynched in 1981. While local criminal courts frequently declined to prosecute or returned short sentences, judges in civil cases—where there was a lighter burden of proof and where the plaintiff's case could be bolstered by the re-

sources of the SPLC—could levy fines, seize assets, reveal mailing lists, and even bar white power association and organization.⁵⁷

The criminal justice system's failure to significantly slow the white power movement did not go unnoticed, especially by some federal agents dissatisfied with the outcomes of criminal trials involving movement defendants. According to FBI affidavits, agents felt the trial of the Order had resulted in convictions of merely "entry-level soldiers and non-coms," while the leaders—Beam, Miles, Butler, Metzger, Pierce, and others—avoided charges.⁵⁸ To some extent the strategy of leaderless resistance had worked as intended, both in protecting leaders from prosecution and by isolating cells infiltrated by informants. In 1985, the Department of Justice began Operation Clean Sweep, a massive investigation with the goal of a major court case against white power movement leaders.⁵⁹

In recognizing the linkages between seemingly disparate white power groups, Operation Clean Sweep had several early victories. These included stopping a 1985 plot by an Aryan Nations member to kill an informant; arresting Posse Comitatus leader William Potter Gale in 1986 and convicting him of plotting to attack the Internal Revenue Service; and arresting eight members of the Arizona Patriots on gun and conspiracy charges related to a planned bank robbery in 1986 and preventing imminent acts of violence by that group.⁶⁰ On the connection between the Arizona Patriots and several other groups—Posse Comitatus, Aryan Nations, and the Order—one anonymous official told the *Arizona Republic*, "It's like one guy is in the Army and the other is in the Navy. . . . They both belong to the military." If this description alluded figuratively to the movement's actions as warfare, the evidence found upon the group's arrest established the veracity of this comparison. The Arizona Patriots had blueprints for two major dams and a power station, as well as a cache of weapons and explosives. The compound was low-tech, apart from its arsenal, with no plumbing or electricity beyond a portable generator they used to screen *Red Dawn*, a film depicting guerrilla resistance to a Soviet invasion. "They're cavemen with bombs," one federal agent told a reporter.⁶¹

The indictments in the Fort Smith trial, issued on April 21, 1987, used years of FBI investigation, surveillance, and wiretaps to allege that the white power movement had attempted to overthrow the government through outright revolution.⁶² To be sure, the FBI had an interest in finding conspiracy,

and some parts of this evidence were more reliable and better interpreted than others. However, the Fort Smith trial represented the only attempt at prosecuting white power as a coherent social movement, and the scope of the proceedings reflected this goal. Fourteen men faced indictment on charges of interstate transport of stolen money, conspiracy to manufacture illegal weapons, conspiracy to murder federal officers, and seditious conspiracy. The extensive indictment listed 119 acts to establish grounds for seditious conspiracy, including the 1981 attempted invasion of Dominica by white power activists; the firebombing of a Jewish Community Center in Bloomington, Indiana, in August 1983; the CSA destruction of a natural gas pipeline in Fulton, Arkansas, in November 1983; the theft of more than \$4 million by the Order in 1983 and 1984; the purchase of guns and explosives in Oklahoma and Missouri; bank robberies in Illinois, Missouri, and North Dakota; and Liberty Net, Beam's computer network that linked white power groups and listed the names and addresses of their enemies.⁶³

The indictments also revealed that war on the government had not slowed with the trials of Order members. An FBI affidavit on October 2, 1986, revealed ongoing plots to "rescue" white supremacists from incarceration at various prisons—another strategy taken from *The Turner Diaries*. Eleven friends and family members of movement leaders, recruited as FBI informants, stood ready to testify that "the top echelons had developed a plan to set off bombs at federal buildings in five cities"—including Denver, Minneapolis, St. Louis, and Kansas City—"and then threaten to bomb more buildings unless several members of The Order were released from federal prisons." Informants said that Beam, Miles, and paramilitary instructor Jack Mohr met in Harrison, Arkansas, in May 1986 to discuss a jailbreak of Order members that was to be financed with counterfeit money. Wiretaps of hundreds of calls between Miles and racist groups nationwide revealed the mechanics of movement unification.⁶⁴

The indictment targeted white power leaders Beam, Butler, and Miles, but also a number of mid- and low-level activists: CSA member Richard Wayne Snell, who blew up the natural gas pipeline to Fort Smith and killed a state trooper; and Order members Bruce Pierce, Andrew Barnhill, David Lane, Ardie McBrearty, and Richard Scutari. All of these men were charged with attempting to overthrow the U.S. government. CSA members Lambert

Miller, David McGuire, and two more casual participants who had come to the movement through the farm foreclosure crisis, William and Ivan Wade, were charged with plotting to kill a federal judge and FBI agent. Fort Smith gun dealer Robert Smalley was also indicted, but charges were quickly dismissed for lack of evidence. Neither Tom Metzger nor William Pierce was charged; Glenn Miller and James Ellison would testify for the state under plea bargains.⁶⁵

After many years of ineffective, smaller prosecutions, the Fort Smith trial marked the first serious attempt by the federal government to recognize the unification of seemingly disparate Klan, neo-Nazi, and white separatist groups in a cohesive white power movement, and to prosecute the movement's leaders in light of this understanding. Affidavits documented nearly a decade of control by Beam, Butler, and Miles, and also named Miles's home as the command center for the Order.⁶⁶ "They preached war, prayed for war and dreamed of war," said Justice Department prosecutor Martin Carlson. "And when war came, they willingly accepted war."⁶⁷ The indictments presented a serious enough threat to white power leaders that Beam decided to flee the country, setting off a series of events that would shape the outcome of the trial.

Before Beam fled he married a woman whose martyrdom would later rally the movement and appeal to the mainstream. After the fishermen's dispute, Louis Beam had led a chaotic personal life. He separated from his third wife in 1981, and an ugly custody battle followed the split. Beam took his young daughter to Costa Rica for two years. After his return to Texas in late 1984, he moved permanently to the Aryan Nations compound. He didn't break his Texas ties, however, and took long trips there frequently.⁶⁸

Sheila Toohey was a pretty, blond twenty-year-old Sunday school teacher at the Gospel Temple, a Christian Identity congregation in Pasadena, Texas. Beam's young daughter was one of her students. Perhaps Beam met the Toohey family during the fishermen's dispute: his Texas Knights of the Ku Klux Klan had run a bookstore in Pasadena. Toohey came from a family that lived in a trailer in nearby Santa Fe, Texas—the site of the Klan rally where Beam had burned a boat painted "U.S.S. Viet Cong" during the fishermen conflict in 1981.⁶⁹

"Louis fell in love with Sheila immediately," wrote J. B. Campbell, a white power movement activist who also claimed mercenary service in Rhodesia.⁷⁰

Campbell's laudatory essay later appeared on Beam's personal website under the heading "Love" and framed with images of roses:

[Beam had] been visiting her father, talking politics, and couldn't believe his friend could have such a beautiful, sweet and unaffected daughter as Sheila, who lived at home with her parents and brothers in Santa Fe, Texas. Sheila taught Sunday school. She'd had to wear a back brace from a recent car accident and was in constant pain, although she would never burden anyone by mentioning it. In the following weeks Sheila noticed that Louis was coming over for dinner quite frequently and that he was talking with her more than with her father. He actually likes me, she realized. Within a few months Louis asked Sheila to marry him.⁷¹

The passage focused on Toohey as a vulnerable white woman—in constant pain but never mentioning it—and subservient to the man who "actually like[d]" her. Her position as a Sunday school teacher confirmed her innocence, presumed virginity, fitness for motherhood, and, since she taught children at a Christian Identity church, subscription to a white power political theology. That she lived surrounded, and presumably cared for, by her father and brothers emphasized her movement from one set of male guardians to another. It also highlighted the twenty-year age difference of the newlyweds. Toohey was Beam's fourth wife; the first three had each been around sixteen years old when they married and around twenty years old when they divorced.⁷²

Beam and Toohey married at a Christian Identity church in Pennsylvania in April 1987.⁷³ After the wedding, with seditious conspiracy charges issued, Louis and Sheila Beam traveled to Mexico to avoid trial, taking his seven-year-old daughter with them, though without the proper documents. They settled in Chapala, near Guadalajara, in a community of white American expatriates. Beam spent four months on the FBI's Ten Most Wanted list before authorities caught up with him in November 1987.⁷⁴

One night the Beams returned home after grocery shopping. While the couple was unloading the food from the car and his daughter was still sitting in the vehicle, authorities apprehended Louis Beam. Sheila Beam "glanced out the kitchen window down at the car and was appalled to see Louis bent over the hood with a gun to his head," according to Campbell's narrative. Sheila Beam would later say that the officers never identified them-

selves as policemen and she assumed the attack was a robbery or kidnapping. Purportedly defending herself, she grabbed her husband's weapon and shot a Mexican federal officer three times, wounding him. Authorities detained her in Mexico for ten days while they extradited Louis Beam to the United States, where he spent the next five months in prison during the sedition trial. A Mexican judge found Sheila Beam not guilty for reasons of self-defense in November 1987, and she was released and deported back to the United States. The officer she shot in the chest and abdomen remained hospitalized.⁷⁵

To white power activists, this story was about endangered white women, but it was also about government betrayal. Rumors flew that federal agents had used phony drug charges as a pretense for the arrest, in order to extradite Louis Beam to the United States. This narrative placed innocent Sheila Beam in the crosshairs of a renegade state.⁷⁶ However, Beam would most likely have been subject to extradition in any case, with or without drug charges.⁷⁷

In an affidavit, Beam presented herself as an innocent white woman in need of the protection of white men. She said that she sustained an abdominal injury when the arresting officers threw her over a chair, and was then taken to jail and kept handcuffed for five days. She also said that the chief of police threatened her with torture, and that she was forced to sign documents in Spanish that she couldn't read. She testified:

While I was in the Guadalajara jail, I was physically and psychologically mistreated. I was kept with my wrists handcuffed behind my back for five days; my wrists were so swollen that my hands were turning colors and my watch was cutting off the circulation. I was hand-fed by a little Mexican boy with his dirty fingers. Officers would come into my cell and leer at me and caress their weapons. I was chained to the bed, which had a filthy, rotten mattress, and when I would try to sleep, they would kick the bed to jar me awake and keep me from sleeping. I was refused water for extended periods and medication for my back injury or my back brace. I was denied medical attention for my abdominal injuries and suffered from vaginal bleeding for several days afterward.⁷⁸

Her testimony positioned her as endangered. It placed her in peril and in the presence of male racial others—the "Mexican boy" feeding her with "his dirty fingers," and the officers. It presented men of color "caress[ing] their

weapons" as they "leer[ed]" at her, invoking masturbation.⁷⁹ It also placed her in a violated bedroom space, "chained to the bed, which had a filthy, rotten mattress." Within the broader frame of pro-natalism, this language positioned Sheila Beam's body as vulnerable to attack by men of color, and emphasized it as a site of combat where battles might be won or lost through the birth or absence of white children. The vaginal bleeding she said she suffered after her imprisonment hinted at both rape and miscarriage of a white child, and would have signified a double martyrdom.

Jailed at the moment when the state had finally turned to the prosecution of the white power movement, Sheila Beam acted the martyr in a way that further united activists and appealed to people beyond the movement. Her wounded body served as a constant symbolic reminder of state failure and betrayal. Metzger lobbied for her release; Kirk Lyons, who represented Beam in the sedition trial and would become the go-to attorney of the white power movement over the next decade, sent an associate, Dave Holloway, to help the Toohey family advocate for her return. Back home, the Tooheys answered the phone with the entreaty, "Save Our Sheila."⁸⁰ After her release Lyons told one reporter, "It made a Christian out of me again. Her being freed was a miracle to me."⁸¹

In the mainstream press, too, Sheila Beam became a sympathetic figure in local newspapers and major publications alike. A series of articles in the *Galveston Daily News* focused on her injuries, stating as fact that she had been "severely beaten" and raising the possibility that she "may have been sexually assaulted." The same reporter uncritically repeated white power claims that FBI agents had refused to arrange her release to the United States, and described "physical and psychological coercion" during her ten-day imprisonment.⁸² Other articles linked her faith in God to her hopes for the acquittal of all the trial's defendants,⁸³ and mentioned her pain and injuries with no mention of the reasons for Louis Beam's arrest or Sheila Beam's actions in shooting and wounding the officer.⁸⁴ The *Houston Chronicle* reported that she returned to the United States sobbing and limping, escorted by her father and an associate of Lyons, and was met by her mother and three brothers at the airport. The article emphasized that Sheila Beam had a swollen abdomen and walked with such a pronounced limp that two people had to support her.⁸⁵ A photograph of Sheila's return in the *Miami News* featured a flattering photograph of her leaning against her brother's chest, holding flowers and flanked by a pretty, smiling, female friend. The caption referred

to her "break[ing] out in tears" upon her return, and to her being "charged with shooting a Mexican federal police officer during the arrest of her husband at their . . . home." It elided any reference to Christian Identity or participation in the white power movement, either by Sheila Beam or by her husband. It didn't even name Louis Beam, much less discuss his pending seditious conspiracy charges or his stint on the FBI's Ten Most Wanted list. Nevertheless, it made clear that Sheila Beam shot the officer at her home, emphasizing domestic defense beneath a photograph that portrayed her as vulnerable, small, and feminine.⁸⁶

For her own part, Sheila Beam delivered a political performance of martyrdom both in comments to the press and in her actions. After her release, she flew directly to Fort Smith, where Louis Beam had been transferred to a federal prison hospital following a weeklong hunger strike. White power leaders praised her selfless devotion. "Despite her severe internal injuries and equally severe psychological damage," Campbell wrote, "Sheila postponed her required emergency surgery and flew to Ft. Smith to reassure her husband."⁸⁷ Sheila Beam went to her husband's side despite her severe pain, the story had it, illustrating the sacrifice of the white female body to the needs of the movement.

During the trial, the presence of Sheila Beam's wounded and wronged body entered the official record in several ways. Lyons invoked her injuries regularly, interrupting testimony about her arrest to ask the pursuing FBI agent what had happened to her back brace and conspicuously leaving court to pick her up at the airport. Sheila Beam continued to speak about her injuries and abuse to the press, and claimed her husband's innocence with the simple position that since he had quit the Klan in 1981, he couldn't now be guilty of sedition. In truth, he had quit the Klan to join Aryan Nations and lead the white power movement on a larger scale. She also reminded newspapers that her husband held the Distinguished Flying Cross, the Army Commendation Medal, and the Air Medal for Heroism, staking out his moral authority as a hero of the Vietnam War.⁸⁸

It is difficult to gauge the impact of such performative acts on the outcome of a jury trial, but Sheila Beam's symbolic work toward acquittal should not be discounted. Even in the pages of academic accounts that have argued that white power paramilitarism partially or wholly excluded them, women nevertheless appear as historical actors who impact events. In Rafael Ezekiel's widely cited ethnographic study, for instance, which includes

his observation of the Fort Smith trial, he notes that "a sister appears for a young fellow who is already serving a long term for involvement in The Order's robbery of an armored car . . . entering the court, she touched her brother's arm, quietly, as she passed him."⁸⁹ With these actions, the "sister"—no name given, as she did not qualify as an activist in this study, but perhaps it was Brenna or Laura Beth Tate, sisters of David Tate—conferred humanity upon her brother, appealed to the jury, and neutralized the racism of the movement.⁹⁰ Similarly, Ezekiel recounts the presence of Louis Beam's "young new wife," Sheila Beam, although she isn't named in his account.⁹¹ Ezekiel describes how the couple

make frequent eye contact across the room. She had been the Sunday school teacher of Beam's daughter. A reporter ungraciously described her to me as "a Yahweh freak." Here in court she wears a frilled white blouse; during Beam's arrest in Mexico, she shot an armed *Federale* who had failed to identify himself.⁹²

In other words, Sheila Beam played her part as a movement activist by creating and embodying a particular narrative of her innocence, the arrest, the justified shooting of the Mexican officer, and her husband's wrongful detention—one persuasive enough to be accepted uncritically by journalists and academic observers.⁹³

Beyond the symbolic impact of women and their courtroom performances, several problems plagued the trial's prosecutors. The decision to hold the proceedings in Fort Smith, Arkansas, meant drawing on a jury pool near the CSA, close to the headquarters of the Populist Party, and near the place where radical tax protestor Gordon Kahl died in a shootout with pursuing federal agents. One juror would later go on record saying he admired Beam's racist views and that the Bible prohibited race-mixing. The court completed a rushed jury selection process in one day, rather than the two to three weeks customary for similar trials. In a jury pool narrowed by peremptory challenges to eliminate six black prospective jurors—the same strategy used to ensure all-white or majority-white juries in the Greensboro trials—the judge questioned jurors himself, rather than allowing the usual practice of scrutiny by attorneys. He quickly appointed an all-white, working-class jury. FBI agent Jack Knox, who had led the investigation of the white power movement following Kahl's death, would later say that the judge jeopardized the

outcome by pushing the trial too fast toward completion, eliminating professionals from the jury, and excusing all jurors who had even heard of white power groups operating locally, where local news media had thoroughly covered the CSA bust just a few years earlier.⁹⁴

The judge also greatly constricted the case planned by the prosecution, in part because of Beam's flight. He quickly excluded half of the prosecution's 1,200 pieces of evidence and half of its 200 witnesses. Beam had been arrested in Guadalajara with forty-eight pieces of evidence, but these were excluded because Mexican officers had not followed U.S. protocol. Evidence ruled inadmissible included Beam's deliberate attempt to falsify his identity with multiple blank and partially blank Texas birth certificates; false identification and military documents in the name of his alias, Jerry Wayne Clinton; a passport application; two Texas death certificates for Louis R. Beam Jr.; a California driver's license application; and instructions for filling out false identification papers. Inadmissible, too, was a medallion proving that Beam was part of the Order.⁹⁵

The trial was lengthy and complex, with several defendants representing themselves. Movement-associated people who testified as witnesses for the prosecution frequently undermined their own credibility, whether deliberately or not. Ellison, the star witness for the prosecution, delivered large quantities of incriminating and alarming information including details of a plot to poison the public water supply of a major city. But he also referred to levitation and to speaking directly with God, which, as one newspaper reported, "may have reduced his credibility with the jury."⁹⁶ Many elements of Ellison's testimony, however, are confirmed elsewhere in the archive. Successful delivery of those thirty gallons of cyanide to the water supply of Chicago, New York, or Washington would have killed almost half a million people, according to the FBI and independent reports. A witness for the prosecution also pointed out that when he blew up the natural gas line outside of Fort Smith, Snell had intended to destroy a much larger line running from Texas to Chicago. Clearly, civilians were in the crosshairs of the white power movement's war on the state.⁹⁷

According to assistant U.S. attorney Steven Snyder, it was this threat to the civilian population—a threat now dramatically amplified by the training and weapons of the Vietnam War and the paramilitary culture that blossomed in its wake—along with the unification of the white power movement that justified the rare seditious conspiracy charge. During the trial, the

Houston Chronicle reported, Snyder "wheeled into the courtroom two huge laundry hampers jammed with rifles, submachine guns, a shotgun, a rocket launcher, grenade launchers and grenades allegedly used at the CSA compound to train the Aryan Warriors for rebellion."⁹⁸

The prosecution needed to establish that white power leaders were in contact with one another and involved with shaping the violence carried out by cells and individual activists. They spent significant time on the creation of a hit list that included Alan Berg, the progressive activist and controversial television producer Norman Lear, and SPLC head Morris Dees, among others.⁹⁹ They also presented data from the FBI wiretap of Miles's phones. Between March 8, 1985, and November 7, 1985, Miles had made sixty-three calls to Butler, twenty calls to CSA member David Moutoux, fourteen calls to Metzger, and assorted calls to William Pierce, Don Black, Glenn Miller, *Thunderbolt* publisher Ed Fields, and other activists. Not only did the list of individuals he called clearly illustrate a unified, connected, and coordinated white power movement, but the volume of calls indicated continued activity.¹⁰⁰

The social relationships cemented by women's participation further revealed the interconnectedness of Klan, neo-Nazi, and other groups in a cohesive, antigovernment white power movement, although only some of them were mentioned in trial testimony, and they were not fully mobilized in the prosecution's argument. Marriages were an important way of forging alliances between groups and of reaffirming loyalty within factions. While marriage records are not available for most white power unions—perhaps because some of them were deliberately conducted outside of state auspices—a thorough reading of sources across several archives yields a startling picture of movement interconnections.

Limiting such examples to those immediately pertinent to the sedition trial: The daughter of the Order's chief counterfeiters, Robert and Sharon Merki—who, with her parents, had attended the LaPorte Church of Christ—married an Order member and received some of the Order's ill-gotten funds. After members of the Order assassinated their own Walter West for talking too much, another Order member, Thomas Bentley, married West's widow. Carl Franklin Jr., the leader of the Pennsylvania branch of Aryan Nations, married Order member David Lane's adopted sister, Jane Eden Lane, before becoming heir apparent to Aryan Nations founder Richard Butler; Butler officiated at their wedding.¹⁰¹

Marriages bore out intergroup connections relevant to the sedition trial even after the acquittals. Ellison, leader of the CSA, would later marry the daughter of Robert G. Millar, head of the white separatist compound at Elohim City. Dave Holloway, who traveled to Mexico to advocate for Sheila Beam's release, married twice: to the daughter of Robert Sisente, second-in-command of the paramilitary Klan group that had harassed Vietnamese fishermen under Louis Beam's direction, and to the daughter of Order member James Wallington. Wallington had evaded pursuit by FBI agents, including Knox, by hiding at Elohim City. Kirk Lyons, who represented Louis Beam in the sedition trial, would also marry within the movement in a 1990 double wedding. In a ceremony at Aryan Nations and officiated by Butler, with Beam as best man, Lyons married eighteen- or nineteen-year-old Brenna Tate—daughter of an Aryan Nations leader and sister of Order member David Tate. Her sister, Laura Beth Tate, married Neill Payne, a Houston man who had hidden the Beams when they were on the run to Mexico. And David McGuire, one of the sedition trial defendants who would become romantically involved with a juror, was previously married to Joahanna Ellison, the daughter of Jim Ellison; Ellison participated in the marriage ceremony.¹⁰²

Romantic relationships also cast doubt upon the acquittal. Two female jurors became involved in public romantic relationships with defendants following the trial, raising questions about whether the Fort Smith proceedings met the constitutional mandate of an impartial jury and signaling the continued importance of white women to the movement. According to the *Houston Chronicle*, one juror, Carolyn S. Slater, thirty years old, entered into a relationship with acquitted CSA member David McGuire, twenty-five, following the trial. She married him after the trial, and they planned to sell their story to *People* magazine. Slater and McGuire also set up another female juror, Mary B. Oxford, age twenty-four, in a pen-pal romance with incarcerated Order member David Lane, fifty. Oxford called Lane "a little too old for me" but showed no ethical hesitation about carrying on the relationship. Both jurors said they had been attracted to the defendants during the trial. In these cases, the romantic availability of jurors signaled the defendants' innocence and, by extension, provided a kind of social credibility to the movement itself.¹⁰³

With white power social networks only partially exposed, the Fort Smith proceedings faced another hurdle in the charismatic testimony of white

power leaders. Men such as Beam, Butler, and Miles had risen in the movement precisely because they were compelling speakers. Beam, representing himself, invoked two rhetorical devices in his opening statement: his defense of white women and his Vietnam War service. He said he would continue to fight for his innocent seven-year-old daughter and portrayed his flight to Mexico not as a criminal act but rather as an imposition upon his innocent daughter and his wife, whom he called "Little Sheila." "My wife up until April of this year had never been out of her father's arms," he testified, "and it was just terrible on both of them."¹⁰⁴

Then he pivoted to his Vietnam War story, and testified that he had come home from war believing it was his duty to kill enemies, foreign and domestic. According to the trial report, Beam ended his statement with the story of a "soldier being burned to death in the armored personnel carrier and how he was reminded of that when he came home to see protestors burning flags," and said this was the reason "that he turned to the politics that he did." Beam and his attorney, Lyons, listed his many military decorations as part of a defense aimed at establishing his good character. Far from a passing reference, Beam's testimony about the Vietnam War would fill several pages of the trial transcript.¹⁰⁵

Indeed, the promise of a continued fight and a strong current of antistatism—or at the very least a belief in popular sovereignty that superseded the authority of the federal government—was perfectly clear in Beam's testimony. In cross-examination by Carlson, Beam pledged to continue his fight. "If it comes to it, Mr. Beam, would you kill these enemies?" asked Carlson. "To defend my country, I would continue to perform my duties as a soldier, yes," Beam replied. "I'll do anything I can to defend the Constitution of the United States." "Including kill?" asked Carlson. "If so directed," Beam replied, and clarified that he took such directions from the "government of the people. All law and authority rest in the people."¹⁰⁶

On April 8, 1988, after three days of deliberation, the jury found all the defendants not guilty on all counts. This meant that Butler, Beam, and Miles, along with Order members Bruce Pierce, Barnhill, Lane, Scutari, and CSA member Richard Wayne Snell, were found "not guilty of attempting to overthrow the government." It meant McGuire and three other CSA members were found "not guilty of plotting to kill a federal judge and FBI agent." Most incredibly, it meant that Barnhill and Scutari were found not guilty of transporting the money stolen by the Order and using it to finance

the white power movement. The men walked free and, with the government consenting, the judge ordered "the firearms in question returned to the person who turned them over to the government."¹⁰⁷

The trial's most iconic moment occurred just after acquittal. Louis Beam, just released, spoke to reporters outside the courthouse. Beam thanked the jury for his acquittal, and declared: "To hell with the federal government." Then he said he was "out of the movement. From now on," he added, "I'm just going to write books and raise blond-headed children."¹⁰⁸ Surrounded by journalists and photographers, Sheila Beam collapsed into his arms.¹⁰⁹ A photographer captured the moment for the *Kansas City Times*: Beam, dressed in a suit, holds his wife. She wears a demure, light-colored dress that covers her arms and falls below the knee. She rests her head on his shoulder, her blond hair falling over his arm. Her feet are bare. Louis Beam's head inclines slightly toward hers, but he fixes his gaze on something farther away, and the light emphasizes his resolute expression. Sheila Beam, barefoot and limp in her husband's arms before the Confederate memorial, embodied old stories of vulnerable white women in need of protection.¹¹⁰ As Campbell wrote, "Sheila fainted from the pain she was in and from the incredibility of their stunning victory."¹¹¹

Immediately after the acquittal, jubilant white power leaders touted this victory loudly and movement-wide. Miles said the verdict "restore[d] my faith in the people."¹¹² FBI agent Knox resigned in frustration. Beam founded a new publication, *The Seditionist*, and published a second edition of *Essays of a Klansman*.¹¹³

White power activists used the trial victory to enhance and encourage further underground operations and hone their appeal to the mainstream. In the post-1988 period, the movement would incorporate new legions of skinhead members, reemerge as the purportedly nonracist militia movement, and guide a new generation of activists, including Timothy McVeigh, to white power movement violence. And the work of white women, both as symbols and as activists, continued unabated. Indeed, when the movement used the federal sieges of two separatist compounds to fuel its militia groundswell, the stories it told to new recruits would be about women. Louis Beam would rehash the story of Sheila Beam's arrest and detention to relaunch his writings on leaderless resistance and widen the appeal of the strategy in 1992, both before and after the federal siege of a white separatist family at Ruby Ridge, Idaho.¹¹⁴ The death of another martyred white

woman there—this time killed by a federal sniper—would inflame the white power call to arms. “When the Feds blew the head off Vicki Weaver, I think symbolically that was their war against the American woman, the American mother, the American white wife,” said Carl Franklin, the new pastor at Aryan Nations. “This is the opening shot of a second American revolution.”¹¹⁵

PART III

APOCALYPSE

66. Teletype memo, Richmond to FBI Director and branch offices, Charlotte and Baltimore, April 24, 1987; "Conviction of 2 Supremacists," *New York Times*, April 14, 1987, A19; Fax memo, U.S. Marshals Service to [Redacted], April 30, 1987; Airtel memo, SAC Charlotte to FBI Acting Director, September 3, 1987; Airtel memo, SAC Charlotte to FBI Director, March 2, 1987.

67. In a joke playing on the Order's point system, the FBI report concluded: "Kansas City to claim 17 bonus points for arrest of Aryan Warriors." SAC Kansas City to FBI Director, May 8, 1987; Teletype memo, Kansas City to FBI Director, April 30, 1987.

68. Airtel memo, SAC Kansas City to FBI Director, May 14, 1987; Airtel memo, SAC Kansas City to FBI Director, Attention Identification Division, May 7, 1987; Teletype memo, Kansas City to FBI Director, April 30, 1987; SAC Kansas City to FBI Director, May 8, 1987, re: U.S. Marshal Service; Inventory of Property Acquired as Evidence, May 5, 1987.

69. Airtel, Philadelphia SAC to FBI Acting Director, August 7, 1987; FBI internal memo, October 29, 1987; Teletype memo, Charlotte to FBI Director, May 22, 1987; Miller, *A White Man Speaks Out*, ch. 14.

70. United Press International, "Former KKK Leader Tells of Receiving Stolen Money," March 10, 1988, SPLC; Jane Ruffin, "Judge Cites 'Extent of Wrong You Have Committed' to Miller," *Raleigh Times*, January 5, 1988, SPLC.

7. Race War and White Women

1. Arraignment, *Miles et al.*, May 21, 1987, Testimonies-2.

2. Nicholas C. Chriss, "Witness Tells of Scheme to Topple U.S.," *Houston Chronicle*, February 23, 1988.

3. The purported defense of white women and children appears regularly in the historiography on vigilantism and lynching. See, for instance, Crystal N. Feimster, *Southern Horrors: Women and the Politics of Rape and Lynching* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011); Jacqueline Dowd Hall, "'The Mind That Burns in Each Body': Women, Rape and Racial Violence," in *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*, ed. Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell, and Sharon Thompson (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983), 328-349.

4. Rebecca Brown, pen drawing, December 26, 1985, RH WL Eph 2097, File 16.

5. Examples of studying white power organization through the lens of paramilitary masculinity include James William Gibson, *Warrior Dreams: Violence and Manhood in Post-Vietnam America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1994); Raphael S. Ezekiel, *The Racist Mind: Portraits of American Neo-Nazis and Klansmen* (New York: Penguin, 1995).

6. Rickie Solinger, *Pregnancy and Power: A Short History of Reproductive Politics in America* (New York: New York University Press, 2007).

7. The policing of whiteness through pro-natalism and regulation of white women's sexual behavior characterizes settler colonialism and serves to link the United States with other sites of settler colonialism—and to distinguish this kind of emphasis on white female chastity from different notions employed in sites of extract colonialism. See, for instance, Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology* (London: Cassell, 1998); Margaret D. Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940* (Omaha: University of Nebraska Press, 2011).

8. Peggy Pascoe, *What Comes Naturally: Miscegenation Law and the Making of Race in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); George M. Fredrickson, *Racism: A Short History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002); Glenda E. Gilmore, "Murder, Memory, and the Flight of the Incubus," in David S. Cecelski and Timothy B. Tyson, ed., *Democracy Betrayed: The Wilmington Race Riot of 1898 and Its Legacy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

9. Matthew D. Lassiter, *The Silent Majority: Suburban Politics in the Sunbelt South* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006); Pascoe, *What Comes Naturally*.

10. White Aryan Resistance propaganda image, ca. 1988, LC, Series II, 2.1; "White Men Need White Women," Letter to the Editor, *Thunderbolt*, no. 204 (April 1976): 6, Ms. 76.7, Box 7-1X, HH 30; Aryan Women's League, *White Sisters*, no. 1 (Spring 1990), LC, Series II, 2.7; Dennis Mahon, "Make More Babies, Prepare to Survive," *White Sisters*, no. 5 (Winter 1991), LC, Series II, 2.7; Aryan Women's League, "Whites Are the Adults of the World," *White Sisters*, no. 1 (Spring 1990), LC, Series II, 2.7; "The Greatest Power on Earth Is an Idea Whose Time Has Come," American Nazi Party flier, LC, Series II, 4.26; *Confederate Leader* 86, no. 3 (May 1986), 85, no. 5 (July 1985), and 84, no. 9 (ca. 1984), RH WL H149; "Fight for White Rights!," *White Power: The Revolutionary Voice of National Socialism*, special introductory issue, 95 (1980), 1, 3, Ms. 76.26, Box 26-1, HH 356; "U.S. Cities Face Open Race War," *White Patriot* (Tuscumbia, AL), no. 57 (April 1983), 1, RH WL G571.

11. It is not possible to verify each reported crime, but several such stories are borrowed from mainstream headlines. These citations represent series and examples of regular features as described: *Thunderbolt*, regular feature, 1983-1985, RH WL G1380 and HH, Box 7-1, 7-1X, 7-2X; "Sick Pic of the Month," *National Vanguard*, no. 71 (August 1979): 2, RH WL G541; "Another Victim," *Racial Loyalty: It's Great to Be White!* (Church of the Creator), issues 54-76, 1991, Ms. 76.72, Box 72-2, HH 4471; "Casualty List," *White Power*, 1970s, SC, Box 50, Folder 2; Tom Metzger, White Aryan Resistance recorded phone message, San Jose, California, January 31, 1986, LC, Series VII, Box 1, Folder 1.

12. "Fight for White Rights!," *White Power*, 1980; "Mother and Child," *White Power*, no. 101 (ca. 1983), 3, Keith Stimely Collection, Special Collections, University of Oregon, Box 50, Folder 2.

13. Testimony of Denver Parmenter, vol. 1, *Miles et al.*, February 29, 1988, Testimonies-2; James Coates, *Armed and Dangerous: The Rise of the Survivalist Right* (New York: Noonday Press, 1987), 44.

14. Coates, *Armed and Dangerous*, 94. Craig may have thought Mathews planned to divorce his wife. Mathews and other advocates of polygamy had sustained contact with polygamist Mormon communities in Utah and southern Idaho who used similar strategies.

15. "Separatists Launch New Nation," *WAR* 5, no. 3 (1986), 1, RH WL H100.

16. Andrew Macdonald (pseud. for William Pierce), *The Turner Diaries* (Hillsboro, WV: National Vanguard Books, 1978), 147; "Proclamation: Carolina Free State," National Socialist Party of America, North Carolina Unit, ca. 1980, RH WL Q277; "Mid-America Survival Map," Christian Patriots Defense League, WL; James Ridgeway, *Blood in the Face*, 2nd ed. (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 1995), 168.

17. Robert E. Miles, "Five States Is All We Ask," *From the Mountain* (Mountain Church, Cohoctah, MI), March–April 1985, 7–8, Ms. 76.72, Box 72-1, HH 1637.

18. Ibid.

19. Testimony of Robert E. Miles, *Miles et al.*, March 29–30, 1988, Box 16-2.

20. RGB [Richard Girnt Butler], "Golden Cup and Yellow Ribbon," *Calling Our Nation* (Aryan Nations, Hayden Lake, ID), no. 64 (1991): 2–3, Ms. 76.26, Box 26-1, HH 34; Glenn Miller, *A White Man Speaks Out* (n.p.: Glenn Miller, 1999), ch. 17.

21. "Separatists Launch New Nation."

22. Kathleen M. Blee, *Inside Organized Racism: Women in the Hate Movement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 51; Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth*, new ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970).

23. Kornel Chang, *Pacific Connections: The Making of the U.S.-Canadian Borderlands* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012); Mario Jimenez Si-fuentez, *Of Forests and Fields: Mexican Labor in the Pacific Northwest* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2016).

24. The presence of large numbers of white separatists in the area might well have meant that the actual white population was somewhat higher, if one included those who avoided the federal government's census. James Coates, "An Idaho Resort Town Grapples with Bigotry and Bombings," *Chicago Tribune*, October 5, 1986.

25. Jonathan Freedland, "Adolf's U.S. Army," *Guardian*, December 15, 1994, A6.

26. "Separatists Launch New Nation."

27. "Voices from World Congress," *WAR* 8, no. 2 (ca. 1986), LC; Bernie Wilson, "Aryans Plan NW Homeland," *Albany (OR) Democrat-Herald*, July 14, 1986, 10, RH WL Eph 2097.6.

28. Tobby Hatley, "Aryan Nations: North Idaho's Neo-Nazis," *Northwest (Oregonian Sunday magazine)*, November 18, 1984, 7, RH WL Eph 2097.4.

29. Michelle M. Nickerson, *Mothers of Conservatism: Women and the Postwar Right* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), 34, 70; Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001). The idea of women as guardians of a new generation of American citizens—and therefore, the future of race and nation—drew on a long genealogy of gender identities with similar nationalist functions. Whigs called upon republican mothers in revolutionary America to raise moral and knowledgeable citizens, the better to run a righteous democracy. After the industrial revolution, the cult of true womanhood called for pure, moral, nurturing women to redeem society, leading to a maternalism movement at the turn of the century. Social Darwinists called upon women to produce the next generation of "vigorous heroes." When the Great Depression revealed maternalism's failure to deliver reform, housewife populism instead emphasized women's roles as community-builders and guardians of normalcy. Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 12; Nickerson, *Mothers of Conservatism*, xiv–xii, xxi, 31; Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980).

30. Nickerson, *Mothers of Conservatism*, xiv–xii, xxi, 31. See also Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1988).

31. Mandatory sterilization in the twentieth century was also directed at the "feble-minded," sexually promiscuous women, and the poor. Solinger, *Pregnancy and Power*; Nickerson, *Mothers of Conservatism*; Alexandra Minna Stern, *Eugenic Nation: Faults and Frontiers of Better Breeding in Modern America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

32. Coates, *Armed and Dangerous*, 88.

33. David Lane, "Viking Princess," *WAR* 4, no. 5 (1985), 7, LC; *What Is Hate?* (St. Maries, ID: 14 Words Press), Ms. 76.72, Box 72-1, HH 4163; Bill Morlin, "Eight Skinheads and '14 Words,'" *Spokesman Review*, July 1, 2007, SPLC.

34. Macdonald, *The Turner Diaries*, 28–29.

35. Ibid., 45.

36. Ibid., 96.

37. Gibson, *Warrior Dreams*. See also Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987) 1:1–228, on the white female body in German Freikorps literature after World War I.

38. See, for instance, "Stickers, \$6.00 per 100," White Aryan Resistance (Fallbrook, CA), ca. July 1987, WL; Lane, "Viking Princess."

39. *Confederate Leader*, issue 85-5 (July 1985), RH WL H149; *Confederate Leader*, special edition (ca. 1986), RH WL H149; Miller, *A White Man Speaks Out*, ch. 4.

40. Testimony of Richard Girnt Butler, *Miles et al.*, March 29, 1988, Testimonies-2; Testimony of Robert E. Miles, *Miles et al.*, March 29-30, 1988, Box 16-2.

41. Testimony of Denver Parmenter, September 13, 1985, *Pierce et al.*, Box 4, at 229.

42. Miles, "Five States Is All We Ask," 10-13; Bill Morlin, "Racist Operation Moves to N.J.," *Spokesman Review*, date unclear (ca. 2001), B1, SPLC; Mattias Gardell, *Gods of the Blood: The Pagan Revival and White Separatism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 204-221.

43. Kathleen M. Blee, *Women of the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 25. "Auxiliary" refers to a peripheral or smaller group with direct ties to major groups.

44. "Attention White Women: An Introduction to the Aryan Women's League," flier, Aryan Women's League of White Aryan Resistance (Fallbrook, CA), ca. 1989, Ms. 76.26, Box 26-1, HH 387.

45. In *Women of the Klan*, Blee argues that Klanswomen and members of affiliated groups in the 1920s also adopted similarly gendered actions. See also the following materials from the Aryan Women's League of White Aryan Resistance: "Attention White Women"; "Rape THIS!" (flier), ca. 1989; Untitled flier, ca. 1989; "Greetings Fellow Aryan Warriors!," letter to members, December 1990; "Fight Fire with Fire!," flier, Aryan Women's League Penney [sic] Pinchers, March 1991; all from Ms. 76.26, Box 26-1, HH 387.

46. See, for instance, June Johnston, "Preventative Medicine for a Morally Handicapped Society," *Christian Patriot Women* 4, no. 14 (July-September 1990): 11, Ms. 76.45, Box 1, HH 1261.

47. Birth announcement, September 29, 1990, Aryan Women's League of White Aryan Resistance, Ms. 76.26, Box 26-1, HH 387; Letter, Aryan Women's League to Aryan Warriors, Aryan Women's League of White Aryan Resistance (Fallbrook, CA), 1990, Ms. 76.26, Box 26-1, HH 387.

48. Blee, *Inside Organized Racism*, 134-135.

49. See, for instance, June Johnston, *Christian Patriot Women* 111, no. 9 (April-June 1989), Ms. 76.45, Box 45-1, HH 1261.

50. Testimony of Michelle Pardee, *Miles et al.*, March 14 and 16, 1988, Testimonies-1.

51. *Christian Patriot Women*, 1989-1990, Box 45-1, HH 1261; see also M. K. Hallimore, "God's Answer to Women's Lib," *The Woman's Bible*, Kingdom Identity Ministries (Harrison, AR) 1983, Ms. 76.10, HH Box 7-10.

52. June Johnston, "Woman to Woman," *Christian Patriot Women* 111, no. 10 (October-December 1989): 3; June Johnston, untitled, *Christian Patriot Women* 111, no. 9 (April-June 1989), 111, no. 10 (September 1989), 111, no. 11 (October-December 1989); June Johnston, "From the Mouths of Little Aryans," *Christian Patriot Women* 4, no. 14 (July-September 1990): 8; Johnston, "Preventative Medicine for a Morally Handicapped Society."

53. "White Power Forever: What About White Civil Rights?," SS Action Group (Dearborn, MI), 1991, Ms. 76.26, Box 26-2, HH 1660.

54. Clark Martell, "Introducing Jessica," *Right as Reina*, August 1996, Ms. 76.72, Box 72-2, HH 4470.

55. *Right as Reina*, March 1997, December 1996, January 1997, February 1997; Ms. 76.72, Box 72-2, HH 4470.

56. Leonard Zeskind, *Blood and Politics: The History of the White Nationalist Movement from the Margins to the Mainstream* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2009), 145; GTRC, *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission Final Report* (Greensboro, NC: Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2006).

57. *Donald v. United Klans of America*, case docket, SPLC, <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/case-docket/donald-v-united-klans-of-america>.

58. James Coates and Stephen Franklin, "'Underground' of Racist Leaders Coordinated Crimes, FBI Taps Show," *Chicago Tribune*, December 28, 1987, A16, SPLC.

59. SA [Redacted] to FBI SAC Charlotte, October 16, 1986; Zeskind, *Blood and Politics*, 146.

60. Zeskind, *Blood and Politics*, 146.

61. Andy Hall, "Secret War: 'Patriots' Have Loose Ties to Rightists Nationwide," *Arizona Republic*, December 21, 1986, WL; John Kifner, "Oklahoma Bombing Suspect: Unraveling of a Frayed Life," *New York Times*, December 21, 1995, 1.

62. Bill Minutaglio, "Biography of a Hatemonger," *Dallas Morning News*, May 22, 1988, LC, 9.20.

63. *Miles et al.*; Coates and Franklin, "'Underground' of Racist Leaders Coordinated Crimes"; Kevin Flynn and Gary Gerhardt, *The Silent Brotherhood: Inside America's Racist Underground* (New York: Free Press, 1989), 32-34.

64. Coates and Franklin, "'Underground' of Racist Leaders Coordinated Crimes"; *Miles et al.*; Macdonald, *The Turner Diaries*; Affidavit, Farris L. Genide, Special Agent, FBI, U.S. District Court Eastern District of Michigan Southern Division, No. 86-0343, 80, LC.

65. "Arkansas Jury Finds 13 Not Guilty in U.S. Trial of White Supremacists," *Kansas City Times*, April 8, 1988, A1, RH WL Eph 2097.7; Partial Transcript of Detention Hearing before the Honorable Ned A. Stewart Jr., United States Magistrate Judge, William H. Wade and Ivan Wade, *Miles et al.*, May 1, 1987, Testimonies-1. Associated Press, "13 Supremacists Are Not Guilty Of Conspiracies," *New York Times*, April 8, 1988.

66. *Miles et al.*; Affidavit, Farris L. Genide; Coates and Franklin, "'Underground' of Racist Leaders Coordinated Crimes."

67. Minutaglio, "Biography of a Hatemonger."

68. Ancestry.com, *Texas, Divorce Index, 1968-2011*; Ancestry.com, *Texas, Marriage Collection, 1814-1909 and 1966-2011*; Ancestry.com, *Texas Birth Index, 1903-1997*; Minutaglio, "Biography of a Hatemonger"; Nicholas C. Chriss, "Beam Talked

of Rebellion, FBI Says," *Houston Chronicle*, February 22, 1988, LC; Scott Sunde, "Ex-KKK Leader Running Scared from FBI," *Times-Herald*, July 27, 1987, A1, LC, Series XIII, 5.12; District Court, First Judicial District of Idaho, Case No. CV 01-3900, August 8, 2001, Affidavit of Sheila M. Toohey, SPLC.

69. Minutaglio, "Biography of a Hatemonger"; Memo from Nick Chriss, *Houston Chronicle*, to SPLC, Subject: Louis Beam, November 20, 1987, SPLC; J. B. Campbell, "Louis & Sheila," published on Louis Beam's website, <http://louisbeam.com/louis&sl.htm>, originally published in *Jubilee*, May-June 1994.

70. Testimony of Louis Beam, *Miles et al.*, November 17, 1988, Box 16-2; Associated Press, "Former Houston Area KKK Leader on Most-Wanted List," July 14, 1987; Campbell, "Louis & Sheila"; Campbell, "The Military Solution," *J. B. Campbell Extremism Online*, September 10, 2011, <http://www.jbcampbellextremismonline.com>; Evelyn Schlatter, "Buyer Beware: Veterans Today and Its Anti-Israel Agenda," January 6, 2011, SPLC.

71. Campbell, "Louis & Sheila."

72. "Two Hurt in Accident," *Galveston Daily News*, September 21, 1984; Ancestry.com, *Texas Birth Index, 1903-1997*; Ancestry.com, *Texas, Divorce Index, 1968-2011*; Ancestry.com, *Texas, Marriage Collection, 1814-1909 and 1966-2011*.

73. Testimony of Louis Ray Beam Jr., *Miles et al.*, November 17, 1988, Box 16, vol. 2.

74. "414: Louis Ray Beam, Jr.," *Ten Most Wanted*, FBI, 1987; Minutaglio, "Biography of a Hatemonger"; Arlene Battista, "Mexico Reportedly Duped in Beam Case," *Galveston Daily News*, November 21, 1987.

75. "Libre, extranjera que hirió de dos balazos a un agente," *El Informador*, November 15, 1987, 10; Suppression hearing, testimony of Steven Walker and Stuart Hoyt, *Miles et al.*, February 8, 1988, Testimonies-1.

76. Suppression hearing, testimony of Steven Walker and Stuart Hoyt, *Miles et al.*, February 8, 1988, Testimonies-1.

77. This rumor may have referred to an exception in the most recent extradition treaty between Mexico and the United States that excluded offenses "of a political character," which the Fort Smith defendants certainly claimed. "Extradition Treaty between the United States and Mexico," Mexico City, May 4, 1978, https://www.oas.org/juridico/mla/en/traites/en_traites-ext-usa-mex.pdf.

78. Campbell, "Louis & Sheila"; "Libre, extranjera que hirió de dos balazos a un agente"; Shepard Barbash, "Beam's Wife: 'They Want Me to Rot in Jail,'" *Houston Chronicle*, November 18, 1987, SPLC; Rebecca Trounson, "Wife Calls Beam Misunderstood," *Houston Chronicle*, February 16, 1988, sec. 1, 10, SPLC; "Increased Militancy of Supremacists Predicted," *Kansas City Times*, date and page unclear, ca. April 1988, RH WL Eph 2097.7; Affidavit of Sheila Beam, State of Texas, County of Harris, December 18, 1987, LC; Grumke, "Interview with Tom Metzger on Sept. 4, 1997 in Fallbrook, CA," 23, LC.

79. On the close linkage of weapons and penises in warfare, cadences, and attendant rhetoric, see, for instance, Christian G. Appy, *Working-Class War: American Combat Soldiers and Vietnam* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); Joanna Bourke, *An Intimate History of Killing: Face-to-Face Killing in Twentieth Century Warfare* (New York: Basic Books, 1999).

80. Holloway is occasionally spelled Hollaway in the archive. Grumke, "Interview with Tom Metzger"; Tony Taylor, "An Unreconstructed Southerner," *High Point Enterprise*, April 23, 2000, 2F, SPLC; Arlene Battista, "Beam's Wife Is Expected Home from LA Today," *Galveston Daily News*, November 18, 1987, Campbell, "Louis & Sheila."

81. Taylor, "An Unreconstructed Southerner."

82. Battista, "Mexico Reportedly Duped in Beam Case"; Arlene Battista, "Mrs. Beam Says Her Husband Isn't a Racist," *Galveston Daily News*, December 30, 1987; Battista, "Beam's Wife Is Expected Home from LA Today."

83. Bill Simons, "Jury Deliberating Sedition Case," *Item* (Sumter, SC), April 5, 1988, 10B.

84. Associated Press, "Beam's Wife Arrives to Tearful Reunion," *Galveston Daily News*, November 20, 1987.

85. John Williams, "Beam's wife Returns to Houston for Emotional Reunion with Family," *Houston Chronicle*, November 20, 1987, sec. 1, 22; "Libre, extranjera que hirió de dos balazos a un agente."

86. Danny Johnston, Associated Press, Photograph of Sheila Beam, *Miami News*, November 20, 1987.

87. This surgery is not mentioned in other accounts and may be a narrative device. Campbell, "Louis & Sheila."

88. Testimony of Frazier Glenn Miller, *Miles et al.*, March 10-11, 1988, Box 16-2; Suppression hearing, testimony of Steven Walker and Stuart Hoyt, *Miles et al.*, February 8, 1988, Testimonies-1; Nicholas Chriss, "CDR Notes on Trial," Arkansas sedition trial, February 16, 1988, notes on *Miles et al.*, LC, Box 13, Folder 9; Trounson, "Wife Calls Beam Misunderstood"; Battista, "Mrs. Beam Says Her Husband Isn't a Racist."

89. Ezekiel, *The Racist Mind*, 33.

90. On women's work neutralizing white power's violence and racist messages, see also Blee, *Inside Organized Racism*.

91. Ezekiel, *The Racist Mind*, 35.

92. Ibid.

93. Trounson, "Wife Calls Beam Misunderstood."

94. Zeskind, *Blood and Politics*, 154, 158; Nicholas C. Chriss, "Juror Says He Admires Beam's Racist Views," *Houston Chronicle*, April 26, 1988, 1, LC; Nicholas C. Chriss, "Jury Acquits Beam, Other Supremacists," *Houston Chronicle*, April 8, 1988, 1, LC; Nicholas C. Chriss, "Sedition Trial Acquittals Ignite Outcry over Jurors,"

Houston Chronicle, October 1988, 3B, LC. On local coverage of the CSA bust, see, for instance, "Police Surround Survivalists," *Northwest Arkansas Times*, April 20, 1985, 1; "Police, Supremacists Hold in a Standoff," *Courier-News* (Blytheville, AR), April 20, 1985, 1. On the belief that the Bible prohibited race-mixing, see Jane Dailey, "Sex, Segregation, and the Sacred after *Brown*," *Journal of American History* 91, no. 119 (2004): 119-144.

95. Zeskind, *Blood and Politics*, 159, 164; Subpoena for Documents, to FBI, filed by U.S. Attorney Helen Milburn Eversberg, March 3, 1985, SPLC.

96. "Increased Militancy of Supremacists Predicted."

97. James Coates, "Plot to Poison Water Is Detailed," *Chicago Tribune*, February 28, 1988, sec. 1, 5, SPLC; "Leader Says White Supremacists Considered Poisoning Major City," *Albany (OR) Democrat-Herald*, February 23, 1988, 7, RH WL Eph 1896.

98. Chriss, "Witness Tells of Scheme to Topple U.S."; Exhibit List, *Miles et al.*, Box 16-2; Zeskind, *Blood and Politics*, 61-63.

99. Testimony of Denver Parmenter, vols. 1-3, *Miles et al.*, February 29, 1988, Testimonies-2; "Increased Militancy of Supremacists Predicted"; Chriss, "Witness Tells of Scheme to Topple U.S."; David Mathiason, "Trial Bares Neo-Nazis' Plots and Links," *Guardian*, October 16, 1985, 6; LC; Chriss, "Sedition Trial Acquittals Ignite Outcry over Jurors"; Coates, "Plot to Poison Water Is Detailed"; "Jury Told of Plan to Kill Radio Host," *New York Times*, November 8, 1987, 31; "White Supremacy Groups Laid Plans to Assassinate Kissinger, Ex-Member Says," *Los Angeles Times*, September 14, 1985, 19.

100. Moutoux is occasionally spelled Moteaux in the archive. Affidavit, Farris L. Genide.

101. Coates, *Armed and Dangerous*, 94; Intelligence Project Database, SPLC; Bill Morlin, "One Lead in Bombing Ends in North Idaho," *Spokesman-Review*, May 2, 1995, A1, SPLC; Michael Whiteley, "McVeigh Tried to Call Colony Aide," *Democrat-Gazette*, ca. January 26, 1996, 1B, SPLC; Flynn and Gerhardt, *Silent Brotherhood*, 68, 142-144; L. J. Davis, "Ballad of an American Terrorist: A Neo-Nazi's Dream of Order," *Harper's Magazine*, July 1986, 53, LC, 8.14; Gary Gerhardt, John Accola, and Kevin Flynn, "Informants Name 2 Berg Suspects," *Rocky Mountain News*, February 10, 1985, 6, WHC; Opening Statement of Bob Ward, September 12, 1985, *Pierce et al.*, Box 3, at 51; Testimony of Louis Beam, *Miles et al.*, November 17, 1988, Box 16, Folder 2; Testimony of Jed Martin Bridley, December 2 1985, *Pierce et al.*, Box 6, at 9935-9945.

102. Neill is also spelled Neal in the archive. Ancestry.com, *Texas, Divorce Index, 1968-2011*; Ancestry.com, *Texas, Marriage Collection, 1814-1909 and 1966-2011*; Michael Whiteley, "McVeigh-Separatists Link Rumored but Not Proved," *Arkansas Democrat-Gazette*, February 26, 2003, 1, SPLC, Oklahoma City

File; Drew Jubera, "Confederacy Group Vote Sidesteps Controversy," *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, August 2, 2002, 3A, SPLC; Taylor, "An Unreconstructed Southerner"; Paul Shukovsky, "Ex-Guardsman Charged with Espionage," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, February 6, 2003, A1, SPLC; Andrew Gumbel and Roger G. Charles, *Oklahoma City: What the Investigation Missed—and Why It Still Matters* (New York: William Morrow, 2012); Charles Duell's opening statement representing David Michael McGuire, Chriss, "CDR Notes on Trial"; Chriss, "Sedition Trial Acquittals Ignite Outcry over Jurors"; "Dr. Neill H. Payne," Southern Legal Resource Center, <https://slrc-csa.org/about-us/board-of-directors/neill-h-payne>; Testimony of James Ellison and Kerry Noble, *Miles et al.*, February 23, 24, 25, 1987 [sic], Testimonies-1.

103. Chriss, "Sedition Trial Acquittals Ignite Outcry over Jurors"; Gumbel and Charles, *Oklahoma City*, 261.

104. Testimony of Louis Ray Beam, Jr., *Miles et al.*, November 17, 1988, Box 16, Folder 2. Other defendants also used the same strategy to establish their defense of white women and/or their patriotic war service. See, for instance, Testimony of Michelle Pardee questioned by Richard Scutari, *Miles et al.*, March 14 and 16, 1988, Testimonies-1; Testimony of Julie Woods questioned by Bruce Pierce, *Miles et al.*, March 17, 1988, Testimonies-1.

105. Chriss, "CDR Notes on Trial"; Testimony of Louis Ray Beam, Jr., *Miles et al.*, November 17, 1988, Box 16, Folder 2.

106. Testimony of Louis Ray Beam, Jr., *Miles et al.*, November 17, 1988, Box 16, Folder 2.

107. "Arkansas Jury Finds 13 Not Guilty"; Order of Hon. Morris S. Arnold, *Miles et al.*, July 15, 1988, Box 16-2.

108. Chriss, "Jury Acquits Beam, Other Supremacists."

109. Minutaglio, "Biography of a Hatemonger."

110. Chriss, "Jury Acquits Beam, Other Supremacists"; Associated Press photo, "Jubilant Racists Win Trial," *Kansas City Times*, April 8, 1988, RH WL P3497; Zeskind, *Blood and Politics*, 168.

111. Minutaglio, "Biography of a Hatemonger"; Campbell, "Louis & Sheila."

112. "Arkansas Jury Finds 13 Not Guilty."

113. Whiteley, "McVeigh-Separatists Link Rumored but Not Proved"; *Democrat-Gazette*, February 26, 2003, 1, SPLC, Oklahoma City File; Louis Beam, untitled introductory note, *Seditionist*, issue 1 (1988), LC, Series II, 2.22; Louis R. Beam Jr., *Essays of a Klansman*, 2nd ed. (Hayden Lake, ID: A.K.I.A. Publications, 1989).

114. Louis R. Beam, "Leaderless Resistance," *Seditionist*, issue 12 (February 1992), Intelligence Project holdings, SPLC; Louis Beam, Estes Park Speech, October 23, 1992, video recording, SPLC.

115. Martin Walker, "Guns and the Godly," *Guardian*, April 21, 1993, A2.