Extremist Construction of Identity:

How Escalating Demands for Legitimacy Shape and Define In-Group and Out-Group Dynamics

This Research Paper examines how the white supremacist movement Christian Identity emerged from a non-extremist forerunner known as British Israelism. By examining ideological shifts over the course of nearly a century, the paper seeks to identify key pivot points in the movement's shift toward extremism and explain the process through which extremist ideologues construct and define in-group and out-group identities. Based on these findings, the paper proposes a new framework for analysing and understanding the behaviour and emergence of extremist groups. The proposed framework can be leveraged to design strategic counter-terrorism communications programmes using a linkage-based approach that deconstructs the process of extremist in-group and out-group definition. Future publications will continue this study, seeking to refine the framework and operationalise messaging recommendations.

About the Author

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1. Introduction and Overview

Political movements are not born extreme; they evolve that way over time.

This paper derives a theoretical framework for analysing extremist movements from a text-based study of how an Anglophile movement known as British Israelism evolved into the virulently racist Christian Identity over the course of a century.

Using a grounded theory approach[1] based on the analysis of ideological texts, this framework aims to offer insights into how groups radicalise toward violence and how to understand and counter these processes.

More broadly, this paper is a first step in developing and testing the hypothesis that extremist group radicalisation represents an identifiable process that can be understood as distinct from the contents of a movement's ideology. That is not to say that the content of an ideology is meaningless or unimportant. Rather, this research seeks to explore whether universal processes of radicalisation provide a more useful window into why identity-based extremist movements form in the first place and how they evolve toward violence.

In future publications, the author intends to test this initial framework against a variety of extremist movements, with the expectations that the findings will be further refined based on analysis of additional texts.

The following hypotheses were developed as a result of this initial study:

- Identity movements are oriented toward establishing the legitimacy of a collective group (organised on the basis of geography, religion, ethnicity or other *prima facie* commonalities).

- Movements become extreme when the in-group's demand for legitimacy escalates to the point it can only be satisfied at the expense of an out-group.

- Escalating demands for legitimacy can be measured in part by their expansion from real, present-day conflicts between an in-group and an out-group (or groups) to characterise the conflict as historical and set formal expectations for the future of the conflict (such as through religious prophecy).

- In texts, the process of escalation correlates to the increasing complexity of linkages between concepts, and the bundling of multiple linkages into single conceptual constructs. These mappings can inform efforts to counter extremist messaging. However, it should be noted that this paper does not argue that complexity is straightforwardly causative of extremist tendencies.

a) Definition of Legitimacy

Legitimacy is a word that encompasses many meanings in everyday use. In the context of this paper, as derived from an analysis of the stipulated texts, it applies to the

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[1] A. Strauss and J. Corbin, "Grounded theory methodology", *Handbook of qualitative research* 17 (1994), pp. 273-85.

conclusion that a particular collective identity group may rightfully be defined, maintained and/or protected.

Any social collective has a normal, healthy need for legitimacy, which serves to protect the community. When the rightful existence of an identity group is challenged, members may respond by seeking out justifications for the in-group's existence. These justifications may be more elaborate for "imagined communities," to borrow a phrase from Dr. Benedict Anderson: communities that are defined by their conceptual nature rather than bounded by physical limits and interpersonal relationships.[2]

Since communities based on nation, race or religion are highly (or wholly) conceptual, they are also prone to volatility. The healthy need for legitimacy can therefore spiral out of control when an identity collective turns toward extremism. If unchecked by internal or external pressures, in-groups can escalate their demands for legitimacy in ways that distinguish them from healthy social collectives and identify them as extremist.

The relevance of this definition for legitimacy is clearly demonstrated in the first paragraph of the creedal statement of the Aryan Nations, a violent extremist group that subscribes to the white supremacist ideology of Christian Identity:

> WE BELIEVE in the preservation of our Race, individually and collectively, as a people as demanded and directed by Yahweh. We believe our Racial Nation has a right and is under obligation to preserve itself and its members.[3]

The development of Christian Identity's ideology, starting with its non-violent roots in a movement known as British Israelism, will be examined at greater length below.

Groups that are in the process of becoming more extreme typically escalate their expectations and demands within the following ranges:

- **Recognition:** In-group demands more and more recognition of its claimed legitimacy and treats lack of adequate recognition as a threat.

- **Scope of Action:** In-group requires increasing latitude to take an ever-widening range of actions to advance its claim to legitimacy.

- **Attack on Out-Group:** In-group enhances its legitimacy at the expense of out-groups, using tactics that escalate from discrimination to segregation to violence; if left unchecked, this culminates in extermination of the out-group.

- **Threat and Vulnerability Gap:** In-groups see themselves as increasingly vulnerable, and they see out-groups as increasingly threatening. Vulnerability and threat are related, but not always identically premised.

- **Shifting Criteria for In-Group Membership:** The definition of the in-group becomes dramatically more expansive or restrictive. In the former instance, the

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[2] B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York: Verso Books, 2006), pp. 5-6.
[3] Kaplan, *Encyclopedia of white power: A sourcebook on the radical racist right* (Rowman & Littlefield: AltaMira Press, 2000), p. 469.

in-group is enlarged in order to maximise the marginalisation of the out-group. In the latter, people who were defined as part of the in-group at earlier stages are reclassified as out-group (for instance, as "race traitors" or "apostates") if they fail to keep pace with the in-group's escalating demands for legitimacy.

For extremist in-groups, the insatiable need for legitimacy is an auto-immune disease that will eventually deplete its host. If unchecked by internal or external pressures, the process of escalation leads many extremist groups to expend resources faster than they can be replenished. As a result, some extremist groups die out, but others adapt by either reducing or further escalating their demands for legitimacy. In theory, the former approach would be expected to slow the expenditure of resources; the latter approach would be expected to be more effective at mobilising in-group members to action.

The framework outlined in this paper is both related and indebted to social identity theory. This framework follows a somewhat different structure and differentiates some terms and concepts.[4] The substitution of legitimacy for the "status" sought by in-groups as defined in Social Identity Theory is one meaningful distinction. Status must be understood relative to in-group/out-group dynamics, whereas legitimacy offers a starting point that primarily focuses on enhancing the in-group in the earlier stages of identity construction, before expanding to address comparisons to out-groups.

b) Definitions of Extremism and Radicalisation

The words extremism and radicalisation (in the context of extremism) are poorly defined in public discourse, and often not much clearer in the professional and academic communities that study them. As Dr. Alex Schmid notes, "The popularity of the concept of 'radicalisation' stands in no direct relationship to its actual explanatory power regarding the root causes of terrorism."[5] The same can be said for the term extremism.

Many different definitions have been offered, none have been universally adopted. In recent years, definitions have largely been framed in the context of violent extremism, a term that is frequently used interchangeably with non-state terrorism (itself poorly defined).[6]

For various reasons, it is much more difficult and problematic to define extremism outside of the context of violence, primarily because "extremist" is a politically freighted term that is often used in a mainstream context to define opponents' views.

Yet it should be clear that extremism is not always violent and it is not always associated with non-state actors. For instance, movements based on discrimination, separatism or voluntary social self-segregation do not necessarily advocate violence, although they frequently evolve in that direction. And in-group/out-group dynamics have fueled

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[4] N. Ellemers and S.A. Haslam, "Social identity theory", *Handbook of theories of social psychology* 2 (2011), pp. 379-398.
[5] A.P. Schmid, "Radicalisation, De-Radicalisation, Counter-Radicalisation: A Conceptual Discussion and Literature Review", *The International Centre for Counter-Terrorism – The Hague* 4, no. 2 (2013), https://icct.nl/publication/radicalisation-de-radicalisation-counter-radicalisation-a-conceptual-discussion-and-literature-review/; D.R. Mandel, "Radicalization: What does it mean", in T.M. Pick, A. Speckhard and B. Jacuch, eds., *Home-grown terrorism: Understanding and addressing the root causes of radicalisation among groups with an immigrant heritage in Europe* (IOS Press, 2010), pp. 101-113.
[6] R. Arshad, "The problem of defining terrorism: a global issue", *International Journal of Research in Social Sciences* 4, no. 4 (2014), p. 855.

government policies throughout history, from segregation to genocide and a host of intermediate options.

Not only is there no universally accepted definition, it is difficult to identify even a consensus. Some definitions, particularly in policy circles, discuss only violent extremism, especially in countries where nonviolent extremism may be protected under the law.[7] Others are framed against the perceived mainstream of society, a moving target.[8] Some academics and scholars define radicalisation in circular terms as "acquisition of extreme ideas,"[9] or define extremists as people who have "radical or extreme ideas."[10]

In the context of identity-based movements and derived from the study featured in this paper, as well as the author's previous study of identity extremist movements,[11] the following definitions are proposed:

Extremism: A spectrum of beliefs in which an in-group's success is inseparable from negative acts against an out-group. Negative acts can include verbal attacks and diminishment, discriminatory behaviour, or violence.

Competition is not inherently extremist, because it does not require harmful, out-of-bounds acts against competitors (such as sabotage). The need for harmful activity must be inseparable from the in-group's understanding of success in order to qualify. Similarly, not every harmful act is necessarily extremist.

Violent Extremism: The belief that an in-group's success is inseparable from violence against an out-group. A violent extremist ideology may subjectively characterise this violence as defensive, offensive, or pre-emptive. Again, inseparability is the key element here, reflecting that the need for violence against the out-group is not conditional or situational. For instance, war is not automatically an extremist proposition. But endless, apocalyptic or genocidal wars are usually seen as inseparable from the health of the in-group.

Violent extremist groups may claim (sincerely or insincerely) to consider temporary cessation of hostilities when certain conditions are met. For instance, al Qaeda statements regarding the West sometimes outline conditions under which a truce or treaty can occur.[12] But al Qaeda's ideological texts stipulate in various ways that fighting against out-groups must continue until the end of history.[13] The ability to entertain a truce does not disqualify a movement from extremism, although the inability to entertain a truce is likely a definitive indicator of such.

[7] For instance: B. Obama, "Empowering local partners to prevent violent extremism in the United States", *Office of the President*, 2011, https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/default/files/sip-final.pdf.
[8] HM Government, "Revised Prevent Duty Guidance for England and Wales", *HM Government*, 2016, https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/445977/3799_Revised_Prevent_Duty_Guidance__England_Wales_V2-Interactive.pdf.
[9] M. Sageman, *Misunderstanding Terrorism* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016). Kindle location: 1513. It should be noted in context that Sageman is objecting to this definition.
[10] B. Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism. Revised edition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), p 38.
[11] J. M. Berger, *Jihad Joe: Americans who go to war in the name of Islam* (Washington D.C.: Potomac Books, Inc., 2011); J. Stern and J. M. Berger, *ISIS: The state of terror* (New York: HarperCollins, 2015); J. M. Berger, "The Enduring Appeal of Al-'Awlaqi's 'Constants on the Path of Jihad'", *CTC Sentinel* 4, no. 10 (2011), pp. 12-15; et al.
[12] "Transcript of Bin Laden's October interview", *CNN*, 5 February 2002, http://edition.cnn.com/2002/WORLD/asiapcf/south/02/05/binladen.transcript/.
[13] J. M. Berger, "The Enduring Appeal of Al-'Awlaqi's 'Constants on the Path of Jihad'" (2011).

From the two definitions above, a third follows:

Radicalisation into Extremism: The escalation of an in-group's extremist orientation through the endorsement of increasingly harmful actions against an out-group or out-groups (usually correlating to the adoption of increasingly negative views of the same).

These definitions are applied within this paper, and the author believes they may be useful in other contexts. However, additional grounded study may lead to revisions for wider contexts.

c) Definition of Extremist Ideology

Dr. Haroro Ingram writes that "ideology is a tool that is used selectively by violent extremists to construct their 'system of meaning' in response to psychosocial and strategic factors."[14] Derivative of this definition, and based on the study of the texts discussed in this paper, extremist ideology is defined here as the set of justifications that legitimises an in-group, which is primarily expressed through texts, including both the written and spoken word.

Extremist ideologies can contain dramatically different content depending on the identity group from which they derive meaning, but identity-based extremist ideologies of various types may be covered by the following provisos:

- Ideology is a description of the nature of an in-group, including its history, practices and expectations for the future.

- Extremist ideology describes the nature of an out-group, including its history, practices and expectations about its future actions. Not all identity-based movements need to describe an out-group, but extremist movements (by the definitions above) must include this element.

- In addition to defining general practices, ideology usually defines acceptable tactics for maintaining or increasing the in-group's legitimacy (such as isolation, proselytisation, or violence against an out-group).

Ideology must be transmitted and marketed to members of an in-group in order to become consequential; therefore it is inextricably linked to propaganda. Ideology has no power if it cannot proliferate, and it cannot proliferate without the distribution of texts (including the written word, video and audio). This paper will therefore frame ideology as a textual and propagandistic process.

While the specific contents of an extremist ideology do matter, this research explores the thesis that extremist ideologies emerge from a more clearly universal process. Derived from the case study in this paper, a hypothesis is offered that the contents of an ideology are retrofitted to meet a demand for greater legitimacy.

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[14] H. J. Ingram, "A "Linkage-Based" Approach to Combating Militant Islamist Propaganda: A Two-Tiered Framework for Practitioners", *The International Centre for Counter-Terrorism – The Hague* 7, no. 6 (2016), https://icct.nl/publication/a-linkage-based-approach-to-combating-militant-islamist-propaganda-a-two-tiered-framework-for-practitioners/.

Finally, this paper will argue that the *process of ideological construction* must be understood at least as well as the *contents of the ideology* for purposes of countering violent extremism, counter-terrorism messaging and deradicalisation programs.

d) Linkages and Bundles

This paper builds on the framework presented by Ingram in "A 'Linkage-Based' Approach to Combating Militant Islamist Propaganda".[15] Elements of group identity are presented in texts by ideologues and propagandists by linking concepts, for instance by linking an out-group to a crisis or threat, or by linking an in-group to a solution or benefit.

In the ideological texts examined herein, these linkages were seen to be bundled into high-level constructs, in which several concepts are connected to one another and then conflated into a single idea. An example would be an ideological argument that draws connections between a conspiracy theory, a scriptural reference, a folkloric tradition and a real historical event, representing the bundled product simply as "history."

At the highest level, extremists tie an out-group to a crisis or crises, and connect the in-group to solutions. But these high-level constructs can be unbundled into a series of more complex links. For instance:

- Elements of **in-group and out-group identity** (perceived beliefs, practices, expectations, etc.) are linked to **source knowledge** (news, history, folklore, scripture, myth, conspiracy theories, etc.).

- Elements of **in-group identity** are linked to **vulnerability assessment** (mild, major, existential, or apocalyptic).

- Elements of **out-group identity** are linked to **threat assessment** (mild, major, existential, or apocalyptic).

- **Vulnerability** and **threat assessment** are bundled into a **crisis construct,** which adds urgency to the in-group's attempts to recruit and mobilise members.

- The **crisis construct** is linked to **prescribed solutions** to the "out-group problem" (such as assimilation, discrimination, segregation, or extermination).

Bundled concepts can themselves be bundled, resulting in very complex networks of meaning. To fully dissect the construction of an identity group and associated messaging, especially in the case of extremist movements, it is necessary to understand how and when concepts are bundled and to unpack them into their component parts.

e) Automatic and Deliberative Thinking

In "Deciphering the Siren Call of Militant Islamist Propaganda," Ingram argues that extremist propaganda seeks to produce one of two reactions in target audiences:

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[15] Ibid.

> [Daniel] Kahneman's research … argues that the mind is characterised by two systems of thinking: "System 1 operates automatically and quickly, with little or no effort and no sense of voluntary control." This is also referred to as "thinking fast" or "automatic thinking". In contrast, "System 2 allocates attention to the effortful mental activities that demand it, including complex computations. The operations of System 2 are often associated with the subjective experience of agency, choice, and concentration." System 2 is also referred to as "thinking slow" or "deliberative thinking".[16]

Ingram observes that deliberative thinking is invoked by extremist propagandists who wish to trigger an assessment of automatic judgments in their audiences, often as a response when automatic assertions are challenged. This paper will examine examples of both types of thinking in the evolution of Christian Identity ideology. An expanded explanation of these concepts can be found in "Deciphering the Siren Call of Militant Islamist Propaganda."

Automatic (System 1)	Deliberative (System 2)
Considers what automatically comes to mind (*narrow frame*)	Considers a broad set of relevant factors (*wide frame*)
Effortless	Effortful
Associative	Based on reasoning
Intuitive	Reflective

Source: *World Development Report 2015*

2. The Evolution of Christian Identity

a) Introduction

The violent racist movement Christian Identity provides a useful case study in the evolution of extremist identity, because it went through a fairly clear and gradual metamorphosis from a less extreme initial formulation into its full-blown violent incarnation, and because its evolution is particularly well-documented in texts.

While there are many variations on the ideology, adherents of Christian Identity broadly believe members of the "white race" are the Chosen People of God described in the Christian Bible, and that other races are impure and part of a genetic lineage that can be traced directly to Satan or to Satanic influences.

Dr. Michael Barkun provides an authoritative account of this movement's origins and evolution in his book, *Religion and the Racist Right: The Origins of the Christian Identity Movement*, and this paper will not attempt to recreate that comprehensive narrative history, however a brief chronology of the movement's development and the situation of the texts examined in this paper is presented in Appendix B.[17]

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[16] Ibid.
[17] M. Barkun, *Religion and the racist right: The origins of the Christian Identity movement* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press Books, 1997).

This paper will instead examine a representative sample of the movement's key texts, from its earliest incarnations to its most-developed manifestations, to analyse the movement's evolution from the elevation of an in-group identity (by Christian Identity's direct precursor, British Israelism) into its later framing of a cosmic war against a demonic out-group.

The texts are examined here in roughly chronological order, but the many competing strains of thought and overlapping developments preclude a strictly linear evolution. They were selected for their prominence and with an emphasis on texts that introduced novel concepts which altered the movement's trajectory. Some of these ideas developed in parallel, while others are expressed more clearly or fully by texts taken out of the chronological sequence.

b) Legitimacy of the In-Group

British Israelism was a historical theory originating in the late 19th century, which stipulated with varying degrees of specificity that the "Chosen People" of the Old Testament—known as the Israelites—were the ancestors of the Anglo-Saxon "race".[18] In its very earliest iteration, the theory held that many Europeans were (unknowingly) Jewish. [19] But this swiftly gave way to an argument that Europeans were the descendants and heirs of the Chosen People of Israel, distinct from a Jewish identity.

British Israelism constructed an in-group identity with two primary and interrelated components: nation and race. Adherents believed Anglo-Saxons were a distinct race descended from the so-called "lost tribes" of the nation of Israel described in the Bible.

The fate of these tribes is unclear in canonical texts, although later apocryphal works and religious and historical theories offer a variety of clues or explanations for their disappearance.[20]

British Israelists theorised that the lost tribes had migrated to Europe and seeded a race of white Europeans, who were the rightful beneficiaries of covenants with God that had been documented in the Christian Old Testament. British Israelism did not entirely exclude modern Jews from the racial and religious line of God's "chosen people", Rather, the theory initially sought to extend the biblical status of the "chosen" to the race of Anglo-Saxons and the nation of the British Empire (and later to the United States). As the movement solidified, the idea was fleshed out in a torrent of extremely dense, pseudo-academic studies.

Judah's Sceptre and Joseph's Birthright

Judah's Sceptre and Joseph's Birthright, published in 1902 by J. H. Allen, represents a mature explanation of the ideology.[21] The book also stands out as one of the more accessible and influential works in a field overstuffed with elaborate scriptural citations,

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[18] J. Wilson, "The Relation between Ideology and Organization in a Small Religious Group: The British Israelites", *Review of Religious Research* 10, no. 1 (1968), pp. 51–60.

[19] M. Barkun, *Religion and the racist right: The origins of the Christian Identity movement* (1997), p. 6.

[20] For instance, http://www.jewishpress.com/sections/magazine/glimpses-ajh/the-american-indian-descended-from-the-ten-lost-tribes-part-ii/2015/02/04/ and http://blogs.timesofisrael.com/the-lost-tribes-our-fifty-million-taliban-brothers/.

[21] J. H. Allen, *Judah's Sceptre and Joseph's Birthright* (Merrimac, MA: Destiny Publishers, 1902). Accessed as PDF and Kindle book of 19th edition, published sometime after 1918.

biblical genealogies and the parsing of Hebrew names against other names and words with similar sounds. In Barkun's words, British Israelists "mimick[ed] techniques of historical scholarship, so that conclusions might be advanced not merely as statements of faith but as intersubjectively testable knowledge".[22]

In keeping with the general outline shared by most British Israelist theorists, Allen argues that the nation of Israel described in the Bible has been misunderstood by mainstream scholars as an exclusively Jewish state. He claims the lost tribes of Israel migrated to the British Isles and survive today as Anglo-Saxons, constituting a separate nation and a semi-distinct race from the tribe of Judah, whose descendants are modern-day Jews.

In Allen's iteration of British Israelist theory, scriptures are deployed to support a claim that Anglo-Saxons and Jews descend from a single bloodline in antiquity that eventually separated into somewhat distinct races, relying on the extensive genealogies chronicled in the Old Testament.[23] The importance of these familial distinctions relate to various Old Testament covenants that promised future greatness to the descendants of Abraham.

Allen separates these covenants according to whom they were promised, resulting in a "birthright" line, destined to be the "father of many nations", and a distinct "sceptre" line, which he interprets as the royal line of David, through the tribe of Judah, from which Jesus Christ would be born.[24] A notable component of this genealogical history involves junctures in the biblical narrative in which the birthright takes unexpected turns. Allen relates several examples in which the birthright does not proceed to the firstborn son, either due to God's expressed preferences or due to actions taken by the men involved (for instance, when God chooses Jacob, the younger son of Isaac, to receive his birthright, instead of the older son, Esau).[25]

In Allen's view – which he defends with a mix of biblical citations, folklore and arcane symbology – the lost tribes are heirs to the nation of Israel, distinct from the Jewish people.

The biblical sources are a mix of what Allen presents as literal history and interpreted prophecy. From folklore, Allen selects data points useful to his argument, such as legends surrounding the "Stone of Scone," an artifact used in the coronation of English monarchs, said to have originally belonged to the biblical patriarch Jacob.[26] In the realm of symbology, later in the text, Allen veers into increasingly fervid flights of imagination. For example, he finds meaningful parallels between a biblical reference to a "scarlet thread" linked to the "sceptre" bloodline and the British flag, which has literal scarlet threads woven into its fabric.[27]

Taken together, Allen argues, all of these data points prove that Anglo-Saxons are the rightful heirs to God's promises, specifically a promise that the descendants of the biblical figure Ephraim would father "many nations" or "a company of nations", which

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[22] M. Barkun, *Religion and the racist right: The origins of the Christian Identity movement* (1997), pp. 126, 162.
[23] J. H. Allen, *Judah's Sceptre and Joseph's Birthright* (1902), Part First, Chapter 2.
[24] J. H. Allen, *Judah's Sceptre and Joseph's Birthright* (1902), Part First, Chapter 3.
[25] J. H. Allen, *Judah's Sceptre and Joseph's Birthright* (1902), Part First, Chapter 2.
[26] J. H. Allen, *Judah's Sceptre and Joseph's Birthright* (1902), Part First, Chapter 3. For traditions surrounding the stone, see http://www.westminster-abbey.org/our-history/the-coronation-chair.
[27] J. H. Allen, *Judah's Sceptre and Joseph's Birthright* (1902), Part Third, Chapter 7.

Allen casts as a prefiguration of the British Empire. He further separates one of the lost tribes – linked to the biblical figure Manasseh – as antecedent to the United States, making Americans rightful heirs of a prophecy that Manasseh's descendants would one day form "a great nation" in the singular.[28] Allen does not stop with this elevation of Anglo-Saxon destiny, however. He takes it a step further and argues that the "sceptre", or royal line, has passed from the Jews to Israel, meaning the Anglo-Saxon tribes.

Race as Text versus Subtext

Judah's Sceptre is heavily concerned with distinctions of race, but these are important primarily as it concerns the proper inheritance of God's prophesied blessings. In a chapter titled "Race Versus Grace", Allen mounts an argument that both race and grace (meaning religiously correct belief and action) are necessary for Israel to fulfil prophecy and establish the word of God on Earth.[29]

This formulation frames British Israelism as an ethno-nationalist movement with some significant loopholes and exceptions for those who are willing to assimilate.

One key exception applies to the Jews. Allen portrays the rift between the Israelites and the Jews as religious and historical in nature, rather than intrinsically racial, and he argues that Anglo-Saxon "Israel" will eventually be reunited with the Jews in accordance with prophecy. As Allen explains, "The brotherhood is still broken, *but it shall be mended*" (emphasis in original).[30] For Allen, the shared racial heritage of Jews and Anglo-Saxons unites more than it divides.

Implicit but essential to this racial calculus is some manner of patronising superiority and ultimate sovereignty over the world's other races. But despite the centrality of race to his argument, Allen neglects to mention – in the course of nearly 100,000 words – how people of African or Asian descent might be impacted by the ascendance of divinely ordained Anglo-Saxon hegemony, aside from a tangential note that the abolition of slavery in the West was morally correct and in accordance with prophecy.[31]

Earlier iterations of the British Israelite theory were slightly more forthcoming on this point. The earliest formal statement of British Israelism as a distinct ideology was the 1876 tract, *Lectures on Our Israelitish Origin*. The book's author, John Wilson, is described by Barkun as a key figure in institutionalising the ideology as a movement.[32]

In *Lectures*, Wilson presents a fairly typical theory of the time, describing three "major races" that branch off from the sons of Noah – Shem (white), Ham (black), and Japheth (Asian and indigenous people such as Native Americans) – accompanied by patronising descriptions of non-white characteristics.[33] Few of these racial formulations were original to Wilson; some had existed for centuries as part of theological justifications for slavery. For instance, Wilson reiterates a well-known theological interpretation of the day, used by others to justify the enslavement of Africans based on a biblical story in which Ham's son is cursed by God to be a slave.[34]

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[28] J. H. Allen, *Judah's Sceptre and Joseph's Birthright* (1902), Part Third, Chapter 5.
[29] J. H. Allen, *Judah's Sceptre and Joseph's Birthright* (1902), Part First, Chapter 2.
[30] J. H. Allen, *Judah's Sceptre and Joseph's Birthright* (1902), Part First, Chapter 6.
[31] J. H. Allen, *Judah's Sceptre and Joseph's Birthright* (1902), Part Third, Chapter 6 and Chapter 8.
[32] M. Barkun, *Religion and the racist right: The origins of the Christian Identity movement* (1997), p 7.
[33] J. Wilson, *Lectures on our Israelitish origin* (London: J. Nisbet, 1876), Lecture 2.
[34] Genesis 9:18-27; See also D. M. Goldenberg, *The curse of Ham: Race and slavery in early Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (Princeton University Press, 2009).

Wilson devotes more ink than Allen to a discussion of race and more visibly reflects the prevalent racist attitudes of his day, but these elements are also clearly tangential to his primary argument that Anglo-Saxons are the lineal inheritors of the nation of Israel.

While early adherents of British Israelism waxed on at great length to assert and justify their elevated in-group status as the rightful heirs of prophecy and special status in the eyes of God, their writings rarely ventured into out-group dynamics in any meaningful way – even when discussing the most obvious potential challenge to their scriptural claims of legitimacy, the Jews.

Out-Group Status Quo

British Israelism patently disenfranchises the Jews of their biblical covenants with God and transfers the benefits of those covenants to Anglo-Saxons. But from the perspective of Wilson, Allen and other British Israelists, this wasn't larceny, it was simply a lateral variation on the "normal" status quo.

British Israelists started from the assumption that the Jews had no covenants left to lose. Most mainstream Christian theologians of the day endorsed some form of "replacement theology" – a belief that Old Testament covenants were either superseded or fulfilled by the coming of Christ. [35] We know the British Israelists emerged from that tradition because they devoted many pages to detailed refutations of replacement theology,[36] arguing that the old covenants had not been superseded or fulfilled, but were still valid and subject to a legitimate claim by Anglo-Saxons.

In other words, British Israelists did not emerge to contest the legitimacy of a Jewish claim to the benefits of the covenants. The very notion was so irrelevant to their thinking that they never even dignified it with their attention. Instead, they emerged to contest the contemporaneous Christian claim that the covenants had been replaced.

Thus, most early British Israelists did not frame Jews as an enemy out-group, treating them instead as an alienated segment of the Israelite in-group. For Wilson, Jews and Europeans alike are descendants of Shem and thus genetically superior to the other two major races. Wilson often uses Caucasian and Semitic interchangeably, although he specifies that Anglo-Saxons are the best exemplars of the race and further claims that the Jewish line has been polluted by race-mixing—a point that would be recalled by later writers and eventually take on much greater importance.

This miscegenation, along with the rejection and execution of Christ, contributed to disqualifying modern Jews from participation in God's covenants, Wilson argues, but he stipulates that the Jews can be re-assimilated into the nation of Israel by converting to Christianity.[37] While he criticises the Jews for "unceasing hatred [of] not only Christ, the Head, but also His followers", he is also very specific that they must not be excluded from the fulfilment of prophecy, explaining:

> Do we bring forward these historical truths to disparage the Jew? Far from it. Only to illustrate the truth regarding Israel.[38]

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[35] M. J. Vlach, "Various forms of Replacement theology", *The Master's Seminary Journal* 20, no. 1 (2009), pp. 57-69.
[36] For instance, J. H. Allen, *Judah's Sceptre and Joseph's Birthright* (1902), Part First, Chapter 3.
[37] J. Wilson, *Lectures on our Israelitish origin* (1876), p. 368.
[38] J. Wilson, *Lectures on our Israelitish origin* (1876), p. 111.

Allen, writing 27 years later, is far more careful to avoid disparaging Jews (or anyone else) on racial grounds, arguing that in the future, Anglo-Israel and the tribe of Judah "are again to be united, become one kingdom, and then remain so forever".[39] Other British Israelist authors generally followed the same template, expecting a future reunification and embracing a patronising and often freighted philo-Semitism.

"Ephraim – the Anglo-Saxon – are reaching out the hand of love – of fraternal affection – to Judah, the Jews, inviting them to terms of fellowship, such as in the days of old when they came out of Egypt, and before the separation", wrote E.P. Ingersoll in 1886's *Lost Israel Found in the Anglo-Saxon Race*.[40]

"View the Jews, therefore, in any aspect you please, they at once arrest our attention, inspire our thoughts and command our admiration", wrote William H. Poole in 1889's *Anglo‑Israel or the Saxon Race Proved to be the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel* – before describing a stereotypically unpleasant Jewish "countenance" as a byproduct of their rejection of Christ.[41]

Despite all the qualifications and stipulations, the fraternal impulses of the British Israelists were fraught with underlying tensions, chiefly that their magnanimity toward the Jews was predicated on a firm expectation of eventual assimilation. Jews must eventually embrace Christianity in order for British Israelists' prophetic expectations to be fulfilled. This underlying tension would grow sharper as British Israelism evolved into the mid-20th century, at the same time that a broader social strain of anti-Semitism was evolving from a religious construct into a racial one.

Judah's Sceptre: Linkage Analysis

British Israelites sought to enhance in-group legitimacy by making Anglo-Saxons the inheritors of biblical covenants and promises of greatness. This was accomplished in texts through a pseudo-scholarly approach, designed to woo potential recruits through deliberative arguments.[42]

Judah's Sceptre and Joseph's Birthright creates its constructs of identity by establishing elaborate conceptual linkages among a number of in-group concepts and knowledge assets. These include but are not limited to:

In-Group Concept	Linkage	In-Group Concept
Heredity	Justifies	Legitimacy
Scripture	Documents	Heredity
Folklore	Correlates with	Scripture
History	Correlates with	Folklore
Scripture	Is	History

[39] J. H. Allen, *Judah's Sceptre and Joseph's Birthright* (1902), Part First, Chapter 6.
[40] E. P. Ingersol, *Lost Israel Found* (Topeka: Kansas Publishing House, 1886), Chapter 10.
[41] W. H. Poole, *Anglo-Israel or the Saxon Race Proved to be the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel* (Toronto, n.d.), pp. 15-16.
[42] H. J. Ingram, "A "Linkage-Based" Approach to Combating Militant Islamist Propaganda: A Two-Tiered Framework for Practitioners"(2016). Citing D. Kahneman, *Thinking, fast and slow* (Macmillan, 2011).

Folklore	Documents	Heredity
God	Grants	Legitimacy
God	Made covenants with	Israelites
Anglo-Saxons	Descended from	Israelites
Anglo-Saxons	Inherit	Covenants
Anglo-Saxons	Are ignorant of	Heredity
Israelites	Are	Chosen People
Anglo-Saxons	Are	Israelites
Anglo-Saxons	Are	Chosen People
British	Are	Tribe of Ephraim
Americans	Are	Tribe of Manasseh
British	Prophesied to be	A company of nations
Americans	Prophesied to be	A great nation

Judah's Sceptre is not a fully formed extremist interpretation of the world, in part because it emerges from a discriminatory worldview in which it is not necessary to disenfranchise Jews of what they do not possess. Furthermore, it does not critique Jewish practices or historical behaviour (or rather, it does not single Jews out for more criticism than Anglo-Saxons). Instead, its primary critique is intellectual in basis and directed at mainstream Christian theologians whose conclusions differ from Allen's.

Nevertheless, Allen provides seeds for the eventual development of an out-group dynamic, setting the stage for the next generation of British Israelists. These are derived from the in-group linkage that "God made covenants with the Israelites" and that "Anglo-Saxons are Israelites". The conclusions that follow from this premise are:

Out-Group Concept	Linkage	Out-Group Concept
Jews	Are not	Anglo-Saxons
Jews	Are not	Israelites
Jews	Do not inherit	Covenants

Allen could have marshaled the same sources to argue that Anglo-Saxons were simply included or co-equal with the Jews in the inheritance of covenants. The fact that he, and most other British Israelite authors, chose not to take this approach provided the opening for an increasingly virulent strain of anti-Semitism that would eventually subsume the original ideology's particular and specific worldview.

At this stage in the movement's evolution, however, Allen does not perceive a threat from the out-group. Therefore, his prescription for a "solution" to the tension between

in-group and out-group franchises and preference divergence is relatively mild and relegated to the vanishingly distant future:

| In-Group Concept	Solves	Out-Group
Anglo-Saxons	Assimilate	Jews

Many of the concepts in the text are bundled (see chart, next page), particularly the key idea of heredity, which is a bundled collection of links between history, scripture, folklore and analysis. The crucial argument that "Anglo-Saxons are Israelites" is built on multiple bundles. Allen's articulation of the ideology can be usefully diagrammed according to these linkages and bundled concepts.

Judah's Sceptre and Joseph's Birthright uses these links and bundles to establish several benchmarks of in-group identity, including:

- Defining shared beliefs (religious)

- Defining shared history (scripture, heredity)

- Defining intrinsic, non-negotiable identity (heredity, Anglo-Israel nation)

For the early British Israelists, the heavy lifting is found in the work of constructing an intrinsic identity (Anglo-Israel) through "historical" proofs, derived from the bundled concepts of scripture, history and folklore. These are not treated as entirely interchangeable. Scriptural genealogies and history are seen as identical constructs; folklore is relegated to providing secondary and supporting proofs.

This bundle of concepts is the linchpin that keeps the wheels from flying off. Without the genealogical argument, British Israelism falls apart. In contrast, the future fruits of heredity are presented in relatively modest fashion – blessings due to a "great nation" and a "company of nations". When Allen invokes prophecy, he is most often pointing to prophecies he believes have already been fulfilled, which in turn are bundled into the historical and intrinsic constructs. Expectations for the future of the identity group remain vague. The movement, in its early stages, seeks its legitimacy in the past.
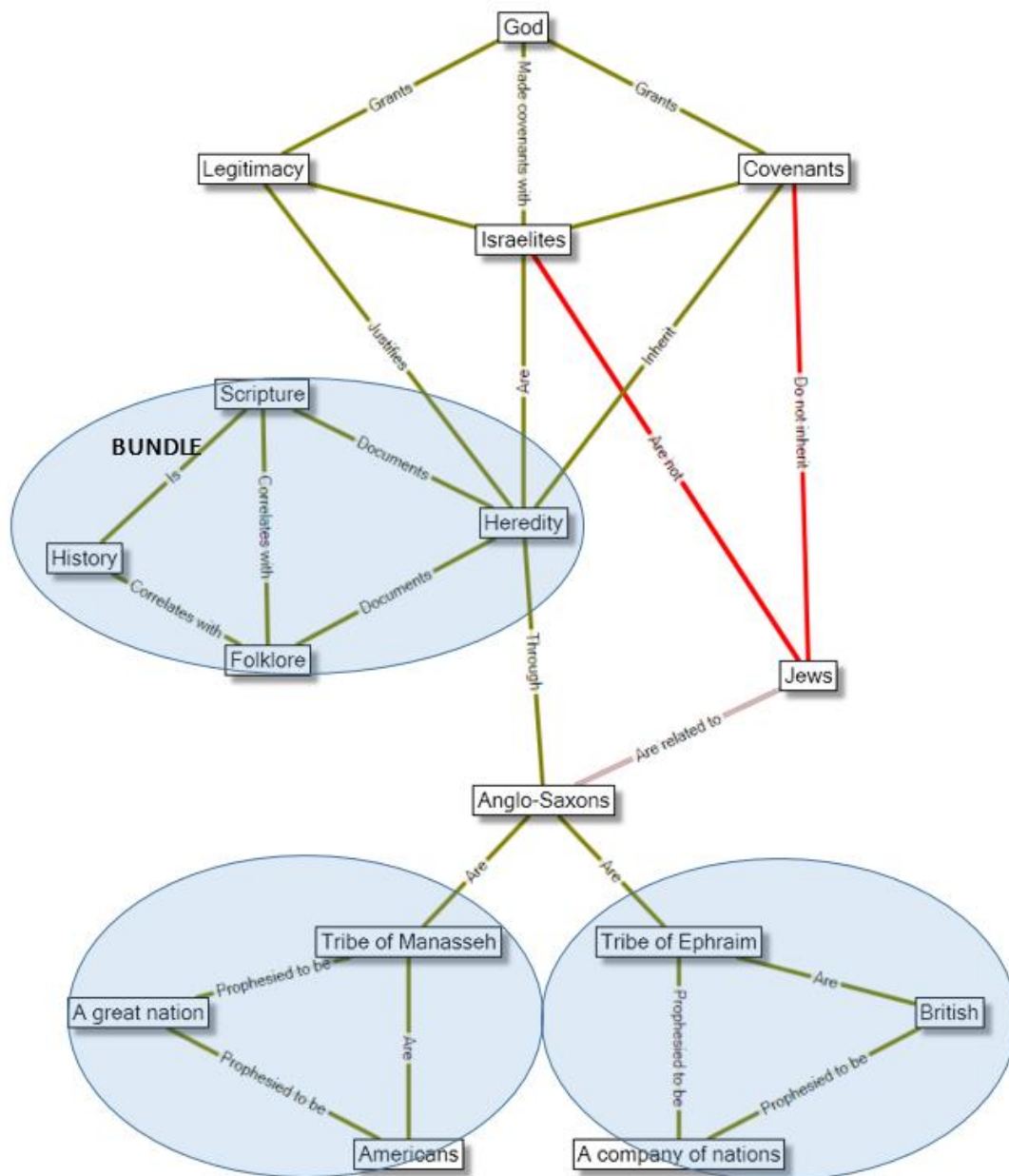
Linkages in the text of Judah's Sceptre and Joseph's Birthright. *Green lines represent links defining the in-group; red lines pertain to out-groups.*

c) Illegitimacy of the Out-Group

Racialisation of Jewish Identity

Around the time that British Israelism was evolving as a defined movement, a parallel ideological shift regarding attitudes toward Jews was taking place in Germany and other parts of Europe. It is not the intent of this paper to provide a thorough overview of this transition outside of the British Israelism context. The brief summary here draws primarily on Evans (2005) and Katz (1980).[43]

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[43] R. J. Evans, *The coming of the Third Reich* (New York: Penguin, 2005); J. Katz, *From prejudice to destruction: Anti-Semitism, 1700-1933* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980).

Anti-Jewish sentiment was nothing new by the 19th century, but historically, its major focus had been religious and based on a narrative that the Jews played a critical role in the death of Christ. With the rise of nationalism in Europe, it became expedient to define Jewish identity as racial rather than religious, in part because it meant that Jews who intermarried or converted to Christianity (a significant 19th century demographic in Germany) could not remove themselves from the out-group.[44]

A series of French and German works promoted racialised concepts of anti-Semitism throughout the late 19th century.[45] While the British Israelists were industriously Semitising Anglo-Saxons with extensive biblical citations, influential German writers like Theodor Fritsch instead Aryanised Christ, discarding biblical evidence to the contrary as tainted by Jewish revisionism.[46]

The new anti-Semitism did not win hearts and minds overnight, but its influence in European society grew. In 1899, an English immigrant to Germany named Houston Stewart Chamberlain published a book, *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, which was widely read and helped spread racial anti-Semitism to a much wider audience.[47]

There is considerably more to this story, of course, including the catastrophic expansion of these themes in Nazi Germany, but the purpose here is simply to introduce the strain of racialised anti-Semitism that would come to infect British Israelism.

The shift from religious to racial anti-Semitism was extraordinarily consequential. Although bigotry of any kind is problematic, racial prejudice is inherently more extreme than religious prejudice in one key respect – members of a religious out-group can usually convert to join the in-group through established procedures, but members of a racial out-group cannot join the in-group, except through subterfuge (i.e., "passing") or through a lengthy, often generational, process of assimilation.[48]

Simply put: you can elect to change your religion in order to escape persecution, but you can almost never elect to change your race. This has serious ramifications for the extremity of actions that an in-group will contemplate toward the out-group.

The shift to a racial out-group identity contributed to an ideological vision of a deeper and more sinister conflict, one which by its very nature could never be mended or reconciled, and one which required more extreme solutions. When a cultural dispute between people of different races becomes grounded in beliefs about the intrinsic qualities of race, it becomes profoundly radicalised.

British Israelism, Barkun writes, was often "philo-Semitic", but it "operated in an environment rife with anti-Semitism" and "racial theorizing".[49] The movement also had implicit elements of anti-Semitism in its elevation of the Anglo-Saxon line over the

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[44] R. J. Evans, *The coming of the Third Reich* (2005), Kindle location: 816, 823, 878-906.

[45] For instance, E. Drumont, *La France juive devant l'opinion* (Paris: Marpon & Flammarion, 1886).

[46] J. Katz, *From prejudice to destruction: Anti-Semitism, 1700-1933* (1980), p 306.

[47] H. S. Chamberlain, "Foundations of the Nineteenth Century", trans. John Lees (New York: John Kane Co., 1914), pp. 388-89.

[48] S. Kendzior, "How do you become 'white' in America?", *De Correspondent*, 1 September 2016, https://thecorrespondent.com/5185/how-do-you-become-white-in-america/1466577856645-8260d4a7.

[49] M. Barkun, *Religion and the racist right: The origins of the Christian Identity movement* (1997), p. 122.

Judaic line, as well as reflecting general white racial attitudes of the day, which were not especially enlightened and at times tended toward the conspiratorial.[50]

For some early British Israelist writers, the movement actually allayed concerns about perceived Jewish influence by offering a prophesied path toward purification and reconciliation of the tribes of Israel.[51] The religious basis for the out-group formulation offered an important escape clause, and one that could be safely postponed until prophetic conditions were met at some unspecified point in the future.

William Cameron

British Israelist writer William J. Cameron was more notorious for his role in publishing virulent racist and anti-Semitic material in the *Dearborn Independent*, a newspaper owned by automobile magnate and infamous Nazi sympathiser Henry Ford.

Cameron was likely a British Israelite first, and an anti-Semite later.[52] In part thanks to Cameron's influence, British Israelism would shift from a patronising but inclusive stance toward the Jews to the enemy out-group politics of extremism.

While it contained some British Israelist content, the *Independent* was heavily focused on exposing so-called Jewish conspiracies emerging from the infamous anti-Semitic tract *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*. First published in English in 1919, the book was popularised in the United States by Ford, Cameron and the *Independent*, and its contents soon began to infect British Israelist thought.

The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion

While not part of the current of thought that produced British Israelism, the publication of the infamous anti-Semitic conspiracy tract, *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion,* would have a fateful impact on the movement. The book was a semi-plagiarised concatenation of conspiracy theories about Jewish influence over society, first published in Russia and later in English.

British Israelism's shift toward anti-Semitism tracked with its rising popularity in America. *The Protocols* were first published in book form for an American audience in 1920 by Small, Maynard & Co. of Boston, which is the reference work for this paper.[53] *Protocols* is essentially a litany of everything that can theoretically go wrong in a society based on representative government, but it argues all these potential abuses are happening or have already happened, and attributes them to a near-omnipotent Jewish conspiracy by the titular "Learned Elders of Zion," characterised in a very un-British Israelite manner not just as the Jewish "race"[54] but also the nation of Israel.[55]

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[50] J. D. Sarna and J. Golden, "The American Jewish Experience in the Twentieth Century: Antisemitism and Assimilation", *National Humanities Center*, October 2000, http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/tserve/twenty/tkeyinfo/jewishexp.htm.
[51] M. Barkun, *Religion and the racist right: The origins of the Christian Identity movement* (1997), p. 125.
[52] L. P. Ribuffo, "Henry Ford and 'The International Jew'", *American Jewish History* 69, no. 4 (1980), pp. 437–477.
[53] See Holocaust Encyclopedia, "Protocols of the Elders of Zion: Timeline", https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007244, S. Nilus, *The Protocols and World Revolution: Including a Translation and Analysis of the "Protocols of the Meetings of the Zionist Men of Wisdom"*, (Boston: Small, Maynard & Company, 1920).
[54] Ibid., pp. 39, 50, 57, 75, et al.
[55] Ibid., pp. 54, 57, 73, et al.

Pushing a racial view of Jewish identity, *Protocols* has resonated throughout the years for many reasons, particularly because of its astute critique of modernity and representative government,[56] which was substantially lifted from Maurice Joly's French book *Dialogue in Hell Between Machiavelli and Montesquieu* (1864)*.* In that book, the salient critique is attributed to a fictionalised version of Machiavelli in the context of contemporaneous French Emperor Napoleon III.[57]

In *Protocols*, the critique is recast as a description of international crises caused by a race-based Jewish conspiracy. The crises are so diverse and wide-ranging that readers could readily associate them with worrisome developments in the real world. The prologue and appendix of the American edition clearly frames the October Revolution of the Bolsheviks in Russia as a Jewish conspiracy, linking anti-Semitism to Communism, a connection that would play out in British Israelist texts.

The conspiracy theories contained in *Protocols* were amplified and popularised by some of the biggest megaphones of the day, including the propaganda machine of Hitler and the Third Reich. In the United States, articles in Ford and Cameron's *Independent,* were subsequently collected in a book called *The International Jew*.[58]

These ideas began to be echoed by British Israelists in the 1920s, but they did not immediately subsume the movement.[59]

Racialising British Israelism

Cameron availed himself of the implicit opening created by British Israelism's separation of the chosen nation of Israel and the Jewish tribe of Judah, which his predecessors had studiously avoided. For example, one vituperative *Independent* article, unattributed but believed to be authored by Cameron, seizes and expands on a pillar of the British Israelite theory that previous authors had treated carefully – the disenfranchisement of Jews from the covenants of God:

> The pulpit has … the mission of liberating the Church from the error that Judah and Israel are synonymous. … The Jews are not 'The Chosen People,' though practically the entire Church has succumbed to the propaganda which declares them so.[60]

The case for British Israel had always included this double-edged sword, although most early authors declined to exploit it: if the British were the true heirs of Israel, was it really necessary to allow any special consideration for the tribe of Judah, even historically? British Israelism was slow to advance the argument, in part because of its painstakingly constructed scriptural framework which relied heavily on the Old Testament, a collection of Jewish holy books that did not easily lend itself to disenfranchising its authors.

[56] . Landes and S. T. Katz. *The Paranoid Apocalypse: A Hundred-year Retrospective on the Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (New York: NYU Press, 2012), p. 114.

[57] Ibid. See also: Holocaust Encyclopedia, "Protocols of the Elders of Zion", https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007058*.*

[58] H. Ford, *The International Jew IV: Aspects of Jewish Power in the United States* (Dearborn Publishing Company, 1922).

[59] M. Barkun, *Religion and the racist right: The origins of the Christian Identity movement* (1997), pp. 24-25.

[60] H. Ford, *The International Jew IV: Aspects of Jewish Power in the United States* (1922), p. 45.

In order to synchronise the new anti-Semitism with the old British Israelist theories, the question of race would have to be addressed. Here, Cameron drew on John Wilson's pre-existing work. The racial theory presented in Wilson's *Lectures on Our Israelitish Origin* was tangential to the book's primary argument and carefully hedged to avoid "disparaging" the Jews, but crucially, he made reference to the Jews "mixing" with Gentiles descended from the cursed lines of Cain and Esau (aka Edom), although he still allowed for their eventual redemption and qualified return to the Anglo-Saxon line through acceptance of Christ.[61]

Cameron would adopt some of Wilson's theories directly in his later writings, but by the 1930s, a wider racial theory was already becoming an important focus. In 1933, he articulated his views in a series of lectures laying out a racialised version of British Israelism. They were later collected and published as a book, *The Covenant People*.[62]

After suffering significant professional blowback from his association with Ford, Cameron was careful in his choice of words, but the lectures represent a clear racialisation of British Israelist tradition. Cameron describes the Bible as being first and foremost a racial history, the history of a racially delimited "chosen people," forbidden from mixing with other races.[63] He says:

> Race is one of the most indelible natural facts and race is one of the most insistent Biblical facts. The Bible is not a history of the human race at large, but of one distinct strain of people amongst the family of races. All the other races are considered with reference to it. … The race to whose story our Bible is largely devoted is called "The Chosen People."[64]

Cameron then articulates an inherent contradiction in British Israelism, but one that earlier influential writers had carefully avoided. If one race is "chosen", or privileged, then the stature of other races must be correspondingly diminished. Legitimacy can be measured without direct reference to an out-group. In contrast, privilege cannot be asserted in a vacuum; it is by definition predicated on relative status.

> A man will rise and demand, "By what right does God choose one race or people above another?" I like that form of the question. It is much better than asking by what right God degrades one people beneath another, although that is implied.[65]

Despite his anti-Semitic track record, Cameron here rejects the premise that being the chosen race means enjoying superiority over other races. He argues instead the "chosen" status is a responsibility rather than a perquisite, charged with the sombre responsibility lifting up the other people of the world—"it is a burden imposed," Cameron says—literally "the white man's burden," he says, citing Kipling.[66]

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[61] J. Wilson, *Lectures on our Israelitish origin* (1876), p. 368.
[62] M. Barkun, *Religion and the racist right: The origins of the Christian Identity movement* (1997), p. 296; W. J. Cameron, *The Covenant People* (Merrimac, MA: Destiny Publishers, 1966). The book was published in 1966, from a republication of the lectures in 1938, which were "carefully edited," according to a foreword by Howard Rand, so the views expressed may be slightly out of sync with the chronology. However, the racial views expressed by Rand in the foreword to the book, and by Cameron later in life, are considerably more extreme than those in the main text of The Covenant People.
[63] W. J. Cameron, *The Covenant People* (1966), p. 12.
[64] Ibid., pp. 4-5.
[65] Ibid., p. 8.
[66] Ibid., pp. 8-9.

To support his theory, Cameron frequently turns to Old Testament apocrypha, texts which had been excluded from the canonical bible for various reasons, including questions about their authenticity.[67] In justifying their citation, Cameron characterised the apocrypha as akin to historical novels: "They are not history per se, but they are historically accurate."[68]

Unlike his predecessors, Cameron brings a strong indictment against the current "race" of Anglo-Saxon Israelites, particularly the United States, foreshadowing a critique that would later flower in the Christian Identity paradigm. Cameron says the status of Anglo-Saxons in America as the Chosen People is not intended as racial glorification. To the contrary, he says:

> When I turn to the United States of America and recall the hypocritical character of much of our public life, of our intense engrossment with material pursuits; when I think of the vast reaches of economic slavery, of our antagonistic social classes, of our lawlessness, our violence, our corruption in high places and low, our shameless surrender to sex, our descent to dirt in drama and literature, our trampling of the Lord's Sabbath, our supercilious sneer at religion, our dollar aristocracy and our teeming millions of pauperized citizens - please don't tell me that the truth that enables me to see these things is a truth invented to glorify them![69]

Prefiguring later extremist currents, he characterises the founding documents of the United States, excepting the Constitution, as a new covenant with God, particularly the Declaration of Independence. "T*hat declaration made us a People*," according to Cameron. "It was the forerunner of our government. (What a descent we have made since then!)"[70] Also foreshadowing extremist arguments to come, he claims unfair taxation was at the heart of most biblical crises.

The *Covenant People* lectures moved the ball down the field, but Cameron remains cautious in this text, likely due to the professional and social consequences of his earlier and more overt anti-Semitism.[71] He discusses the importance of race extensively and definitively states that the Bible is an intrinsically "racial" history. Cameron stipulates that Biblical heroes like Moses are not Jewish, but despite his history with Ford, he does not frame Jews as the out-group in these distinctly British Israelist ruminations.

In these lectures, the process of framing out-groups is instead seminal. While Cameron likely held harsher views in private, here he simply plants seeds for more extreme iterations of the ideology to come—specifically framing the spectre of an out-group through a more exclusionary tone toward Jews.

In parallel, Cameron sets the stage for "purifying" the in-group with his criticisms of America's "corruption," "shameless surrender to sex" and "descent into dirt." The nascent "othering" of insufficiently pure in-group members is concurrent with the nascent process of defining the out-group.

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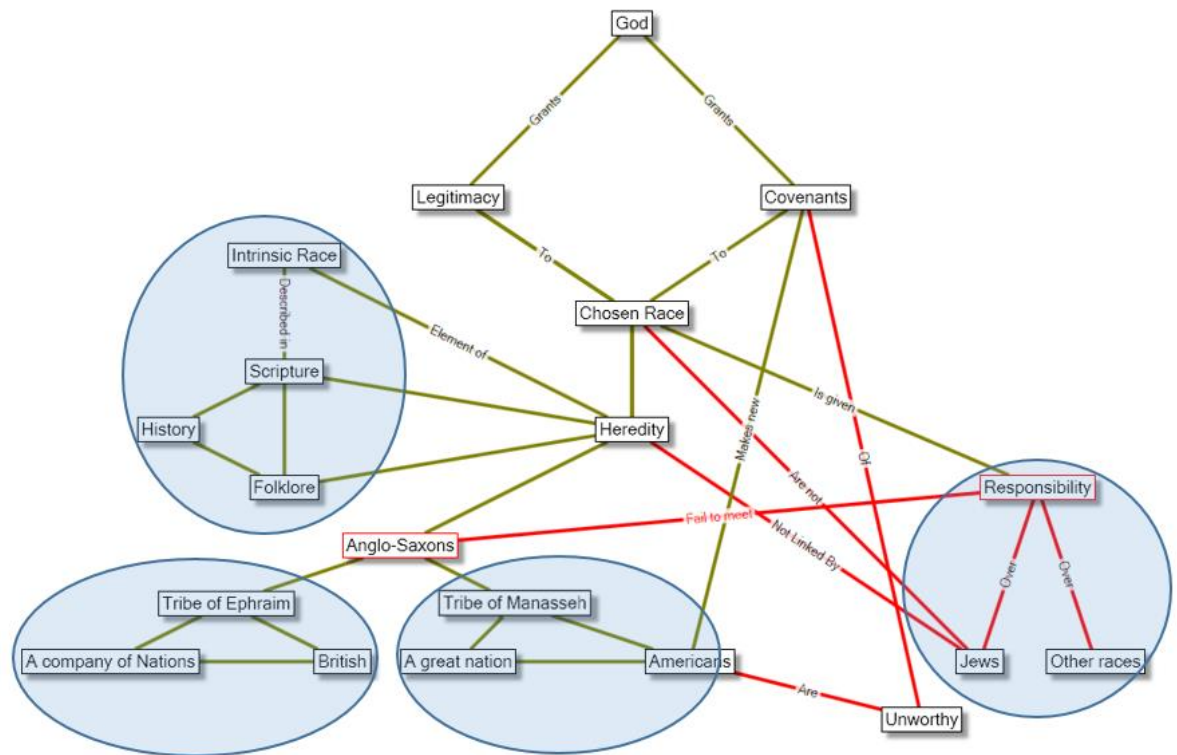
67 Ibid., p. 11, 36, 40, 43, 47, et al.
68 Ibid., p 36.
69 Ibid., p. 57.
70 Ibid., p. 65.
71 M. Barkun, *Religion and the racist right: The origins of the Christian Identity movement* (1997), pp. 33-36.

The Covenant People: Linkage Analysis

Linkages in the text of The Covenant People*. Green lines represent links defining the in-group; red pertains to out-groups.*

Both implicitly and explicitly, *The Covenant People* radicalises and racialises British Israelist ideas, although it still falls far short of a mature extremist outlook. Cameron begins to define and justify the existence of racial out-groups, but he does not (in this text) proscribe their existence or rights, except in the context of biblical covenants.

Notably missing (especially in light of Cameron's previous ventures) is an external-threat mentality. Cameron de-emphasises earlier British Israelist hereditary claims that linked Jews to Anglo-Saxon Israel in antiquity, but he does not refute them. His characterisation of the "white man's burden" clearly subordinates other races to Anglo-Saxons, but Cameron posits no threat from out-groups. And, sincerely or not, he strongly criticises "racial vanity" and "racial egotism," saying Anglo-Saxons should not revel in a feeling of superiority.

Ultimately, *The Covenant People* is still recognisably British Israelist in form, but it shows signs of mutation that would soon escalate in the work of Cameron's close associate, Howard Rand.
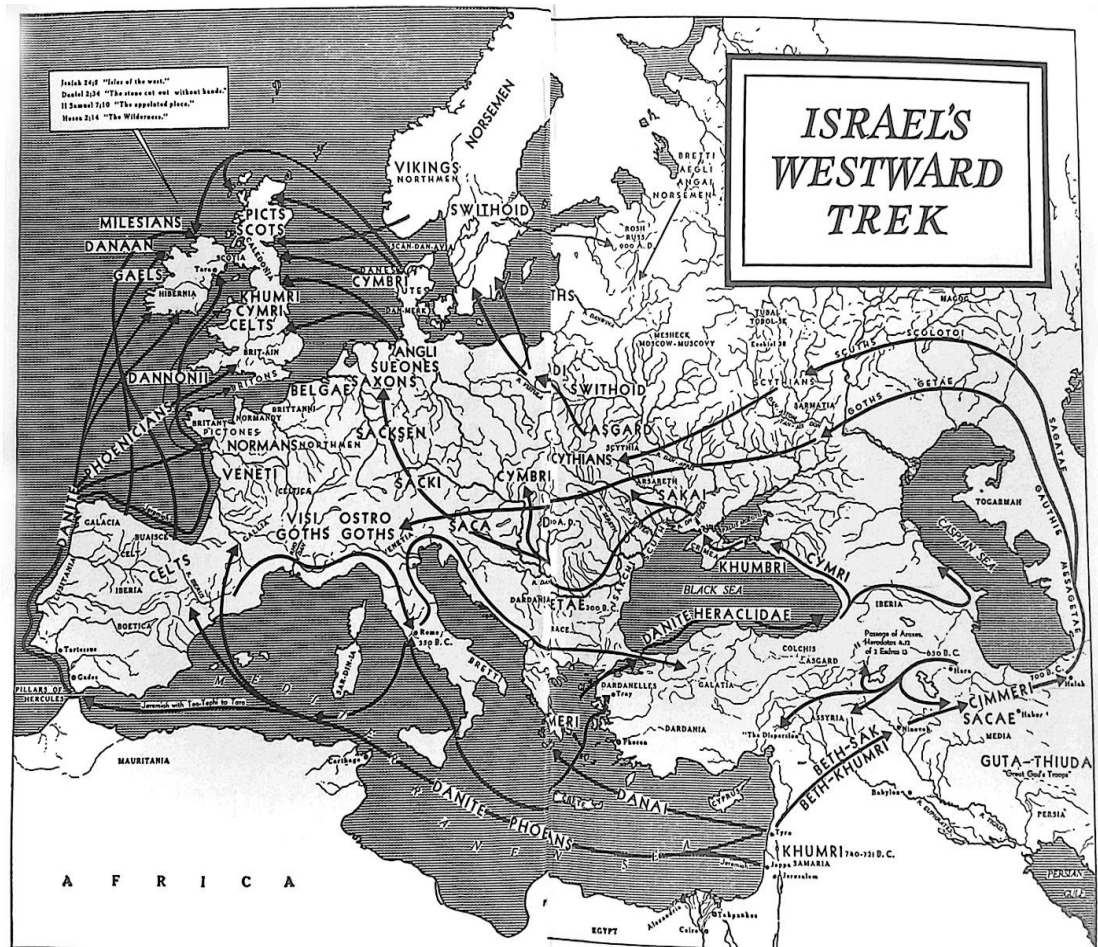
A two-page spread from the inside cover of Howard B. Rand's Documentary Studies. Vol. 2

Howard B. Rand

Howard B. Rand was a tireless organiser and a "second-generation British Israelite," according to Barkun, having grown up reading *Judah's Sceptre* at his father's prodding. He was involved in founding the Anglo-Saxon Federation of America in 1930, which soon established branches around the United States.[72]

His desire to expand the reach of British Israelism led him to William Cameron, who helped extend the organisation's reach by aligning with the American far right, where Cameron was already well-known thanks to his work with Ford and the *Independent*. As a result, elements of Communist paranoia and derivative anti-government rhetoric began to infiltrate the ideology.[73] Under Rand, British Israelism also began to take on apocalyptic and millenarian overtones, reflecting the mood of the late 1930s and the outbreak of World War II.[74]

Cameron and Rand parted ways around this time, due in part to Cameron's alcoholism, leaving Rand to continue to publish and largely author the British Israelist magazine *Destiny* through 1970.[75] Highlights of Rand's voluminous output were collected in three

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[72] Ibid., p. 29.
[73] Ibid., pp. 29-32.
[74] Ibid., p. 30.
[75] Ibid., p. 44.

volumes under the title "Documentary Studies," consisting of more than 1,800 pages of writings on British Israelism and related issues.[76]

This paper will focus mostly on the first volume, covering 1939 to 1945, in order to highlight elements that would morph into the earliest iteration of Christian Identity toward the end of this period. It should be noted that the tremendous volume of Rand's output, and the equally vast and twisting corridors of his ideological constructs, cannot be comprehensively captured in the extracts analysed here.

"No subject is more fascinating than prophecy", Rand wrote, and he proved his fascination with the topic at considerable length.[77] Although he continued to reiterate past themes and biblical proofs of Anglo-Saxon descent, Rand forcefully brought forward themes of prophecy and the destiny of Anglo-Saxons to play a fateful role in the waning days of humanity, which he predicted were soon at hand.

In Rand's conception, the historical puzzle-box of Anglo-Saxon descent, once the primary fascination of British Israelists, increasingly took a back seat to the modern role of the Anglo-Saxon race in a turbulent world. Correspondingly, Rand's scriptural focus turned from genealogies to prophecies, or passages that could be interpreted as such.

In prophecy, Rand found cause to escalate the legitimacy and importance of Anglo-Saxon identity still further, building on Cameron's conception of the "white man's burden". With citations from the biblical book of Psalms and the prophetic book of Micah, Rand built an argument that Anglo-Saxon Israelites were destined not only to form a "great nation" and "a company of nations", but to rule the entire world, with the coming of a king of Israel in the not-too-distant future.

His vision was decidedly martial, and the pages of *Destiny* are consumed with imminent, apocalyptic war, a new element in the British Israelist worldview. Citing the prophetic Book of Daniel and the words of Christ in the New Testament, Rand claimed that Anglo-Saxon Israel had to endure a time of punishment, which was concluding as part of World Wars I and II, an era in which "Gentile" or "Babylonian" empires would stand in opposition. The time for purification lay directly ahead and subsequently, Israel would rise:[78]

> The people of this generation will not only be spectators but actors as
> well in a titanic struggle involving all nations, the outcome of which will
> decide for all time *world rulership* [emphasis in original].[79]

The enemy, Rand wrote, was also discernible in biblical prophecy concerning the evil ruler Gog and his land of Magog – cast here as Communist Russia, avowed enemies of Christianity, destined to face off against an allied British and American Israel. War with Russia, and Russia's eventual destruction, would awaken Anglo-Saxons to the realisation that they are the rightful heirs of Israel, Rand explained, tying the prophecy to Armageddon, understood by many Christians as the final battle between good and evil before the end of history.[80] The intermittent introduction of such apocalyptic

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[76] H. B. Rand, *Documentary Studies Vol. 1-3* (Merrimac, MA: Destiny Publishers, 1950).

[77] Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 95.

[78] Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 142.

[79] Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 151-152.

[80] J. R. Stone, *Armageddon: Essential readings in failed prophecy* (New York: Routledge, 2013), p. 2.

themes in Rand's body of work tracked with parallel currents elsewhere in British Israelism that will be discussed in the next section.

Racial awakening comes only after the situation becomes unimaginably desperate, with the racial nations of the world aligned against the Anglo-Saxons.[81] Rand incorporates a scriptural view of race throughout the pages of *Destiny*, following biblical genealogies in the style of Wilson in *Lectures on Our Israelitish Origins*, but significantly different in the details. Arabs are said to be descended from Jokshan, a son of Abraham. The Chinese are said to be descendants of Moab, and the Japanese descendants of Ammon, and Rand hypothesises both countries will be set against Israel in the final battle, with other enemies including Afghanistan, Arabia, Armenia, Egypt, France, Germany, Mongolia, Persia, Tibet, Turkey, and, of course, the Soviet Union.[82]

Despite having been weaned on Allen's *Judah's Sceptre*, Rand is more emphatic than many of his predecessors on the topic of distinguishing Jews from Israelites, employing many familiar proofs of Anglo-Saxon heredity as disqualifying Jews from participation in Israel.[83] He oscillates between religious and racial definitions, arguing that the emergence of a distinct Jewish racial identity was a late historical development, the result of race-mixing with outsiders after the Babylonian Captivity (around 540 BCE).[84]

Because of these complications, Rand struggles at length to refute Christ's Judaism, declaring that the only Jew among the apostles was Judas.[85] Rand was openly anti-Semitic,[86] but he still—grudgingly—allowed for the eventual reconciliation of Judah and Israel on the condition that Jews accept Christ.[87]

Rand referred to the Soviets and Communists and Bolsheviks interchangeably, the latter term echoing the American edition of the *Protocols,* which laboriously documented the supposed Jewish origins of Bolshevism and its link to the book's titular conspiracy.[88] Despite the clear intrusion of anti-Semitism on his worldview, Rand repeatedly names Communism and the Soviet Union as the apocalyptic enemies referred to in prophecy in the texts examined here, rather than Jews.

Rand escalated his linkage between Communism and Judaism as the years progressed, accusing the Soviets of advocating for Zionism in Palestine at the expense of the British Mandate.[89] Later, in 1948, the establishment of the modern state of Israel would drive Rand deeper and deeper into anti-Semitism.

On its face, the declaration of a nation of Israel grounded in Jewish identity was the most dramatic rebuke to British Israelism that could be imagined. Calling it an "abomination" and an "incredible hoax," he firmly tied these developments to a Jewish conspiracy as outlined in the American edition of *Protocols* and amplified and expanded in Ford and Cameron's *Independent* articles.[90] Later, in the 1950s, Rand would build

[81] H. B. Rand, Documentary Studies Vol. 1-3 (1950), Vol. 1, p. 202.
[82] Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 163, 195, 200.
[83] Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 250-252.
[84] Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 414.
[85] Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 416.
[86] Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 411-416.
[87] Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 258-261.
[88] S. Nilus, *The Protocols and World Revolution: Including a Translation and Analysis of the "Protocols of the Meetings of the Zionist Men of Wisdom"* (1920), pp. 1-5, 74-110, et al.
[89] H. B. Rand, *Documentary Studies Vol. 1-3* (1950), Vol. 1, p. 163.
[90] H. Ford, *The International Jew IV: Aspects of Jewish Power in the United States* (1922), pp. 139, 145-145, 223, 231, 237-238, et al.; H. B. Rand, *Documentary Studies Vol. 1-3* (1950),Vol. 2, pp. 133-138.

more extensive bridges between the *Protocols* and British Israelism, but by then the movement had largely left him behind, as Christian Identity came into its own.[91]
In all of the above, Rand is introducing something that had been absent in previous iterations of British Israelism – a "crisis construct". According to Ingram:

> Perceptions of crisis may not only contribute to identity construction processes but tend to act as an important push factor behind why individuals support extremist groups and engage in politically motivated violence (i.e. radicalise).[92]

As described by Ingram, the crisis construct contains three interrelated factors: the presence and influence of "Others", uncertainty, and the breakdown of tradition. Rand is a decidedly alarmist writer. His thesis incorporates all of these elements, including a more extensive out-group description drawn from *The Protocols*, an alarmist description of global chaos and uncertainty, and the failure of Anglo-Saxons to acknowledge their traditional Israelite racial heritage.

In a full-blown extremist movement, following Ingram's formulation, the crisis construct is paired with a solution construct – a formulation of what the in-group can do to solve the out-group crisis. Here, Rand falls short, lacking a vision or call to action beyond racial awakening, after which apocalyptic events of an unclear nature take place with the guidance of God. It would fall to the next generation to propose a violent solution to the out-group problem, an evolution that is described in the following section.[93]

Two final notes of interest pertain to Rand's advancement of British Israelism toward the realm of racialised extremism. First, Rand frequently responded directly in his texts to inquiries from the readers of *Destiny*, and those readers were not necessarily inclined to take his claims at face value.[94] Reader queries often led him to articulate more complex justifications for his beliefs. This dynamic will be explored further in section three of this paper, *The Elements of Extremism*.

Second, Rand hints in the pages of *Destiny* at his interest in or acceptance of a racial theory that some form of sentient humanoid life existed prior to the creation events described in the book of Genesis. Such "Pre-Adamite" theories existed long before British Israelism, but by the 19th century, they had taken on racist dimensions, specifying that prior to the events of Genesis, God created inferior races, who were the progenitors of modern non-white races.

Rand posited the existence of a pre-Adamic race of evil men who were wiped out prior to the events in Genesis by atomic weapons, or something very similar. This science-fiction tint would merge with more elaborate and sinister pre-Adamic theories as Christian Identity finally began to emerge as a distinct ideology.[95]

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[91] H. B. Rand, *Documentary Studies Vol. 1-3* (1950), Vol. 3, pp. 263-282.
[92] H. J. Ingram, "Deciphering the Siren Call of Militant Islamist Propaganda: Meaning, Credibility & Behavioural Change", *The International Centre for Counter-Terrorism – The Hague* 7, no. 9 (2016), pp. 9-12, https://icct.nl/publication/deciphering-the-siren-call-of-militant-islamist-propaganda-meaning-credibility-behavioural-change/.
[93] Ibid., pp. 12-14.
[94] For example, H. B. Rand, *Documentary Studies Vol. 1-3* (1950), Vol. 1, p. 157, 191, 208, 245, among many others.
[95] H. B. Rand, *Documentary Studies Vol. 1-3* (1950), Vol. 1, p. 224-229.

Destiny Magazine: Linkage Analysis
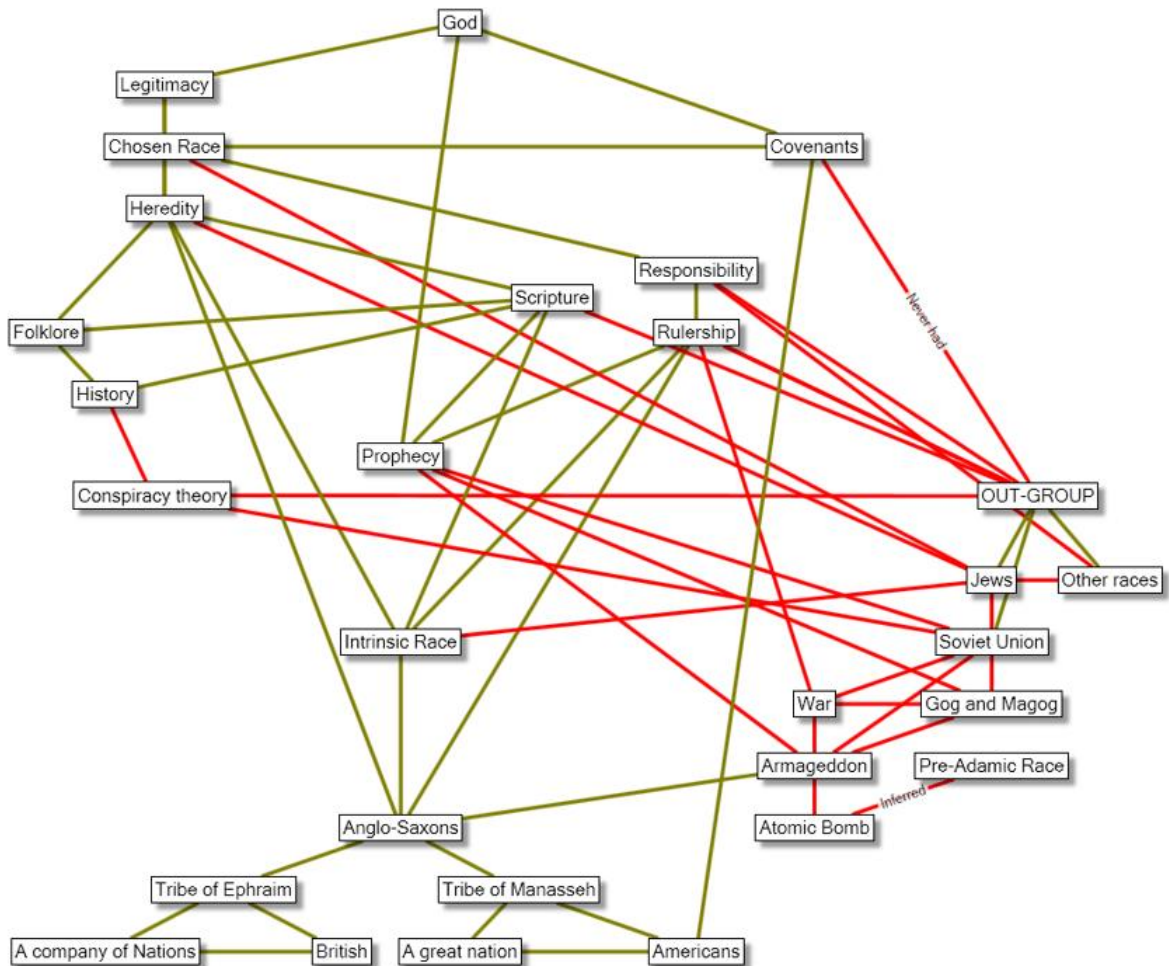
Linkages established in Destiny *magazine. Green lines relate to in-group identity construction, red lines relate to out-groups.*

The era of the Anglo-Saxon Federation was in many ways the peak of British Israelism, both in its popularity as a distinct ideology and the integrity of its original concepts. Yet Cameron and then Rand, the custodians of the movement on an organisational basis, the British Israelist worldview darkened considerably, introducing new and dangerous concepts that set the stage for the progression from nascent anti-Semitism into full-blown violent extremism.

A few things become apparent in the link chart above. First, Rand spends considerably more effort than his predecessors on defining and marginalising out-groups. Second, Rand has not fully and definitively named Jews as the out-group, but rather he has bundled Jewish identity into a more clearly articulated enemy identity – the Soviet Union – significantly advancing an anti-Semitic train of thought while still qualifying it in various ways, most notably the expectation that Jews will eventually return to the fold of Anglo-Saxon Israel by accepting Christ.

Rand's racial out-group theory is underdeveloped and his religious out-group theory is overdeveloped. Thus behavioural changes still offer an avenue to bring the out-group

in. His scenario has not yet escalated to the point that intrinsic and insurmountable obstacles prevent unification.

Third, the conceptual connections in Rand's work are far more complex than in the earlier texts. This is the result of the escalating need for justifications of the in-group's legitimacy and the out-group's illegitimacy, sparked in part by direct challenges from Rand's readers, but even more by complications on the global stage, most notably the establishment of the modern nation of Israel, which presented an existential challenge to the legitimacy of the British Israelist identity.

In addition to the increasingly complex network of linkages, Rand also creates a series of overlapping bundles (see chart below), conflating the previous bundle of history-folklore-scripture with conspiracy theory (primarily in the form of the *Protocols*), and creating multiple overlapping bundles of out-group identity (Jews, Communists, Gog) drawn from various sources (scripture, current events and the historical-conspiracy bundle).

These complexities lead to a much wider range of solutions to the now fully articulated threat presented by out-groups. Rand's solutions ranged from assimilation to custodial rulership to war, introducing the first spectre of potential violence to a movement that had previously been dominated by quietists.

While the staggering scope of British Israelist textual output over the years is too large to fully capture here, the dramatic shift toward the apocalyptic is notable. British Israelist texts had at times flirted with out-group dynamics, but Rand's formulation is a marked change from the previous generation, albeit deflected somewhat from Jewish identity in favour of Communism.

Finally, Rand's work takes on an increasing sense of urgency amid predictions of imminent war and the immediate onset of prophetic times. He is greatly concerned with the calendar, building elaborate frameworks to argue that Armageddon and other consequential events are near at hand. Although Rand's tone and prescribed solutions still fall short of the extremes that Christian Identity would soon embrace, all the ingredients of looming disaster were finally in play.
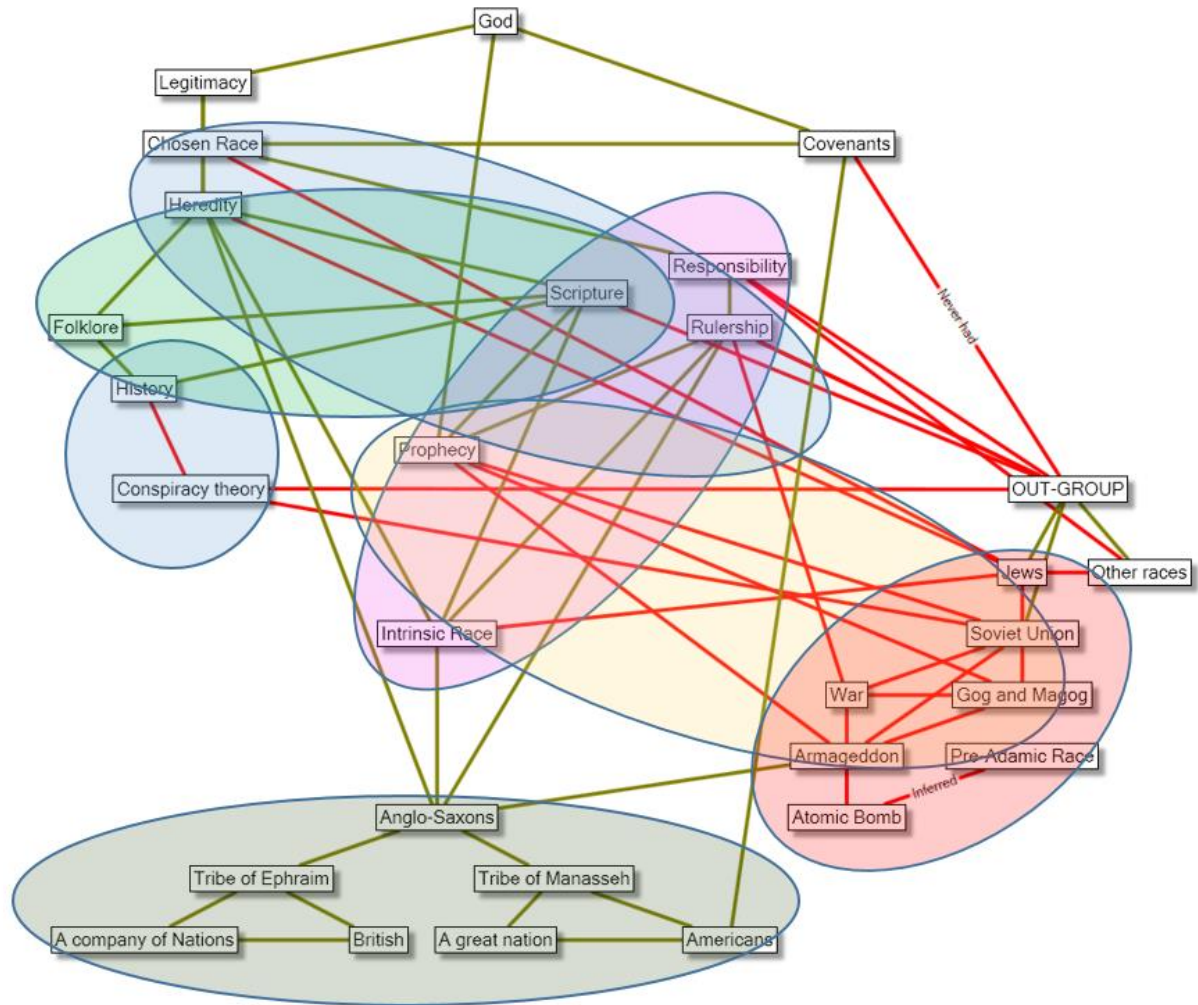
Bundling of concepts in Destiny *are more complex and overlapping than in previous British Israelist writings.*

All the landmarks of in-group identity-construction (detailed further in section three) are found in the works of Cameron and especially Rand, including:

- Defining shared beliefs (religious)

- Defining shared practices (religious mores, although the authors also find their peers lacking in this respect)

- Defining shared history (heredity, Anglo-Israel)

- Defining intrinsic, non-negotiable identity (based on racial elements elevated from the preceding generation)

- Defining shared expectations for the future (self-realisation, rulership)

In addition, Cameron and Rand have fully engaged with the process of defining an out-group:

- Defining perceived beliefs of out-group (Communist, atheist)

- Defining perceived out-group practices (deception, manipulation, race-mixing)

- Defining perceived out-group history (scriptural, *Protocols* conspiracy)

- Defining intrinsic, non-negotiable out-group identity (racial and religious)

- Defining expectations for out-group's future disposition (oscillating between assimilation on the low end, and Armageddon on the high end)

In Rand's writings, anti-Semitism had forcefully entered the world of British Israelism, but his more toxic contribution was, arguably, a well-developed apocalyptic and millenarian narrative. Rand introduced a view of prophecy that foretold an imminent and cataclysmic conflict between Anglo-Israel and the combined forces of Communism and international Jewry.

This looming Armageddon dramatically escalated the perceived out-group threat. But while Rand saw Jews as racially inferior, perhaps even subhuman, there were still lines that he was not prepared to cross.[96]

d) From Delegitimisation to Demonisation

Delegitimising Jewish Identity

The fallout of World War II, Nazi anti-Semitism and the rise of the Zionist state of Israel created new and intense pressures on British Israelism. The emergence in Palestine of a Jewish nation called "Israel" excited competing millenarian expectations among many American evangelical Christians even as it posed a direct challenge to the legitimacy of British Israelism's claim that Anglo-Saxons were the heirs of biblical prophecy.[97]

The fact that the Zionist movement sought to overthrow the *British* Mandate of Palestine in order to establish its state of Israel rendered the conflict intractable to even British Israelist thinkers' formidable capacity for rationalisation.

This dynamic pushed British Israelists into a defensive mode, under existential threat from the rival claim to Israel's heritage and faced with a growing number of attacks from both mainstream Christian theologians and serious historians. Dueling books and pamphlets marked this new phase, with books such as *Real Israel and Anglo-Israelism* seeking to "show the futility of British-Israelism", and counter-punches such as *Israel's Migrations: Or An Attack Answered*.[98]

Escalating hostility toward the Jewish project in Palestine brought racial elements already present in British Israelism more forcefully to the fore. In 1948, second-generation British Israelist C.F. Parker published *A Short Study of Esau-Edom in Jewry,* which formalised different threads of previous thought dating back to Wilson into an argument that "modern Jewry" had been hopelessly corrupted by race-mixing dating back to the biblical figure Esau "also known as Edom," who "proved to have been of wayward tendencies and disobeyed the injunctions not to marry among alien stock".[99]

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[96] M. Barkun, *Religion and the racist right: The origins of the Christian Identity movement* (1997), p. 193.

[97] M. E. Marty. In G. T. Kurian and M. A. Lamport (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Christianity in the United States Vol. 5* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), p. 1517.

[98] G. L. Rose, *Real Israel and Anglo-Israelism* (Glendale, CA: Rose, 1942); C. F. Parker, *Israel's Migrations: Or An Attack Answered* (London: The Covenant Publishing Co., 1947, Second Edition).

[99] C. F. Parker, *A short study of Esau-Edom in Jewry* (London: The Covenant Publishing Co., 1949, Second Edition), p. 18-19.

Moving further from what had been the mainstream British Israelist thought, Parker disassociated "modern Jewry" from even the Tribe of Judah.[100] Prophecy required the Jewish efforts to create an "Ersatz Israel … to be short-lived and doomed to failure", Parker wrote.[101] "History indicates that neither literally nor spiritually can modern Jewry claim to be Abraham's heirs; and their claims to Palestine, as of right, are groundless."[102]

A Prophetical Novel

Other, even more sinister variations of this racial theory entered the stream of British Israelism. In 1944, the British Israel association of Greater Vancouver published *When? A Prophetical Novel of the Very Near Future* under the pseudonym H. Ben Judah.[103]

When? is a dystopian/apocalyptic novel about the End Times as seen from a nominally British Israelist perspective, but in fact, "the work stands as one of the first statements of what was to define Christian Identity doctrine, the belief that the Jews are the offspring of Satan", according to Barkun.[104]

The book opens with a stipulation from the author:

> Do not let the reader be deceived into believing that this book is anti-Semitic. Actually it is just the opposite, the writer himself being of Semitic Judah, and therefore wishing to point out that there are two types of so-called Jews, the real Semitic Jew and the Ashkenazim so-called Jew who is a convert to Judaism only, ostensibly by religion, but not by blood.

> When the reader understands these points, he will realize that this book is not anti-Semitic, but rather pro-Semitic, as it warns only of the Ashkenazim and their plans for world control, and endeavors to point out that the true Semitic Jew is not responsible.[105]

The protagonist of *When?* is Brian Benjamin, a British secret agent of Sephardic Jewish descent, engaged in spying on Magog, an enemy state led by Gog, whose intelligence apparatus has infiltrated the West and who is now preparing to wage war for the Holy Land. Benjamin makes the mistake of asking his superior officer questions about who the real Jews are, resulting in an epic amount of exposition that one of the characters even concedes is a "long rigmarole and not very much to the point".

In the style of other political dystopias, *When?* features lengthy Socratic dialogues at the expense of plot,[106] in this case including extensive bibliographies from the voluminous output of past British Israelists, as well as race theorists and anti-Semites.

Published in 1944, *When?* is overwhelmingly concerned with discrediting the legitimacy of the Jewish claim to Palestine on the grounds of race, religion and politics. It does so

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[100] Ibid., p. 48.
[101] Ibid., p. 68, 80.
[102] Ibid., p. 26.
[103] H. Ben Judah, *When? A Prophetical Novel of the Very Near Future,* (British Israel Association of Greater Vancouver, 1944).
[104] M. Barkun, *Religion and the racist right: The origins of the Christian Identity movement* (1997), p. 51.
[105] H. Ben Judah, *When? A Prophetical Novel of the Very Near Future* (1944), p. 3.
[106] J.M. Berger, "The Turner Legacy: The Storied Origins and Enduring Impact of White Nationalism's Deadly Bible", *The International Centre for Counter-Terrorism – The Hague* 7, no. 8 (2016), p. 14, 19, 23, 33.

by citing a torrent of British Israelist authors – the characters at times literally read books to each other – and the *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*, which moves here from being an influence (as with Cameron and Rand) to being a primary source.[107]

When? introduces a new and important thread. The author reiterates previous claims that Ashkenazi Jews are descendants of Esau/Edom, but adds two crucial new elements to the story – first, that the Edomites are descended from Cain, the Bible's first murderer, and second, that Cain is not the son of Adam, but rather the son of Eve and the serpent from the Garden of Eden story – Satan himself. Thus, the author argues, Ashkenazi Jews are the "seed of the serpent", literally Satanic in their origin.[108]

The author's argument states definitively that Cain is "spiritually" the son of Satan, and leaves open the strong implication that there is more to the story.

> "…Who do you think was the father of Cain?"

> "Why, Adam of course," Brian replied.

> "That is the generally accepted conclusion, I know," replied his cousin,
> "but I do not think that it is correct. Adam may have been the physical
> father of Cain, but he was certainly not his spiritual father."[109]

The *When?* author stops short of unambiguously stating that Cain is the genetic son of Satan, but he strongly implies it and documents biblical accounts of interbreeding between "fallen angels" and Cain's progeny.[110] Whether or not Cain was Patient Zero for the demonic seed, the phrase "seed of the serpent" has literal, genetic meaning here.

The theory that Cain was the son of the serpent (whether physically or spiritually) was not new. It had originated in Jewish and Gnostic writings in antiquity,[111] and enjoyed somewhat of a revival in the 19th and 20th centuries.[112] The *When?* author combines this idea with British Israelist genealogies to create the foundational claim of Christian Identity – that modern Jews are descended from Cain and from Satanic supernatural beings. The author further claims Satan's conspiracy against Anglo-Israel – explicitly referencing the *Protocols* – originated with Cain, who is cast as the founder of the "synagogue of Satan."

The argument mounted in *When?* incidentally opened the door to designating all non-white races as the progeny of Satan, but the author did not press that claim directly. And despite their demonic bloodline, the author leaves open the possibility of redemption for the serpent's seed: If Jews accept Christ, they can still join the kingdom.

After almost 100 pages of dialectic exposition in the pages of *When?*, the battle of Armageddon finally takes shape, as the armies of Gog take Jerusalem.[113] The forces of British Israel formally pray to God for deliverance, and Gog's forces are immediately

[107] H. Ben Judah, *When? A Prophetical Novel of the Very Near Future* (1944), pp. 21-31.
[108] Ibid., pp. 69-75.
[109] Ibid., pp. 68-69.
[110] Ibid., pp. 72-74.
[111] G.A.G. Stroumsa and G.G. Stroumsa, *Another Seed: Studies in Gnostic Mythology* 24, (Leiden: Brill Archive, 1984), pp. 48-51.
[112] M. Barkun, *Religion and the racist right: The origins of the Christian Identity movement* (1997), pp. 171-174.
[113] H. Ben Judah, *When? A Prophetical Novel of the Very Near Future* (1944), p. 90.

struck down at their moment of triumph by a supernatural "holocaust" that kills thousands of enemy soldiers, swallows their leaders whole, and destroys the Dome of the Rock and other Muslim structures. [114]

The Second Coming follows. After the earlier success of prayer, the King of England broadcasts a statement to the British Commonwealth and America acknowledging their true identity as the nation of Israel, urging all subjects to give thanks and pray for the return of the kingdom. Fire falls from the sky to destroy the "synagogue of Satan", as well as any Nazi, Fascist or Communist sympathisers.[115]

Christ returns as king of an Anglo-Saxon empire on earth. This kingdom is explicitly millenarian, again advancing ideas that had mostly been left implicit by earlier British Israelist authors. *When?* concludes with the beginning of Christ's 1,000-year kingdom on earth, after which the Final Judgment would eventually be carried out.[116]

This millenarian utopia is described at some length. Christ racially purifies the United States and Canada by "removing" (through unspecified means) the "seed of the serpent" races. These races are not exterminated, but they lose all of their military and political might. Christ takes up the post of King of Israel and restores "Natural Law", while reforming man's banking, currency and tax laws, which are discussed in some detail. Many of these seemingly irrelevant details would become doctrinal tenets in later iterations of Christian Identity.[117]

From start to finish, *When?* reflects and illustrates the challenges facing contemporary British Israelism. In addition to his primary focus on rebutting Zionism, the author repeatedly lashes out at the historians and theologians who undermined British Israel theories, bemoaning the fact that "British-Israel theory is scoffed at by most people".

When Christ returns and smites the seed of the serpent, he also vengefully strikes down "those who rejoiced the pride of their scholarship and had taught that the Bible was not true". Among those blamed for leading Israel astray are the Roman Catholic proponents of replacement theology,[118] perhaps the oldest thorn in the side of British Israelist doctrine.[119] Critically, the author reclassifies many Christian critics from being misguided members of the in-group to vilified members of the out-group – dupes or willing participants in the *Protocols* conspiracy, spreading the "Zionist scholarship" of the "seed of the serpent."[120] Those who reject the truth of British Israelist teaching are repeatedly deemed "apostates".[121]

While presented as a work of British Israelism, *When?* is instead the start of something new – a full-fledged extremist movement, Christian Identity.

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[114] Ibid., pp. 88-113.
[115] Ibid., pp. 118-121.
[116] Ibid., pp. 155-156.
[117] Ibid., pp. 122-132. J. M. Berger, "Without Prejudice: What Sovereign Citizens Believe", *George Washington University, Program on Extremism,* June 2016, pp. 8-10.
[118] Replacement theology holds that the covenants between God and Israel described in the Old Testament were fulfilled by Christ, thus concluding their validity, or that they were replaced by a new covenant established with the coming of Jesus. M. J. Vlach, "Various forms of Replacement theology" (2011).
[119] H. Ben Judah, *When? A Prophetical Novel of the Very Near Future* (1944), pp. 85, 154-155.
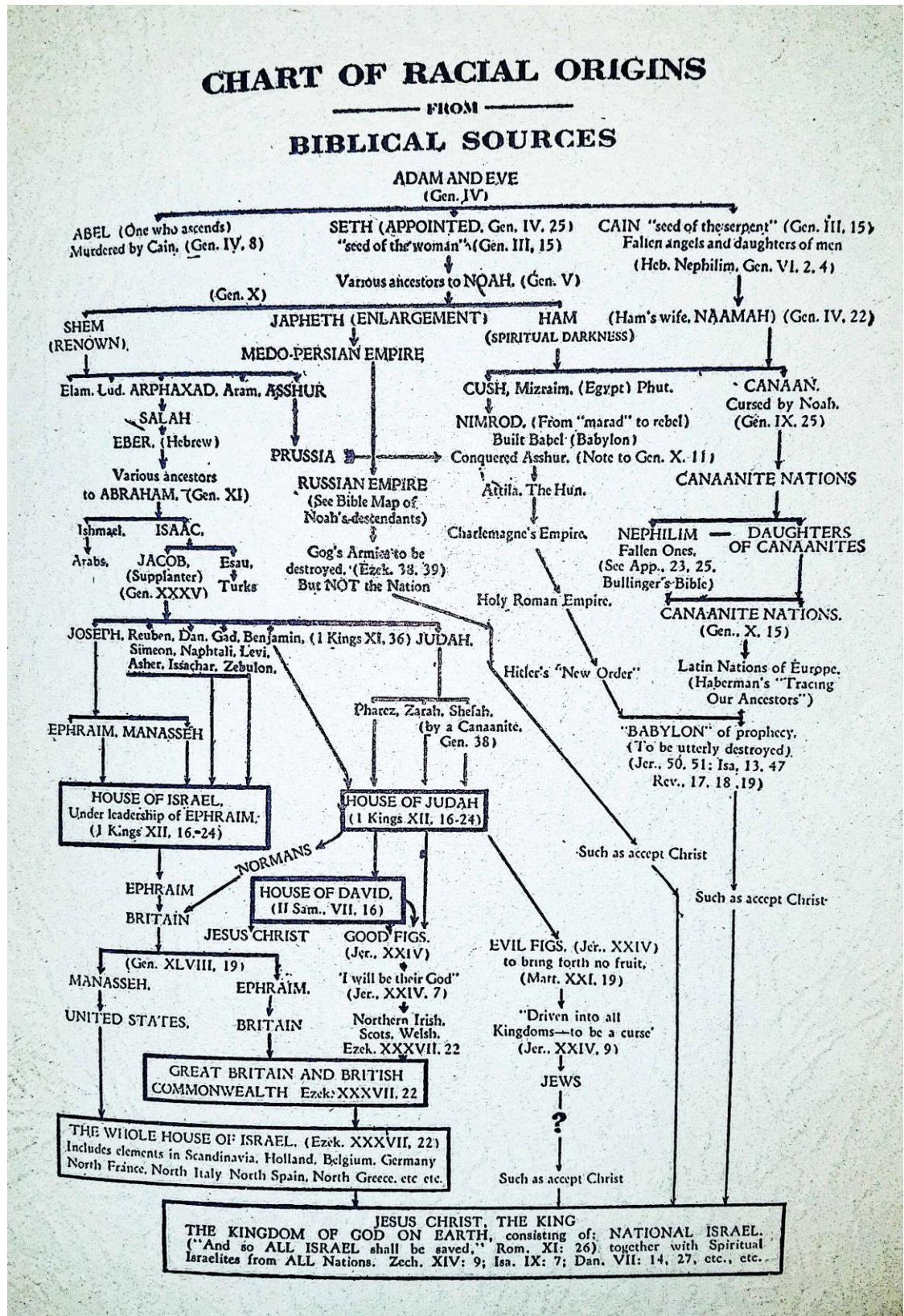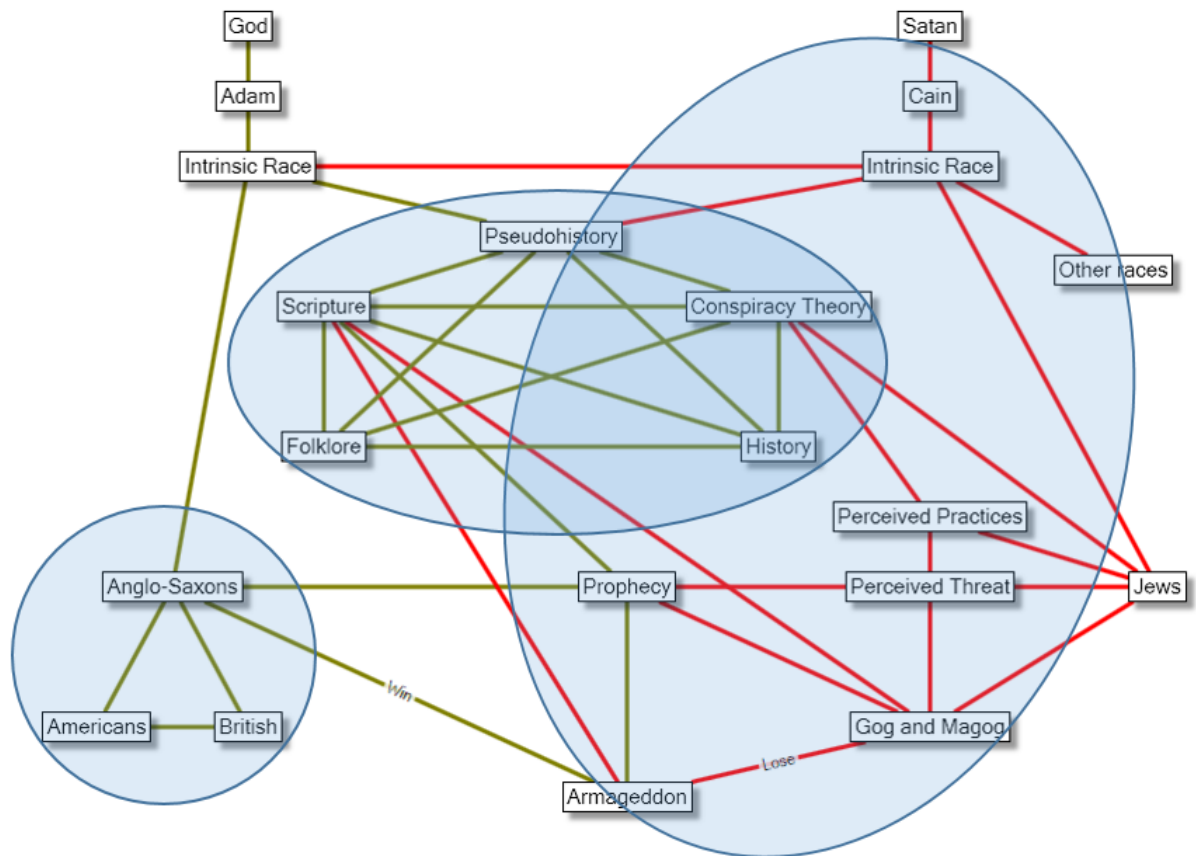[120] Ibid., p. 12.
[121] Ibid., p. 19, 57, 116, et al.

Chart of Racial Origins, from When? A Prophetical Novel of the Very Near Future *(1944)*

When?: Linkage Analysis

Linkages in the text of When?. *Green lines represent links defining the in-group; red pertains to out-groups.*

When? incorporates much of the British Israelist bibliography, summarising substantial portions of preceding works in dizzying complexity. For the sake of readability, the chart above simplifies some of the previously established bundles that *When?* simply regurgitates (such as the prophecies of the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh), in order to highlight the new elements.

Foremost, these concern out-group formulation. *When?*'s most important innovations reflect the ever-increasing syncretism of the movement. First, the author accomplishes a complete integration of the *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* into British Israelism. The *Protocols* conspiracy theory is now bundled together with scripture, folklore and real history to produce a powerful and self-reinforcing pseudohistory, in which the disparate elements are seen as a unified whole.

Second, the author implements the complete "seed of the serpent" scenario, literally demonising the (Ashkenazi) Jews and escalating their threat to the in-group to literally apocalyptic levels. This was again a concrescence of previous influences; nearly every element of the "seed of the serpent" theory existed before *When?* was published, sometimes within the British Israelist tradition and sometimes in other sources. But the consolidation of these ideas into a sweeping, cohesive ideology represented a watershed. Jews, once seen as the close cousins of Anglo-Israel, had now become demonic enemies in an apocalyptic war.

The approach to Jewish identity in *When?* is much more comprehensive than in previous works and encompasses five stages of out-group identity construction (discussed at length in section three), while escalating the severity of each:

1) Defining perceived beliefs of out-group (anti-Christian, pro-science)

2) Defining perceived out-group practices (based on *Protocols*)

3) Defining perceived out-group history (derived from pseudohistory including the *Protocols* conspiracy theory)

4) Defining intrinsic, non-negotiable out-group identity (racial and literally Satanic)

5) Defining expectations for out-group's future disposition (prophetic, apocalyptic)

These elements had been individually creeping into British Israelism for a long time, but together, they formed a powerful and prescriptive vision of a cosmic war between the forces of God (Anglo-Saxons) and the forces of Satan (Jews).

While the threat evaluation in *When?* is apocalyptically extreme, the proposed in-group solution stops short of a "final solution". Although the British wage war against Magog, these efforts are largely fruitless, and God's direct intervention is required to solve the situation. Although war is waged, the effective solution is two-fold – awakening to identity, and prayer. As Christian Identity finally emerged from the seeds of British Israelism, further escalation lay ahead.

Wesley Swift

Wesley Swift was a former Methodist minister and early adherent to the nascent Christian Identity movement that succeeded British Israelism. He was not an intellectual ideologue; rather, he was a fiery preacher based in California, who was involved in British Israelism and a variety of right-wing causes before becoming perhaps the most influential voice of Christian Identity, as the ideology solidified.

As Barkun observes, Swift was not a "systematic" interpreter of the ideology, but he was one of its most effective proponents, preaching prolifically in person and over the radio.[122] Many of his radio broadcasts have been preserved and transcribed. Still widely available on the internet, they represent his most important body of work. Swift's relatively unstructured approach to exposition was reflected in the wild mix of tenets and claims he presented in his sermons.

Most notably, relative to *When?*, Swift's ideology widened the in-group from Anglo-Saxon to "white" (including previously marginalised ethnic groups such as Teutonic Germans, Nordic races and the Basque) and expanded the out-group dramatically from Ashkenazi Jews to all non-white races.[123]

Similar to Rand's theory of a pre-Adamite civilisation destroyed by nuclear war, Swift described a vast war in outer space between God and Lucifer, preceding the events of Genesis. Satan "brought Negroes in from out of the Milky Way" to Earth in spaceships,

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[122] M. Barkun, *Religion and the racist right: The origins of the Christian Identity movement* (1997), p. 182.
[123] W. Swift, "The Covenant Race", *Transcript of Lecture,* 12 February 1963.

to fight in his war against God's angels. Survivors of that army were stranded on Earth at the war's conclusion and became the progenitors of ancient Africans, populating the earth before the creation of Adam.[124]

According to Swift, non-whites were "created species" (or "Enosh") and thus lesser beings. Whites, in contrast, were descended from God through Adam and Seth.[125] Mixing between white Adamites and these space alien races was mongrelisation – perhaps Swift's favourite word – and an obscene pollution of God's Holy Seed.[126]

Swift took the serpent seedline argument established in *When?* and made it explicitly literal and biological. Cain was the son of Satan, he preached, and he further "mongrelised" with the pre-Adamic races, resulting in a race of Jews – a term Swift applied to all non-white races and white-appearing "mongrels". "There's black Jews, yellow Jews, white Jews, but there are no Christian Jews", he said in one sermon.[127]

Jews had perverted the religion given to white Israel in the Old Testament, Swift preached, and this "organized Jewry" was the driving force behind Communism (and the rising threat of "hippies"). He also charged that Jews had taken over non-Christian religions such as Buddhism and the "demon devil worshipers" of the Yazidi (later to become the target of genocidal hate from the so-called Islamic State).[128]

In addition to syncretising UFO culture into Identity, Swift also drew on a much wider range of sources than his predecessors, lifting when convenient from Hindu and Egyptian mythology (arguing, for instance, that the name Krishna was an etymologically derived reference to Christ), and integrating pseudoscientific or New Age ideas such as vibrations and energy wavelengths.[129]

Swift lacked the pseudo-scholarship of his British Israel predecessors and was far less reliant on even biblical citations. Indeed, he frequently mischaracterised or entirely fabricated content supposedly found in the Bible.[130] A favourite tactic was to take an esoteric line from Scripture and expand and reinterpret it through wild leaps that Swift presented as direct quotes. For instance, in the passage below, Swift introduces a single line from the Bible and then adds a paragraph of racial edicts:

> Jesus turns and says to these Jews, "Ye believe not because you are not My Sheep as I have said unto you". This is in the tenth chapter of John and the 26th verse. Jesus said, "You're a different species. I come for the lost sheep of the house of Israel, but I reject you because you're a different species and do not have the capacity to do the job I am calling you to do. So I am not an integrationist, for I am a segregationist", Jesus said. He said "The first thing I will do if I enter into human affairs, is to separate the nations on the basis of their race and their background".[131]

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124 W. Swift, "Testimony of Tradition and the Origin of the Races", *Transcript of Lecture*, 19 February 1963.
125 W. Swift, "The Children of the Heavenly Father", *Transcript of Lecture*, 23 July 1961.
126 Among others: W. Swift, "Testimony of Tradition and the Origin of the Races" (1963); W. Swift, "Who are the Jews?", *Transcript of lecture*, 19 January 1965.
127 W. Swift, "The Children of the Heavenly Father" (1961).
128 W. Swift, "Who are the Jews?" (1965); R. Jalabi, "Who are the Yazidis and why is Isis hunting them?", *The Guardian*, 11 August 2014, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/aug/07/who-yazidi-isis-iraq-religion-ethnicity-mountains.
129 W. Swift, "Testimony of Tradition and the Origin of the Races" (1963); W. Swift, "The Light That Did Not Fail", *Transcript of Lecture*, 20 January 1963.
130 W. Swift, "Who are the Jews?" (1965).
131 W. Swift, "Understanding Equality", *Transcript of Lecture*, 23 July 1961.

Many – although certainly not all – of Swift's claims were supported by British Israelist texts, but he was mostly content to deliver them as flat assertions, without citation. This marks a shift from the carefully deliberative arguments of most British Israelist authors, who encouraged readers to study and consider their claims, and toward a call to automatic thinking. Swift expected listeners to adopt his positions based on their instinctive biases and on his force of personality.

However, like Rand, Swift also appeared to react to internal and external challenges. His lectures frequently mentioned reader letters, and his rhetorical style often invoked imaginary critics to whom he could respond with the verbal tic "someone said", as if speaking to someone in the room. "Someone said, 'that's not all Jews.' Well, it's all I ever met". [132] "Someone said, 'Oh, you can't advocate that, Dr. Swift.' Let me tell you something. There are a lot of things we can advocate and a lot more that we are going to".[133] "Someone said, 'I don't like this.' Well, maybe not, but this is your history".[134]

This rhetorical approach resembled the deliberative arguments of British Israelism, but in fact, Swift was presenting a rapid-fire series of automatic cues. This effect will be discussed at more length in Section 3.

Finally, Swift's rhetoric elevated violence as a solution against the out-group. In *When?*, Anglo-Israel fought a defensive war, but the ultimate solution came from divine intervention. Even God's wrath was relatively limited; the serpent seedline armies were struck down, but their nations and races were not exterminated. Swift put forth various visions for the fate of the Jews under white supremacy, ranging from segregation and deportation ("Someone said, 'But you wouldn't deport [the Jews], would you, Dr. Swift?' Yes, I would deport every last one of them".[135]) to killing ("I want you to know that it is the job of the soldier to fight the enemy. … You have to start to think BIG for the BIG task that is ahead of you").[136]

This culminated in a world view in which the Holocaust was fully justified; something even anti-Semitic British Israelists like Rand had studiously avoided. In Swift's view, the Germans had been destroyed by a Jewish conspiracy bent on punishing the Third Reich for its efforts to maintain white purity.

> Someone said: "But it was because of the persecution of the Jews that brought down Germany". Tonight I am going to say that I believe that Germany never persecuted the Jews, but that the Jews just received justice for their deeds. We want you to know that when America wakes up and moves against Communist and conspirators that they will go into concentration camps or be deported, or even executed for their crimes.[137]

In Swift's later sermons, the call to violence would be even more explicit, endorsing the use of nuclear weapons against non-white nations, and more squarely aimed at mobilising listeners. Swift scoffed at what he saw as the pacifism of mainstream

132 W. Swift, "The Children of the Heavenly Father" (1961).
133 W. Swift, "The Gathering of the Tares", *Transcript of Lecture*, 13 January 1963.
134 W. Swift, "The Covenant Race" (1963).
135 W. Swift, "The Gathering of the Tares" (1963).
136 W. Swift, "The Time of Reconciliation", *Transcript of Lecture,* 6 March 1963.
137 W. Swift, "The Household of God in Tomorrow", *Transcript of Lecture,* 17 February 1963.

Christian churches, attributing the nonviolence of the early Church leaders to the fact they did not have "numbers sufficient to carry out an armed resistance", citing Paul's epistle to the Hebrews, "You have not yet resisted unto blood, striving against sin".[138]

> [Jesus] didn't call for His disciples … to go forth as pacifists when the enemy was going to destroy them and persecute them and was going to hound them and lead them into all areas of catastrophe and trouble. … Jesus also cited that the church was to resist when they were waylaid on the highway, or when members of His disciples were waylaid they were to utilize the best they could their armament against the enemy. … [Jesus said] "When the hour comes that I am about to bring in My Kingdom, my servants are going to fight and the kingdom is not going to be given to the Jews".[139]

William Gale

It would fall to William Potter Gale, a former U.S. Army colonel and contemporary of Swift, to wrestle Christian Identity doctrine in a more comprehensive and coherent form, in his 1963 book, *Faith of Our Fathers*.[140] Although Gale was a less inspiring voice than Swift, he was more directly tied to group organisation and violent activity within Christian Identity and related movements during the 1970s and 1980s,[141] and his work provides a more systematic exposition of Identity's ideology.[142]

Faith of Our Fathers opens with a discussion of UFO sightings and space battles described in the Bible. Attributing his narrative to biblical sources with few specific citations, he describes a war in outer space between the angels of God and Satan's army of 200 million "Enosh", beings created on distant planets, who became corrupted when taken from their natural environments. Satan and the Enosh are cast down to Earth after God's victory in this primordial war.[143]

After the fall, he writes, the Enosh divided Earth into regions under the command of Satan's "captains", including "Voodah", who ruled Africa and instituted the religion of Voodoo, and Beezelbub, placed over Asia, who later became known as Buddha. Lucifer's mistress, "Khali", took charge of India. All of this has been "proven" by "scientific discoveries of archaeologists", Gale writes.[144]

God decides to "plant his seed" on Earth to contest Satan for control of the planet, including his "son and daughter", Adam and Eve, who are commissioned to procreate and populate Earth with God's family. But Satan seduces and impregnates Eve, and she gives birth to Cain and a twin sister, Luluwa (a character lifted from the Apocrypha).[145] After Cain murders Abel, Adam and Eve have sex and produce a race of "Celestial Beings," the Adamic race. Cain and Luluwa are banished to the regions where the Enosh live, further polluting the Holy Seed through race-mixing with the Enosh.[146]

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138 W. Swift, "Resisting Unto Blood", *Transcript of Lecture,* 9 April 1967.
139 W. Swift, "Resisting Unto Blood" (1967).
140 W.P. Gale, *Faith of Our Fathers* (Mariposa California: Ministry of Christ Church, 1963).
141 "OBITUARIES : William P. Gale; Led Several Racist Groups", *Los Angeles Times*, 4 May 1988, http://articles.latimes.com/1988-05-04/news/mn-1880_1_other-racist-groups.
142 M. Barkun, *Religion and the racist right: The origins of the Christian Identity movement* (1997), p. 182.
143 W.P. Gale, *Faith of Our Fathers* (1963), pp. 6-7.
144 Ibid., p. 7.
145 T. Ilan, "Biblical Women's Names in the Apocryphal Traditions", *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 6, no. 11 (1993), pp. 3-67.
146 W.P. Gale, *Faith of Our Fathers* (1963), pp. 11-12.

Adam and Eve later conceive Seth, the forebear of an unpolluted white racial lineage. Gale writes that Seth's descendants strictly observed God's injunctions against race-mixing with the descendants of Cain. The Adamites, who have access to "space ships" and "atomic power," then build the pyramids and establish the Freemasons.[147]

After several generations, the evil mixed-race descendants of Cain and the Enosh (who had become polygamous cannibals) eventually seduce members of the white bloodline (with the assistance of "jungle rhythm" music and "alcoholic drinks Satan had taught them to make").[148]

God wipes out the race-mixers in a limited area with the Great Flood, preserving the pure white seedline on Noah's Ark. But the flood only affects the area in which Adam's descendants live; the descendants of Cain and the Enosh live on in other lands. In Gale's version of the racial genealogy, which differs substantially from British Israelist narratives, Noah's sons are all white, but only Shem resists the temptations of race-mixing, becoming the sole ancestor of the pure white race.[149]

Gale identifies a line of mixed-race Edomites descended from Esau, similar to Parker, who invade the lands formerly occupied by Israel and supplant the true, white Israelite line with a Satanic/Babylonian religious and economic system, becoming known to history as the Jews and falsely claiming an Israelite heritage.[150]

After a greatly abbreviated adaptation of the British Israelist argument for the current identity of the Chosen People, Gale leaps past the historical proofs that dominated the former ideology into a discussion of the special destiny of the United States as a Christian nation. While the *When?* author introduced a significant number of financial and political issues toward the end of the novel, Gale emphasises these themes more strongly, introducing a mélange of novel interpretations of politics and finance that owed more to the emerging radical right than to British Israelism.

Although he had left the content behind, Gale brought a British Israelist style of analysis to American law, mixing extreme literalism with syncretic additions and outright fabrications. Gale argued the pre-Constitutional Articles of Confederation and "Ordnance [sic] of the Territories" (better known as the Northwest Ordinance) represented "Organic Law" and were still in effect because of language in the text suggesting they would apply "perpetually".[151]

Gale's themes loosely tracked with *When?* but were more fully reflected by Swift, including challenges to interest-based lending, federal taxes and the federal currency system, with arguments appropriated from a slew of anti-Semitic financial conspiracy theories popularised during the 1920s and 1930s.[152]

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[147] Ibid., pp. 16-18.
[148] Ibid., pp. 13-15.
[149] Ibid., pp. 13-15.
[150] Ibid., p. 25.
[151] *Northwest Ordinance,* 1787, http://loc.gov/rr/program/bib/ourdocs/northwest.html; W. P. Gale, *Faith of Our Fathers* (1963), pp. 29-30.
[152] Gale did not cite these authors in *Faith of Our Fathers,* but did cite them in later writings on the topic, e.g., *Identity* (magazine) vol. 5, no. 5, circa 1971. For more, see J. M. Berger, "Without Prejudice: What Sovereign Citizens Believe" (2016), pp. 8-10.

Among those that rise up to fight the Jewish conspiracy, in Gale's narrative, are the "robed sons of Adam's family," the Ku Klux Klan, whose efforts are thwarted by Jewish impersonators who discredit the Klan by donning white hoods and carrying out mayhem.[153] Rather than adopt Swift's endorsement of the Holocaust, Gale writes that Jews fabricated the Holocaust by claiming the bodies of Germans killed in air raids were Jewish victims, with the six million Jews supposedly killed in the Holocaust secretly transplanted to Palestine by the conspirators.[154]

In addition to directly controlling the Eastern bloc, Gale writes, the conspiracy plants infiltrators and "agents provocateur" in Western governments "to stir up the Enosh" and eventually establish a "super-government where [whites] could be out-voted and controlled by the Enosh people". Desegregation and global wars were part of this plan, Gale writes, because they weakened white nations and caused them to become indebted to Jewish banking interests.[155]

As Gale nears the end of his disquisition, he states that the "midnight hour" is at hand.

> The darkness of the night would slowly disappear and the daylight hours were near. At what exact hour the daylight would strike, no one knew except the Creator. Each hour of suffering in the darkness would bring Ad-am's children closer to the time when they would all see the light. When that daylight hour struck, Satan's children would all be revealed. … Ad-am's children of the flesh would have seen the "light" and would have done their work which He had sent them to Earth to do. The blindness would be off them and they would know that they were the Sons and daughters of the living God.[156]

The book concludes with a call to awakening and violent action:

> It is only for Adam's children to revive the word of their Father and realize that they will not have peace until they have destroyed Satan's children - as they have been ordained and instructed to do. They would suddenly realize that they have been waiting for the Heavenly Father to do the things that He had sent them into the Earth to do in His Name. They have a legal "power-of-attorney" – written authority to act in His Name. They were told to be His "'battle-axe" and to fight Satan on Earth. They are to occupy the Earth and rule in righteousness with Him at the head of their government. Until this is done, no peace with Satan can be obtained. It has been fore-ordained that victory is to be theirs but they must brave enough to "fight" and shed their blood in sacrifice if necessary. When they do that, Victory is theirs![157]

Gale had now paired the crisis construct with a solution construct – violence against the enemies of God and revolution to occupy and rule the earth. While Gale never approached the realisation of his grandiose ambitions, significant extremist violence would be carried out by movements and organisations his rhetoric inspired, including

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[153] W. P. Gale, *Faith of Our Fathers* (1963), pp. 42-43.
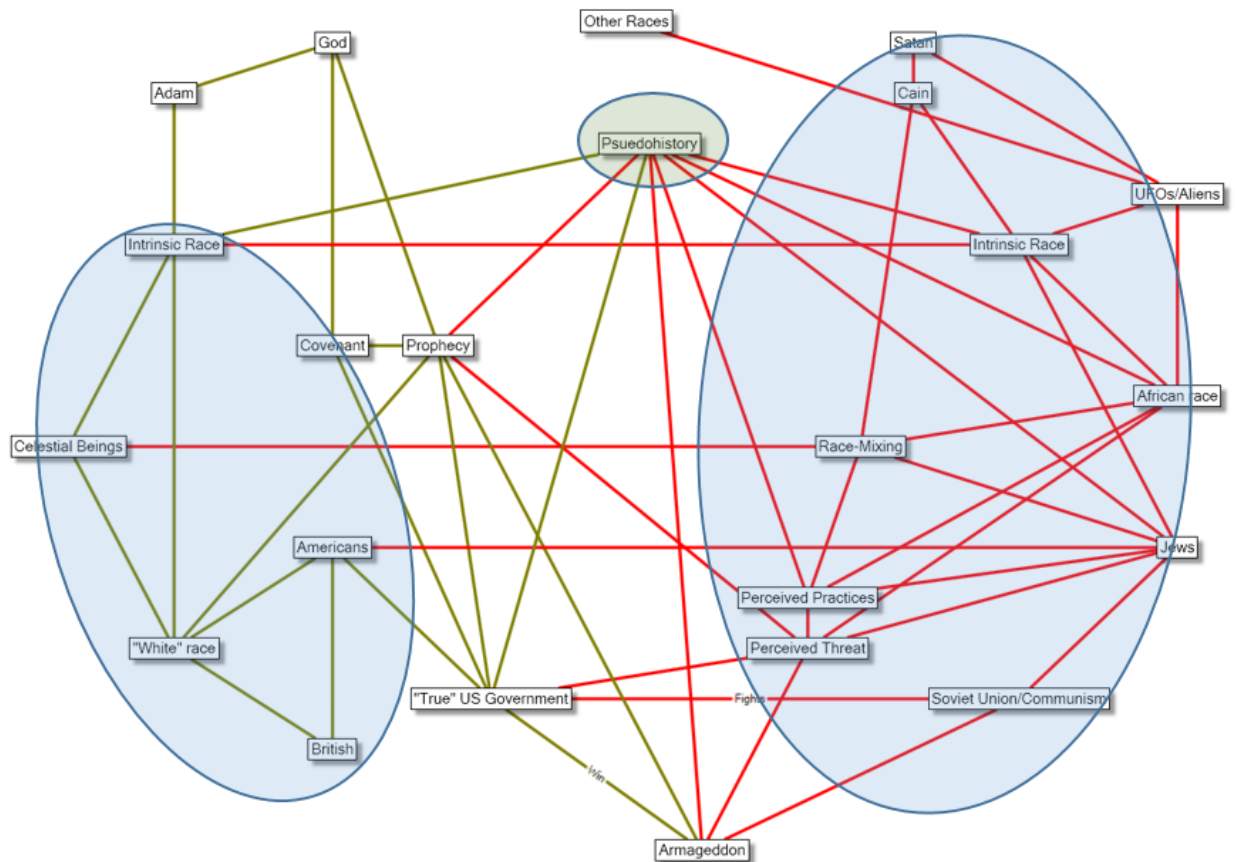[154] Ibid., pp. 51.
[155] Ibid., pp. 47-48, 51-53.
[156] Ibid., p. 54.
[157] Ibid.

tax protestors, the Posse Comitatus, The Order, the sovereign citizen movement and less directly, acts such as the Oklahoma City bombing[158] (see Appendix B).

Linkage Analysis: *Faith of Our Fathers*

Linkages and bundles in the text of Faith of Our Fathers

Gale's exposition of Christian Identity ideology shifts the bar substantially from *When?*, most significantly by collapsing all arguments into a narrative pseudohistory as extensive as it is unburdened by British Israelism's careful thesis-building and source citations. Gale here moves from the pseudoscholarship of the precursor movement to full-blown mythmaking. While students of British Israelism can discern where his concepts originated, the presentation is based on assertion rather than argumentation. Gale, like Swift, hopes to inspire an automatic response from readers, presenting an evocative story instead of a deliberative argument.

Gale built on shifts found in *When?,* which had retooled British Israelist genealogies in an understated way to legitimise other "white" ancestries (such as German, Spanish and Scandinavian) while still maintaining an overweening emphasis on the paramount importance of Anglo-Saxon Israel. Gale nods to Anglo-Saxon primacy in *The Faith of Our*

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158 D. Levitas, *The terrorist next door: The militia movement and the radical right* (New York: Macmillan, 2004), pp. 2-10.

Fathers, but his primary concern is the now fully conflated "Adamic race", which is stipulated to be "white".[159]

White racial purity and superiority is paramount to his argument, but he also spells out a specifically American white racial aspect, derived from founding documents including the Declaration of Independence and the Articles of Confederation. These documents are implied to serve as new covenants with God, an argument inherited from Cameron, but further elaborated here as "natural law", a concept that would have a profound effect on many succeeding forms of American extremism.[160]

In a similar manner, Gale bundles non-white "races" into one Satanic continuum. Over the years, British Israelist authors had expressed varying opinions regarding non-Semitic non-white races, including some arguments that stipulated impure or sinister origins, but almost none of them explored such ideas in any kind of detail. Non-Semitic races were present but decidedly on the sidelines of the British Israel narrative.

While Gale devotes considerably less attention to the black "Enosh" races than to the Cain-descended "Yehudi," non-Semitic non-whites play a substantially larger role in his narrative than in preceding works, as part of a dramatically expanded out-group. This shift in focus is also reflected in Swift's work. According to their shared cosmographic history, the Enosh preceded the Yehudi as servants of Satan, and the two are inseparably aligned in a Satanic conspiracy against the Adamic race.

Although less insistent than Swift, Gale also walks toward an imminent apocalyptic scenario, although his poor writing style hobbled the message. The final three chapters of the book take the form of a countdown to "midnight", and the final war, within which the "power of attorney" granted by God to carry out violence against the non-white races reaches fruition.

Swift added that element more viscerally, preaching that Armageddon has already begun. "It is later than you think", he said repeatedly during a 1967 sermon. "We are in the time of the final and climactic events which precede the Great Day of God Almighty".

Finally, Gale fully endorses violence, not in the form of third-party divine retribution (as in *When?*) but as a divine ratification of the violent actions of adherents – the "power of attorney" he describes in the final pages of *The Faith of Our Fathers*, which he says is a "written authority [for adherents] to act in His Name", and to "shed their blood in sacrifice if necessary".

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159 W. P. Gale, *Faith of Our Fathers* (1963), pp. 16, 20, 24.
160 J. M. Berger, "Without Prejudice: What Sovereign Citizens Believe" (2016).

3. The Elements of Extremism

Taken as a continuum, the progression of texts from the beginnings of British Israelism to the full realisation of Christian Identity follows identifiable tracks in the process of group radicalisation. Elements of this process will be familiar to students of a variety of specific extremist organisations and their messaging.

While there are many possible ways to distill these tracks and their individual components into a particular extremist ideology, processes of group radicalisation can be viewed outside the prism of specific beliefs.

These processes and their components can aid us in developing an understanding of extremism as a discrete phenomenon, rather than as the product of any singular ideological orientation. They can also illuminate approaches to the problem of violent extremism that may be obscured by a misguided focus on the identity in-group to which extremists appeal. In the same way that we study political science as a discipline distinct from its ideological subcategories, so too we should study extremism.

Identifiable processes in the evolution into Christian Identity from a non-extremist origin to full-blown extremism are summarised below, with more detailed discussion of each in the following sections:

- Adherents demand legitimacy and support their demands with an ideological justification. The new justification can serve as the basis for a subsequent escalation of demand, which then leads to a need for new justifications. If unchecked, this cycle becomes a destructive spiral culminating in a violent prescription to protect the in-group identity from a perceived existential out-group threat.

- Frequent direct challenges to the legitimacy of the in-group or ideology can accelerate this escalation, when ideologues feel pressure to respond with the development of new and more assertive justifications.

- As demand for justifications increases, additional supply is required. When the movement's canonical sources are not adequate to the challenge, it may turn to non-canonical, derivative or entirely independent sources. In the case of Christian Identity, this process took the form of the syncretic inclusion of folklore at first, then apocryphal scriptures, followed by conspiracy theories, and eventually expanding to absorb UFO cults and New Age philosophy.

- As ideological texts evolve and mutate into more extreme forms, target audiences are encouraged to do less deliberative thinking and more automatic thinking. Previously litigated arguments are bundled into high-level constructs, reducing complex ideas (such as British Israelist genealogies) to simplified assertions of fact, sometimes attributed to scholarly origin. By presenting many such constructs in sequence, ideologues can lead audiences to believe they are engaging in deliberative thought, when they are actually experiencing a sequence of automatic responses.

- As the ideology is elaborated, a distortion of temporal scales is required to fully describe both the in-group and the out-group identities. This produces a sort of Doppler Effect – as adherents rush from an increasingly expansive history toward an increasingly compressed timeline for a near-future upheaval of the world order, imbuing the out-group threat with an apocalyptic sense of urgency.

a) Legitimacy: The Cycle of Demand and Justification

Extremist movements begin with a quest for in-group legitimacy and build worldviews with the primary aim of enhancing that legitimacy. The quest for legitimacy encompasses beliefs, practices, history and expectations for the future, sometimes taking on an extremist character as it matures and in response to ideological challenges.

The very act of embracing a collective identity, even when seen as positive may set the stage for the seeds of negativity. Tajfel (1981), drawing on earlier authors, describes an individual's adoption of a collective identity as part of the "process of categorization" and a "cognitive aspect" leading to the formation of prejudices. [161] Individual radicalisation is not within the scope of this study, but certainly the ideologues whose work is described herein went through some process of individual radicalisation as they modified their group's ideology into more extreme forms. This is likely a fruitful avenue for future analysis within the context of the material discussed in this paper.

Nevertheless, for purposes of this discussion, a starting assumption is that identity collectives are not inherently extremist in and of themselves. There is nothing fundamentally extremist about belonging to and identifying as part of a religion, a town, a nation, or even a race.

Until the success of the in-group is tied to the detriment of an out-group, an identity collective is not meaningfully extreme. But the construction of an in-group identity is an obvious prerequisite to the development of an identity-based extremist movement.

Parameters of Identity

On its road to becoming Christian Identity, British Israelism had to construct and protect an in-group identity. There are five components to this identity, which seek to answer existential questions that identity collectives may face over time:

1) What do we believe? (beliefs)

2) How should we behave? (practices)

3) Why do we exist as a group? (history)

4) Who are we? (intrinsic identity)

5) What will we become? (expectations)

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[161] H. Tajfel, *Human groups and social categories: Studies in social psychology* (CUP Archive, 1981), pp. 132-133, 141, 147; See also M. Sageman, *Misunderstanding Terrorism* (2016). Kindle location: 1820, et al.

To become an identity collective in the first place, a group of people must be able to answer at least one of these questions.

Nevertheless, it is important to note all identity collectives that endure will eventually require answers to all of the questions. The questions may arise at different times in a collective's development, and they may not occur in this order. By the time a group embraces violent extremism, it will tend to have answers to all of these questions.

British Israelism began by defining Anglo-Saxon identity primarily by a shared history derived from shared beliefs (both drawn from Christian scriptures). Early British Israelists were obsessed with the history plank of the identity platform. As more planks were added to the platform, the in-group's demand for legitimacy increased.

Early adherents sought to establish their legitimacy by claiming that Great Britain and the United States had already fulfilled relevant prophecies. Therefore, initially, the movement was less concerned with the future. But two World Wars and the establishment of a Jewish Israel rocked the complacency of a movement originally content with being a "great nation" and a "company of nations", leading to a growing obsession with not-yet-fulfilled prophecies of an apocalyptic conflict that adherents concluded Anglo-Israel was destined to win.

The question of "who we are" also shifted. Initial British Israelist scholarship traced the "birthright and sceptre" of Israel through a series of decisions points involving God or the Israelites. The racial implications of inheritance became more and more important for subsequent generations, leading to the description and definition of intrinsic Anglo-Saxon racial qualities, while emphasising the racial impurity of those figures excluded from the Israelite line.

While aspects of racial purity and impurity were embedded in the basic concepts of British Israelism, they were not a special focus in the earlier stages. But as the movement evolved, these aspects began to rise in prominence, fueling the development of an out-group identity that would loom ever larger in the ideology. The components of out-group identity directly parallel those used for in-group identity construction:

1) What do they believe? (beliefs)

2) How do they behave? (practices)

3) Why do they exist as a group? (history)

4) Who are they? (intrinsic identity)

5) What will they do? (expectations)

There are key differences in how adherents understand these components for the in-group versus the out-group, most importantly at the level of beliefs and practices. In-group members directly experience their own beliefs and practices in the most intimate way possible, while they often (but not always) learn about the beliefs and practices of out-group members from second-hand sources.

This divide is exacerbated when a group begins to move toward extremism, creating barriers to direct contact with the out-group and preventing positive socialisation experiences that might undermine negative perceptions. Despite all this, in-group members usually absorb the components of identity construction as a mix of direct experience and transmitted knowledge, and a mix of truth and fiction.

Members of the in-group evaluate the threat posed by the members of the out-group based on real, false and distorted information sources. For British Israelists, the most destructive information source was clearly *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*, which eventually became the de facto narrative about the out-group. The *Protocols* also stipulated deception at grand scales and as a racial quality, further immunising in-group members against potentially positive socialisation with out-group members.

In-Group and Out-Group Scaling

As the definitions of in-groups and out-groups evolved, the British Israelist in-group construction of Anglo-Saxons remained fairly consistent for decades, but it eventually expanded – starting with Cameron and culminating with Swift and Gale – to include the greater "white race", including groups (such as Teutonic Germans) who had been specifically excluded in earlier iterations.

The expansion of the in-group correlated to an expansion of the out-group, as British Israelism's original focus on the sceptre and birthright became increasingly conflated with theories about pre-Adamite races and the influence of a Satanic seedline. The disenfranchisement of Jews became a denial of the Jewish role in Christian history, and escalated into a literal denial that Jews were human.

As the racial theories continued to evolve, integrating ever more varied and disreputable sources, the movement's theorists extended their pseudohistory to address the purity and legitimacy of other "non-white races", most prominently Africans, who were also eventually attributed to Satanic origins. Depending on the ideologue, this can be seen as the introduction of a second out-group or an expansion of the existing out-group. Such distinctions are important at various stages in the analysis of an extremist movement and its prescribed actions against its respective out-groups. For purposes of this discussion, the distinction is less important than the fact of the expansion.

The racialisation of group identities also rendered the perceived conflict between the in-group and out-group more intractable. Although definitions of race can shift (as the meaning of "white" evolved over the movement's history), racialised definitions have an impact on prescriptions. The early British Israelist prescription for Jews was eventual assimilation. When the definition of Jewish identity became racialised, assimilation became an incomplete and eventually unavailable prescription, leading to calls for a more violent solution to the challenge of the out-group.

Even a cursory examination makes clear that shifting group identities are part and parcel of how extremist movements evolve, but it is also clear that different groups approach the phenomenon in very different ways. Most obviously, racialisation of in-groups and out-groups is not an inevitable outcome. Jihadists, for instance, are studiously anti-racist (in ideological principle, if not in practice), but this has not deterred them from arriving at extreme solutions for out-groups, such as their

genocidal attacks and enslavement of the Yazidis, because of their ethno-religious identity.[162] The parameters of how group definitions change and how those changes inform out-group solutions therefore requires a more detailed comparative study, which will be explored in subsequent publications.

Threats and Solutions

Once an initial out-group identity is constructed, it begins to take on a dimension of threat. In the early stages of British Israelism, Jewish identity was discussed as a matter of historical record with only cursory references to their current or future disposition and without meaningful framing of a threat.

Concurrent with the introduction of the *Protocols* conspiracy theory to the "practices" component of out-group identity, British Israelists began to turn their attention to prophecies that had not yet been fulfilled, particularly in the context of the Book of Revelations and millenarian sentiments stoked by two world wars.

Jews were conflated with both Communists and the enemy forces of Gog, understood to be Satan's army in the looming battle of Armageddon. The *Protocols* conspiracy had defined Jews as a threat to global order, and this threat escalated in potency thanks to the combination of millenarian/apocalyptic expectations with the hysterical paranoia of the first and second Red Scares[163] in the United States. All of these concepts were bundled together to create a threat assessment virtually beyond compare.

As a result, by the late 1940s and early 1950s, the perceived out-group threat reached existential and then cosmic proportions. Rand endorsed fighting the Communists, who in his worldview happened to be Jews, within the context of a great power conflict. Swift and Gale ultimately sped past Communism to what they understood as its root cause and endorsed direct violence against Jews as a race, both at the state level and, finally, at the non-state or even individual level.

Thus, the prescribed solution to an out-group threat becomes more severe as the perception of risk is heightened, generally correlating with the move from analysing past history and current expectations of the out-group's behaviour to anticipating its future threat. As the in-group radicalises, perception of the out-group threat progresses from mild to existential, and ultimately cosmic and apocalyptic. The prescribed solution likewise escalates from social dominance to assimilation, discrimination, segregation, and, if unchecked, advancing to genocide.

Shifting Time Scales and the Doppler Threat Effect

The time frame necessary to describe in-groups and out-groups may correlate to the perception of threat from the out-group. Current conflicts between collectives based in immediate or obvious competing priorities or on differences in practices are not automatically extremist. There are many reasons why one collective might come into conflict with another collective.

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[162] R. Jalabi, "Who are the Yazidis and why is Isis hunting them?" (2014).
[163] A first wave of anti-Communist paranoia hit the United States around 1920, and a second wave hit from the late 1940s through the 1950s. R. K. Murray, Red *Scare: A Study in National Hysteria, 1919-1920* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1955). J. L. Gibson, "Political intolerance and political repression during the McCarthy Red Scare", *American Political Science Review* 82, no. 2 (1988), pp. 511-529.

Conflicts with an extensive history can become bitter, violent and intractable. Similarly, the extension of in-group and out-group identities over time can correlate to a rising tide of extremism. By grounding in- and out-group differences in history, ideologues make the case that conflict is not only precedented but ongoing. The perceived history provides "evidence" that the conflict is unmitigable and reflective of a deeper and more intrinsic clash.

In the case of Christian Identity, the in-group's conflict with the out-group is dated to pre-history – "possibly millions of years," according to Gale's chronology of the Enosh, which sets the out-group's malevolent origins prior even to the creation of the in-group (the white, or Adamite, race). The number of years in the past timeline is scalable for different groups. While the temporal element is pertinent, for some groups, it may be more useful to think in terms of antecedents, precedents or causes. The greater the number of events required to explain the in-group's history, the more material is available for extremist ideologues to access as "evidence".

While history expanded to primeval scope behind British Israelist adherents, the approach of prophetic times dramatically compressed the timeline before them. Started with Rand and Cameron, an apocalyptic current entered the British Israelist stream. Fueled by and centered on World War II, the start of the Cold War and the establishment of Jewish Israel, the onset of prophetic times was not set in the distant future; it was happening now and imminently.

Many religions and belief systems believe in an eschatological or "end times" scenario which sees history culminate in a final event, but most expect that the apocalypse lies in the unknowable (but likely distant) future.

Taken together, an extremist narrative that stretches into the past and the apocalyptic foreshortening of the future timeline combine to create a sort of Doppler Effect, in which settled past events are "red-shifted" – the fixed roots of a stabilising in-group continuity – while the frenetic pace of current events and near-future expectations is "blue-shifted" – careening ever faster toward adherents' present day, resulting in a sense of urgent instability that can provoke powerful automatic responses, such as fear and aggression.[164]

An extremist movement's past timeline need not extend into pre-history, as it did in the case of Christian Identity, but for maximum effect, the frame should be epochal – as with jihadist movements, for instance, whose historical lens is closely (but not exclusively) grounded in the life of Mohammed and his companions.[165]

During times of significant change (as with the onset of World War II), the actual pace of events speeds up, adding credence to adherents' perception of the blue-shift, while accentuating a sense of mounting distance from the past. When adherents finally come to believe that eschatological events are literally imminent, they can experience what Dr. Richard Landes refers to as "apocalyptic time", in which normal restrictions on behaviour (such as taboos against violence) may be loosened or entirely removed.[166]

[164]. M. Berger, "The metronome of apocalyptic time: Social media as carrier wave for millenarian contagion", *Perspectives on Terrorism* 9, no. 4 (2015).

[165] C. Bunzel, "From paper state to caliphate: The ideology of the Islamic State", Analysis Paper No. 19, The Brookings Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World, March 2015, https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/The-ideology-of-the-Islamic-State.pdf.

[166] R. Landes, *Heaven on Earth: The Varieties of the Millennial Experience* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), p 13.

b) Automatic, Deliberative and Simulated Deliberative Thinking

As British Israelism morphed into Christian Identity, the movement's texts shifted from a focus on pseudo-scholarly argumentation to bald assertion. The correlation between the mode of discourse and the extremity of the movement is not coincidental. In the case of British Israelism, the transition point is fairly clear. It begins in *When?,* the "prophetical novel" that introduced the serpent seedline concept to the movement's ideology.

Nearly 70 years of prolific British Israelist output had produced a massive body of "scholarship" that the *When?* author incorporated by reference, creating an illusion of rigour. The "proofs" laboriously devised by earlier authors were carefully cited and catalogued, but few of them were explicated. Instead, the characters presented the earlier authors' findings and attested to the "scholarship" that supported their conclusions.

In an important sense, this represented a turn of the corner. Early and middle-period British Israelist texts are extremely deliberative in focus. They are concerned with building the case for Anglo-Saxon identity, and they approach it using the trappings of scholarship. Evidence is marshaled, arguments are advanced, and counter-arguments are entertained. British Israelist authors did not require (or even conceive of) their audience as a force to be mobilised toward action; they primarily sought validation, especially from theological and scientific authorities. The nature of this goal required deliberative arguments.

By the time *When?* was written, the goalposts were changing. The *When?* author was deeply concerned with awakening his audience to their British Israel identity, which he saw as necessary step in the looming apocalypse. Awakening is a dualistic phenomenon; it pairs intellectual realisation with transformative emotional wonder.

To guide readers toward awakening, the author references previous deliberative arguments but does not relitigate them. *When?'s* protagonist, Benjamin, walks through a seemingly deliberative process in the Socratic dialogue format. But unlike previous British Israelist authors, the *When?* author rarely mounts his argument directly. Instead, he presents the outcome of the argument with a citation to its source. When Benjamin asks follow-on questions, they are usually answered with further citations.

The novel thus creates a simulation of deliberative thought, experienced vicariously through the character of Benjamin, but it rarely asks the audience to actually deliberate any questions, contenting itself with a call to scholarly authority. Readers who accomplished the (daunting) feat of reading the entire book likely felt they had been educated, but they had not been exposed to real arguments.

It's also worth noting that the genre of fiction is an appropriate pivot point for a shift from deliberative to automatic responses. Most fiction inherently provokes automatic reactions from readers in response to plot developments. This is one reason that dystopian fiction has figured prominently among extremist texts over the last

century.[167] While *When?* is not a particularly well-written work of fiction, thanks to its storyline, it is still more emotionally and automatically evocative than a British Israelist genealogy.

It fell to Swift and Gale to complete the transition to automatic thinking. As British Israelism progressed through the decades, the conflation of certain ideas (heredity and scripture in the early phases, conspiracy and prophecy in the later stages) created conceptual constructs that appeared sound, despite their questionable underpinnings. Swift and Gale presented now-bundled concepts within a series of automatic cues – phrases and statements that sought to trigger hope, fear and bigotry in the audience.

But they sequenced these cues in a manner designed to simulate a deliberative process. A fiery and emotional speaker, Swift sequenced and structured automatic cues to make his audience feel that they were following him through logical steps. The dynamic can be seen in a fairly typical passage from a 1963 lecture:

> We have pointed out to you that the content of the scriptures show that there was a Celestial origin for the Children of God. That they came down out of the Heavens and were embodied in earth, through the miracle of birth and the Adamic race is the process through which this was being carried out. … We recognize that as we get into the wider horizon of what is involved in the background of history, especially as it relates to the solar system and the Universe, that a great number of people who think that it is all right to expand in every area of knowledge that they can research (and we are for that), will stand back and say, 'but we should not probe into these areas of the unknown, that we should not touch with speculation as to what has transpired with anything as far back as before Adam'. But I want you to know that this is just a little portion of time. And over the expanse of time, we are already probing with the anthropologists and the Geologists into ages that consist of thousands of millions of ages before Adam. Surely, we can take the time to probe beyond Adam to see what transpired in the relationship of existing beings and intelligence and understanding, and the antiquities of the history of earth.[168]

Swift engages the audience directly with the idea of deliberation with phrases like "we can take the time to probe", and bolsters his concepts with content-free references to science and history. He refers to the existence of sources – "some of the oldest documents and traditions" and "records in the British Museum" – but rarely names them. Instead he offers progressive revelations. His language evokes the authority and credibility of deliberative process, but his real agenda is gnosis and awakening.

As previously noted, Swift also engaged in dialogue with absent critics, raising and then dispatching objections using the ubiquitous "someone said" formulation, followed by a rapid-fire series of provocations.

> And when they preach Communism and Zionism and Jewry then we ought to lock them up also. Someone said, "That is the wrong step to take". But that is what they are doing down there, and certainly we

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[167] J.M. Berger, "The Turner Legacy: The Storied Origins and Enduring Impact of White Nationalism's Deadly Bible" (2016).
[168] W. Swift, "Amazing Grace To A Race", *Transcript of Lecture,* 12 May 1963.

should be protecting the Kingdom of God with as much intelligence. Let's face it, we are facing Armageddon. This struggle of the Kingdom of God on the face of the earth, is with and against the kingdom of darkness, and we must learn that we must conquer every corner of the earth with righteousness and truth with the strength and arms of Christian civilization. We do not conquer to enslave, but we conquer to set men free.[169]

Gale, while a less intuitive and emotional writer, nevertheless adopts a similar approach. *The Faith of Our Fathers* is simply the narration of a racist cosmography, presented with virtually no citation of sources and with little appeal to logic.

As beliefs become more extreme, the value of deliberation declines. For instance, Swift and Gale both asserted that the Bible contains evidence for a pre-historic race war fought by dark-skinned aliens aboard interstellar spaceships. A truly deliberative defence of this premise would result in significant audience defections, because the case for this interpretation is extraordinarily weak by any metric.

Instead, *The Faith of Our Fathers* is a long, sequenced series of assertions intended to trigger racial fear and paranoia. Each builds on the last, and the tract culminates in a conclusion that non-whites are not truly human.

To conceive and advance a complex narrative requires a certain level of intellectual ability, and for some audiences, such a narrative may take on an aura of credibility, in part because they put the audience to work, whether or not they are well-grounded in fact. When audience members absorb such complex narratives, they may experience satisfaction and a sense that their understanding has been earned. Because of its extensive and sequential nature (and perhaps unintentionally because of Gale's opaque writing style), readers may come away from the book feeling a sense of accomplishment.

While beyond the scope of the present study, it is possible this effect could be better understood by exploring research on the relationship between metacognition [170] (awareness of one's own thought process) and self-confidence. If audience members feel they have worked to reach a conclusion, they may be more confident about that conclusion—even when the conclusion is not objectively provable.[171]

c) The Ladder of Identity Construction

Armed with the concepts discussed above, we can sketch out a framework for understanding how identity-based movements become extreme, by analysing the contents of their texts as a linkage-based system. By mapping in- and out-group identity components and linking them to sources of information, we find a ladder-like structure in which temporal scaling correlates to the escalation of in-group legitimacy and out-group illegitimacy. While the chart can be usefully read as a linear progression that is generally applicable, the elements below may not necessarily be adopted by an identity movement in the sequence shown. An identity movement may also qualify as extreme

[169] W. Swift, "The Children of the Heavenly Father" (1961).

[170] J. E. Metcalfe and A. P. Shimamura, *Metacognition: Knowing about knowing* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994).

[171] S. Kleitman and L. Stankov, "Self-confidence and metacognitive processes", *Learning and Individual Differences* 17, no. 2 (2007), pp. 161-173.

(in which the in-group's success is understood to be inseparable from negative acts against an out-group) without incorporating all of the elements below.
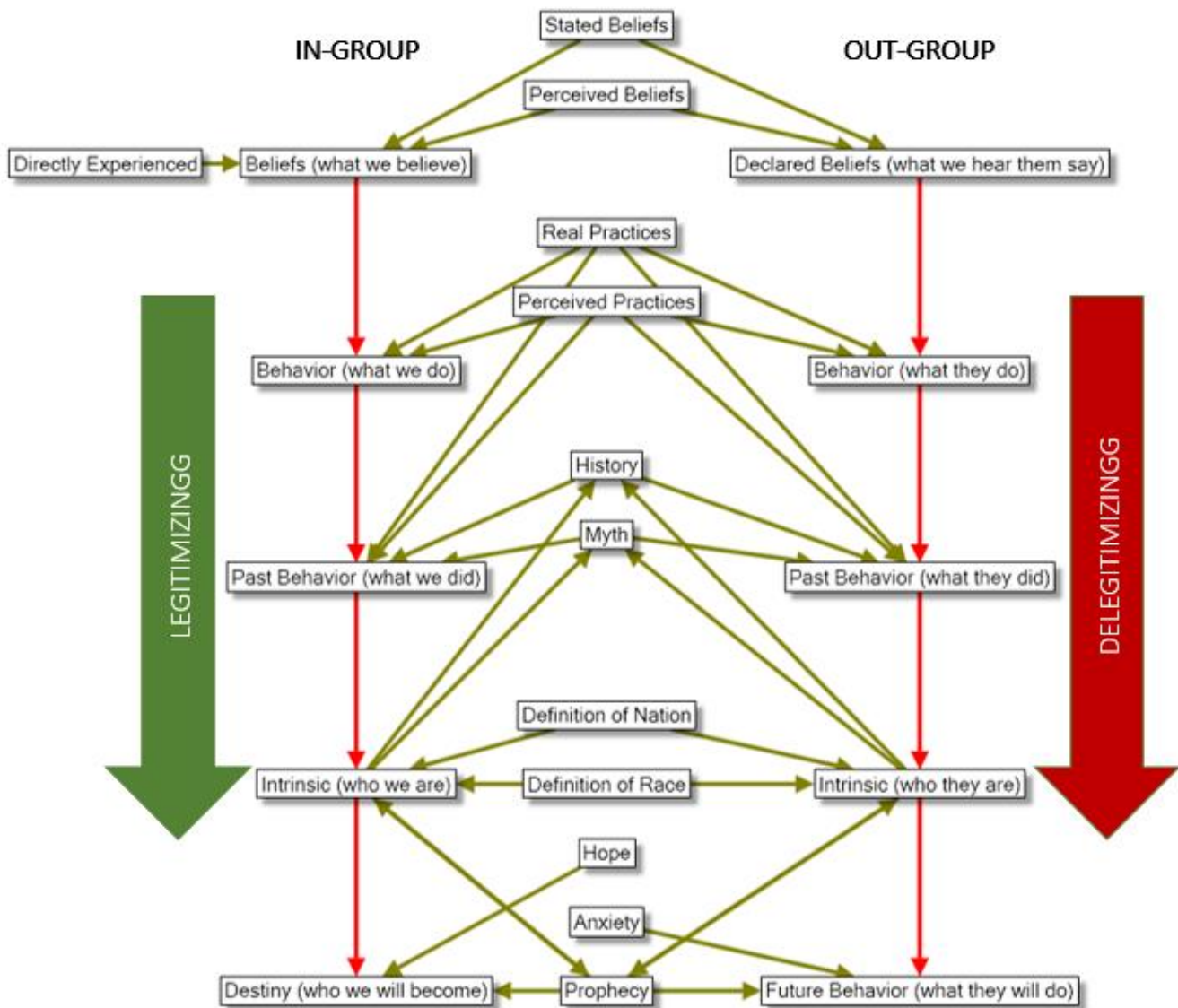
As an identity collective defines itself, it begins with the current social grouping. As it moves toward extremism, it expands to incorporate a timeline increasingly populated with past events and future expectations, elements which are used to justify an escalating demand for legitimacy. When an out-group is identified, it is subjected to the same process, except with the goal of delegitimisation.

The top-level categories of identity definition are beliefs, behaviour and intrinsic. Behaviour can be usefully broken down into past, present and future behaviour, with each carrying different implications. Intrinsic identity refers to how a group member answers the question "who are you?" and may include qualities decided at birth, such as race, ethnicity, tribe, gender, citizenship or sexual identity. (It should be noted that ideologies moving toward extremism tend to classify deviations from cisgendered heteronormativity as behavioural rather than intrinsic.)

Each component of identity is shaped by information sources (the centre column), including but not limited to history, myth, news, conspiracy theories, disinformation, personal experience and scriptures. As groups move into extremism, the quality of the information sources may deteriorate (for instance, drawing on myth rather than historical fact). Reliance on low-quality sources does not necessarily indicate a group is extremist, or in the process of becoming extremist. However, there may be reason for concern when a movement substitutes lower-quality sources for higher-quality sources (such as shifting from canonical scriptures to apocrypha).

A collective that begins with a geographical community, such as a town, develops a history of how that town came to be and what existed before the town (tracing the family or ethnic histories of the founders, for instance). It also develops a sense of what distinguishes the collective apart from geography ("that's not how we do things around here").

Once established with an identity, the collective may continue to flesh out its history in more and more complex ways, while adding components of intrinsic identity. With British Israelism, Anglo-Saxony became an intrinsically national (Israelite) and eventually racial (white) identity, as categories related to past behaviour (scriptural genealogies and folklore) became more and more developed.

Finally, an identity collective which has robustly developed the previous components may turn to its expectations for the future, which can be secular, religious or a mix, as in the case of British Israelism. Fear of war with the Soviet Union was conflated with biblical prophecy into a heady and eventually apocalyptic brew.

When the construction of in-group identity does not satisfy the legitimacy demands of the collective, it may choose to appropriate legitimacy from an out-group, which is a critical pivot toward extremism.

The out-group is defined and constructed in a parallel but not perfectly concurrent process. Initially, British Israelism shared commonalities in heritage and history with Jewish identity. But the demand for legitimacy escalated, and soon the British Israelist claim to biblical covenants required a more advanced justification, which eventually excluded Jews from key parts of a previously shared pseudohistory.

After this exclusion, the introduction of elements from contemporary anti-Semitic currents escalated to hostility and fear. Fear is inherently a forward-looking phenomenon, opening the door to an analysis of future behaviour, which British Israelists and Christian Identity adherents fused with apocalyptic prophecy. This final escalation can happen quickly. British Israelism had been an active ideology since 1870, but the escalation from the formal introduction of racialised anti-Semitism to full-blown apocalyptism took less than 30 years.

Related to the escalation of an identity-based ideology are two additional lines of development: the perception of the threat posed by an out-group and the prescription to solve that threat. These two can be understood by mapping linked concepts, as illustrated below.
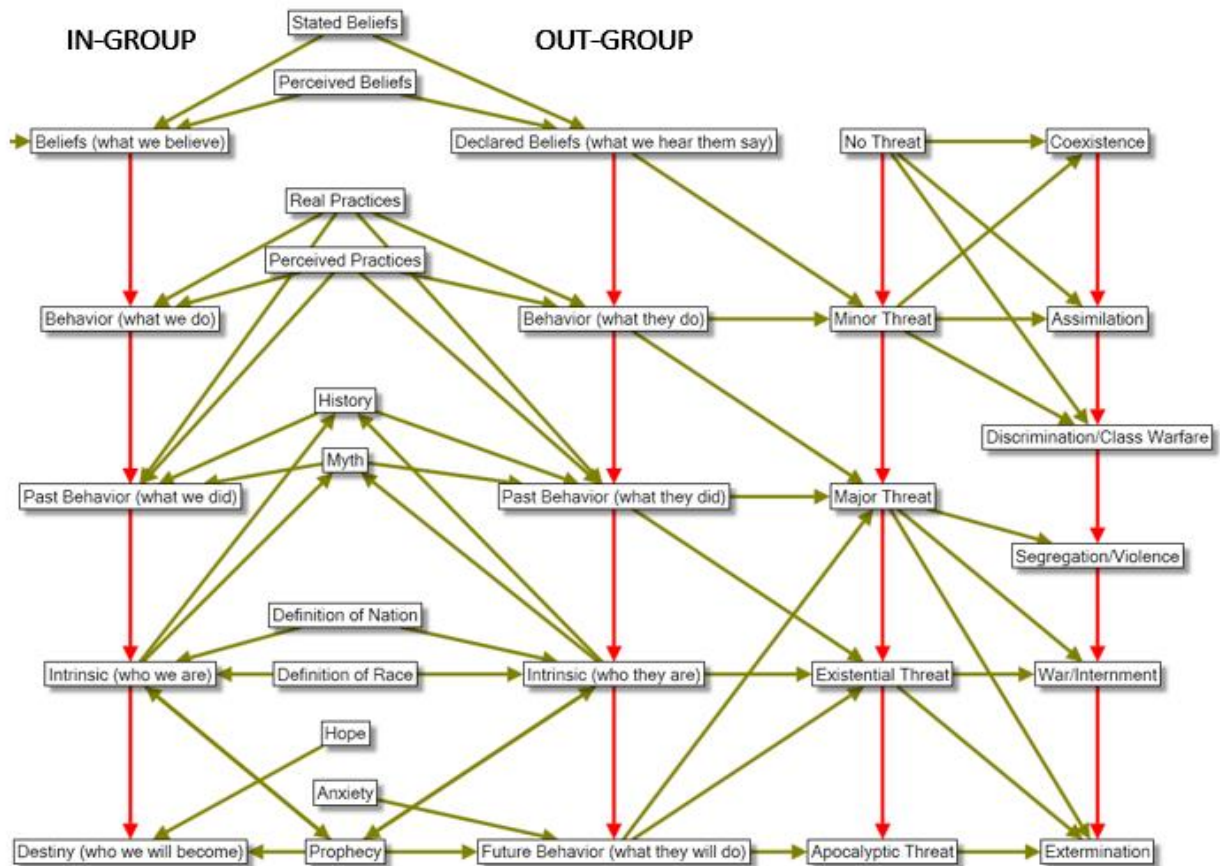
As the in-group's characterisation of the out-group becomes more developed, more opportunities become available to link the out-group to a higher level of threat, and to link the threat to a more violent solution.

Escalation becomes likely when the out-group identity begins to be seen as intrinsic, and again when the out-group identity incorporates expected future behaviours. As the threat perception escalates, so too does the range of possible solutions to the "out-group problem". A range of less violent options are available to deal with out-groups perceived as a minor or major (but ordinary) threat. When the perception of threat escalates to existential or apocalyptic, a much wider range of violent solutions becomes available (including war and genocide).

4. Conclusions

Thanks in part to its profusion of texts, the progression of British Israelism into Christian Identity provides a framework for understanding how non-extremist identity collectives morph into well-developed extremist organisations. As previously noted, this analysis produces several conclusions:

- Identity movements are oriented toward establishing the legitimacy of a collective group (organised on the basis of geography, religion, ethnicity or other prima facie commonalities).

- Movements become extreme when the in-group's demand for legitimacy escalates to the point it can only be satisfied at the expense of an out-group.

- Escalating demands for legitimacy can be measured by shifting temporal frames, expanding from present-day contexts to seek justification in history and set expectations for the future (often in the form of religious prophecy).

- In texts, the process of escalation can be mapped through linkages between concepts and the bundling of multiple linkages into single conceptual constructs. These mappings can inform efforts to counter extremist messaging.

The framework offered in this paper, centred on the "ladder of identity construction", offers an approach to analysing violent extremism that steps back from the specific contents of any one ideology to examine a broader spectrum of motivations.

For understandable reasons, the study and analysis of violent extremism has long been fixated on the specific content of extremist ideologies. But this cannot and should not be the beginning and the end of analysis.

Ideologies change, sometimes within a consistent organisational structure, and sometimes as one group or movement mutates into another. Variants of original British Israelism continue to exist, independent of Christian Identity, and adherents were among the vocal supporters of the Brexit movement in 2016.[172] British Israelism also exists alongside many variants, some developed concurrently, such as Native American-Israelism and African-Israelism.[173]

When extremist adherents present their ideology, they frequently argue for its absolute primacy and (in the case of fundamentalist movements) its immutability. But the development of ideological movements is messy and non-linear, and the contents of ideology are volatile, a phenomenon clearly visible in the evolution of British Israelism and seen more recently in the emergence of the so-called Islamic State (IS) from its precursor movement, al Qaeda.[174]

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[172] For instance, http://www.britishisrael.co.uk/showart.php?id=108.
[173] T. R. Jenkins, *The Ten Tribes of Israel: Or the True History of the North American Indians, Showing that They are the Descendants of These Ten Tribes* (Houck and Smith, 1883); "Racist Black Hebrew Israelites Becoming More Militant", Intelligence Report, Southern Poverty Law Center, 29 August 2008, https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2008/racist-black-hebrew-israelites-becoming-more-militant.
[174] C. Bunzel, "From paper state to caliphate: The ideology of the Islamic State" (2015), pp. 4, 7, et al.

We should listen carefully to what extremists say they believe, but we should understand that their explanations cannot be objective or complete. In identity-based extremist movements, adherents have a patently obvious and deeply ingrained bias toward understanding and representing their ideology as uniquely virtuous and accurately representative of a wider social grouping.

In order to effectively design policies and programs to counter radicalisation into violence, we must therefore approach the problem both individually and holistically, by understanding the broader dynamics that shape specific beliefs.

Perhaps most importantly, we must understand that extremist ideology is the outcome of a group radicalisation process, rather than being exclusively causal.

The framework and processes discussed in this paper raise a number of more specific considerations for counter-terrorism communications.

a) Assaults on Legitimacy

Since September 11, a core message from Western governments has been that groups like al Qaeda and IS are not legitimate in a religious sense. President George W. Bush famously said that al Qaeda had "perverted" Islam. President Barack Obama's administration insisted on using the acronym ISIL or even the Arabic acronym "Daesh" because they felt that referring to IS by its chosen name would legitimise its connection to Islam. President Obama spoke more directly to the issue in 2016:

> Groups like ISIL are desperate for legitimacy. They try to portray themselves as religious leaders and holy warriors who speak for Islam.
> I refuse to give them legitimacy. We must never give them that legitimacy.[175]

There are many reasons why elements of this rhetoric were positive. For one thing, both administrations were speaking not just (or even primarily) to Muslims, but to non-Muslim Americans who were confused about the reason for terrorist activity. Refuting the link between terrorist groups and the normative practices of Muslims is both important and admirable for wide audiences.

However, these attitudes leaked over into Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) initiatives, an entirely different arena. In dozens of policies and papers, government officials and non-governmental activists discuss the goal of using religious figures, former extremists and other tactics to delegitimise violent extremism.[176] This approach is eminently understandable, and this author has at times supported such efforts.

But the framework discussed in this paper suggests that attacks on the legitimacy of extremist groups are likely to fail, as legitimacy is the central component of an extremist in-group's identity construction – the most-developed and best-protected asset that any extremist group possesses.

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[175] President Obama's remarks at the Islamic Society of Baltimore", *The Baltimore Sun*, 3 February 2016, http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/bs-md-obama-mosque-visit-remarks-20160203-story.html.
[176] For example, "Developing Effective Counter-Narrative Frameworks for Countering Violent Extremism", Meeting Note, Hedayah & International Centre for Counter-Terrorism – The Hague, September 2014, https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/Developing%20Effective%20Frameworks%20for%20CVE-Hedayah_ICCT%20Report.pdf.

Even worse, the progression of British Israelism suggests the very real possibility that attacks on extremist legitimacy may worsen the problem. As we have seen, during the key transformation of British Israelism into Christian Identity, starting with Rand and continuing through Swift, external challenges were directly and repeatedly cited. When challenged, the authors naturally responded with more complex justifications and an escalation of hostility toward Jewish out-groups.

Additional research on this topic across ideological boundaries is necessary (and planned), but this paper strongly suggests that direct assaults on the content of extremist ideologies may be extremely counter-productive, as they contribute to the escalation of legitimacy-seeking through more extensive and creative justifications - essentially accelerating group radicalisation.

Finally, while direct attacks on legitimacy may be unwise, feeding an extremist group's sense of legitimacy and entitlement is also an obvious and grave error. Western politicians who seek to conflate normative Muslim practices with those of the IS, for instance, are sending a clear message that they believe IS does in fact represent some form of intrinsically Muslim identity. Given that extremist groups will generally absorb any information source that supports their claims, this is extremely dangerous.

Even more dangerous, however, is the fact that such rhetoric clearly occupies its own place on the ladder of identity construction. Politicians and pundits who link concepts in order to conflate normative Muslims with IS supporters are clearly and unequivocally building an extremist out-group identity, as are politicians and pundits who contrive linkages between refugees and violent crime. In both cases, the factual basis for these linkages are weak, leading those who promote the linkages to seek validation from weak information sources, including active disinformation campaigns on social media, hyper-partisan news sources, and so-called "fake news" sites.[177]

As seen in the example of Christian Identity, the escalation of a perceived out-group threat combined with the integration of weak information sources is a key pivot point in the development of a full-blown extremist identity. The prominence of these extremist currents in mainstream Western politics is cause for grave concern.
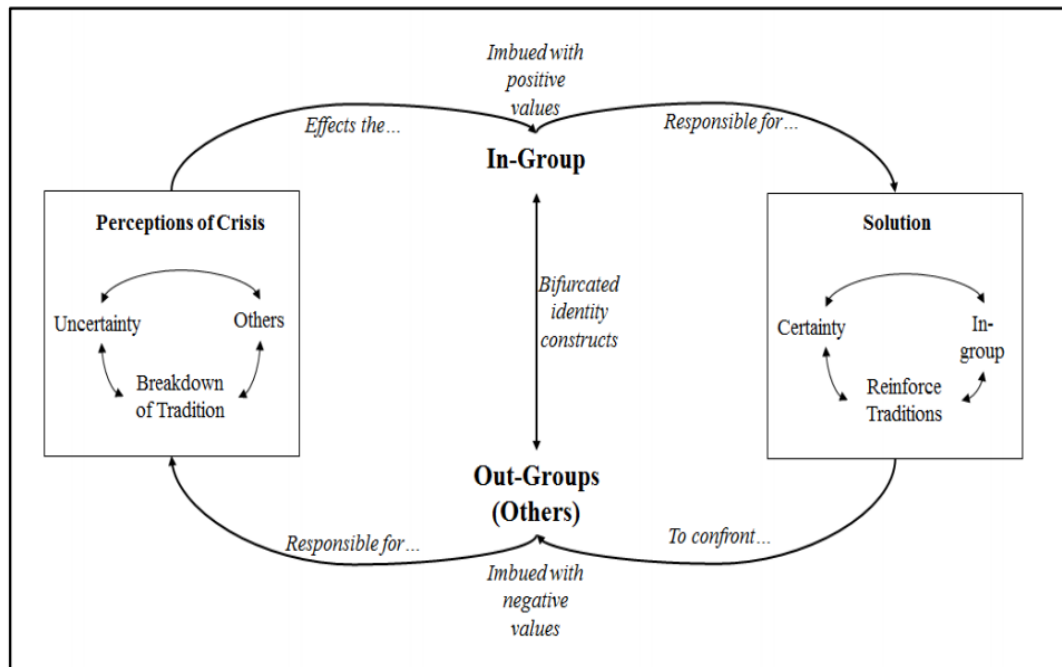
b) Unbundling Constructs

As previously noted, the approach to analysing ideological texts in this paper takes its lead from Ingram's "A 'Linkage-Based' Approach to Combating Militant Islamist Propaganda". Ingram describes extremist propaganda as providing its audience with a "'system of meaning' which acts as the lens through which supporters are compelled to perceive and judge the world".

Ingram recommends targeting the "system of meaning" at the highest level, where the out-group is linked to a crisis, and the in-group is linked to a solution (see chart below). In this approach, counter-messaging can be designed to dissolve those links, as well as to create new opposing associations, for instance linking extremist adherents to crises

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[177] For some examples: M. Bartsch and A. Clauß, "Exploring Germany's Far-Right Rumor Mill", *Spiegel Online,* 5 January 2016. http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/far-right-misinformation-stokes-anti-refugee-sentiment-a-1070413.html.

and linking non-adherents to solutions. These high-level linkages are almost always the most efficient vector from which to approach a messaging campaign.

However if directly overturning a heavy table is problematic, sawing off one of its legs may be a workable strategy. There may be instances in which unbundling the high-level constructs is useful. This idea is not new in itself, although approaching it through the framework in this paper may help refine the approach, particularly by de-emphasising frontal attacks on extremist legitimacy and emphasising critical junctures in ideological development.

As a simplistic example, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* is fundamentally and almost inextricably bundled into the definition of the out-group crisis in Christian Identity. Therefore, for example, messaging that seeks to dissolve the high-level linkage between out-group and crisis could be informed by concepts and language from *Protocols,* refuting underlying arguments with or without direct reference to the text. Significantly, attacking a non-canonical source document may be less likely to trigger escalating demands for legitimacy as discussed in the previous section, since the source itself is neither sacred nor intrinsic to in-group identity.

There are also benefits in directly attacking the legitimacy of secondary or syncretic information sources such as *Protocols,* where there is significant documentation of its forged and plagiarised nature.[178] The text is not used only by Christian Identity, but by a variety of extremist movements with anti-Semitic elements. Undermining a text that is central to many different extremist movements but canonical to none therefore offers wide benefits, especially for diverting at-risk people at the curiosity and consideration stages of individual radicalisation.[179]

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[178] R. Landes and S. T. Katz. *The Paranoid Apocalypse: A Hundred-year Retrospective on the Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (New York: NYU Press, 2012), pp. 92–96; "Anti-Semitism: History of the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion", Jewish Virtual Library, Undated, http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/the-ldquo-protocols-of-the-elders-of-zion-rdquo.
[179] J. M. Berger, "Making CVE Work: A Focused Approach Based on Process Disruption", *The International Centre for Counter-Terrorism – The Hague* 7, no. 5 (2016), https://icct.nl/publication/making-cve-work-a-focused-approach-based-on-process-disruption/.

This dynamic could be useful in messaging relative to al Qaeda and IS, for instance, by undermining weak *hadith* – sayings of the Prophet Mohammed that can be challenged based on technical features and provenance rather than on their merits – and secondary sources such as medieval scholars cited by both groups. It should be noted that this is far from a new idea,[180] and its effectiveness thus far is unclear, mostly due to lack of programmatic evaluation. Additionally, it may be difficult for Muslim scholars, especially in the West, to approach this topic without directly attacking the legitimacy of IS and thus triggering escalation.[181]

In general, it is not entirely clear that unbundling would be more effective than targeting high-level crisis constructs, and such an approach would certainly take longer to produce measurable effects since it is less direct. Nevertheless, it is likely worth exploring such approaches and evaluating their results.

Messaging initiatives can also strengthen linkages that de-escalate group radicalisation and reduce the propensity for violence, for instance by emphasising the legitimacy of history over prophecy with respect to in-group or out-group perceptions; shifting a perceived in-group vulnerability from major to minor; or emphasising negotiable identity elements such as practices over non-negotiable elements such as race.

However, such approaches rapidly begin to resemble social engineering, and the evaluation of messaging campaign success becomes more difficult when subtle changes are introduced into small populations. There are also potentially negative second-order effects which are considered in the next section.

With all this in mind, the unbundling of high-level constructs may have more utility for individual CVE interventions than broadcast messaging. Bundling allows extremist ideologues and propagandists to conflate weak and strong arguments into one argument that appears stronger than the sum of its parts, especially when the components are sequenced and presented as a simulated deliberative argument, as described in section 3(b).

By unbundling constructs during engagement, an interlocutor may be able to trigger deliberation about weaker component concepts, rather than the automatic response that higher-level constructs often seek to inspire.

c) Incremental CVE?

The ladder of identity construction also dangles the possibility that messaging and deradicalisation campaigns could be targeted to achieve incremental tactical gains against violent extremist groups that have reached critical mass and pose serious security challenges.

A "ladder" analysis of any given extremist movement's evolution would show the steps that led it to the justification of violence. Currently, messaging and deradicalisation

180 For example, https://www.newislamicdirections.com/nid/notes/dabiq_an_argument_against_isis.
181 E. Feldman, "How Muslim Groups, Scholars Have Been Fighting ISIS", *NBC Washington*, 9 December 2015, http://www.nbcwashington.com/news/national-international/Muslim-Scholars-Groups-Against-ISIS-Speal-Out-361309791.html.

efforts aimed at radicalised supporters of IS and al Qaeda seek to engage across a wide range of moral and political issues.

In principle, it should be easier to walk individuals and organisations one rung up the ladder, relative to jumping several rungs back to some original non-extremist state. This would involve identifying arguments from previous stages of the group's development and highlighting the superiority of those ideas over current, more violent principles. Obviously, such an approach immediately triggers significant ethical and political debates that cannot be easily resolved. One such approach was explored in 2015 by the Brookings Institution in a series of articles examining whether quietist Salafism offers an alternative to violent jihadism.[182] Quietist Salafis are already deeply opposed to the IS and on their own initiative already produce messaging to discredit violent approaches, which could form the template for additional efforts in this area.[183]

But a number of difficult questions persist, including:

- Is it ethical to encourage people to participate in a passive exclusionary or extremist identity as an alternative to a violent extremist identity?

- Is it practical to apply such efforts over a long period of time in order to gradually walk exclusionary ideologies back to a non-exclusionary state?

- If a person or population has de-escalated their views by moving one rung up the ladder, are they more likely to re-escalate back into violent extremism at some point in the future?

- Could efforts to de-escalate individuals or groups incrementally lead to new evolutionary pressures that produce more virulent forms of extremism at some point in the future?

All of these questions are worth studying, and the results of such study may assist us in evaluating the merits of such an approach. But in the real world, this approach may never be feasible. A messaging campaign that favoured the Muslim Brotherhood, for instance, as an alternative to al Qaeda, would almost inevitably have the effect of drawing some entirely non-radicalised people into the Muslim Brotherhood. Even if this was clearly determined to be a preferable outcome after all the pros and cons were evaluated, such a policy would be politically toxic and likely unimplementable.

Similar woes would beset a messaging campaign that, for instance, encouraged violent racist extremists to stop violence in favour of voluntary segregation. Such a campaign would be burdened by ethical and political obstacles, and would incur a serious risk of radicalising more people toward segregation than it deradicalised from violence. Here, however, it is interesting to note that overtly violent white nationalism in the United States has organically receded somewhat since the decline of Christian Identity in the

182 W. McCants and J. Olidort, "Is quietist Salafism the antidote to ISIS?", Brookings Markaz Series, 13 March 2015, https://www.brookings.edu/blog/markaz/2015/03/13/is-quietist-salafism-the-antidote-to-isis/; the full series can be found here: http://bit.ly/2l86hvE.
183 For instance, https://www.salaficentre.com/2014/08/statements-of-the-salafi-scholars-against-isis-the-khawaarij-of-syria-and-iraq/ and https://www.troid.ca/pamphlets/2196-isis-jihad-in-the-path-of-satan.

1980s and 1990s, in favour of voluntary segregationist movements seeking to build white-only enclaves.[184]

With more study and creative thought, there may be ways to exploit the insights of the ladder framework in order to achieve incremental progress against extremist groups without compromising obvious shared values and within the boundaries of what is pragmatically achievable within political and social strictures.

[184] R. James, "America's Booming White Enclaves", *Time Magazine*, 12 October 2009, http://content.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,1929729,00.html.

Appendix A: Bibliography

Note on sources: Several early British Israelite texts were obtained in PDF format from Christian Identity websites and forums, as well as from Archive.org. In some cases, these PDFs were print books that had been fully digitised and scanned, preserving the original text. In others cases, the works were transcribed and reformatted. In a handful of instances, the reformatted versions were edited by the person who created the PDF. Key passages and quotes were cross-referenced with Google Books whenever possible to verify the quotes against the original text. Where such verification took place, the cross-referenced edition is cited.

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Appendix B: Chronology of British Israelism

The following brief chronology of the development of British Israelism is largely based on Michael Barkun's *Religion and the Racist Right: The Origins of the Christian Identity Movement* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press Books, 1997), which is the most comprehensive scholarly work on the movement's history. The book is highly recommended to anyone interested in a more robust history of the movement.

The chronology also includes a partial list of violent incidents associated with Identity adherents through the 1990s. People associated with Christian Identity have been implicated in many more plots, often unsuccessful. Those interested in further research on this topic can find more information in *The Terrorist Next Door: The Militia Movement and the Radical Right* (New York: Macmillan, 2004) by Daniel Levitas; and *Right-wing Populism in America: Too Close for Comfort* (New York: Guilford Press, 2000) by Chip Berlet and Matthew Nemiroff Lyons, among others.

1840: John Wilson publishes the first edition of *Lectures on Our Israelitish Origin* the first formal statement of British Israel doctrine (Barkun, p 6).

1870s: Formal British Israel associations begin to form in England to promote the general theory (p 9).

1880s: British Israel authors begin to publish and lecture in North America (p 30).

1900: *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* is published, helping to popularise a racialised strain of anti-Semitism.

1900s: British Israel associations begin to emerge in North America (p 14).

1902: *Judah's Sceptre and Joseph's Birthright*, an early mature rendition of British Israelist ideology, is published in Portland, Oregon.

1920: The first American edition of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* is published.

1920s: British Israelism as an organisational movement peaks in England, with about 5,000 British members (p 15).

1921: William Cameron becomes editor of Henry Ford's *The Dearborn Independent,* which publishes many virulently anti-Semitic articles based on *The Protocols*.

1922: Cameron and Ford publish *The International Jew*, a collected edition of anti-Semitic columns from *The Dearborn Independent*.

1927: *The Dearborn Independent* is shuttered after a libel suit related to its anti-Semitic content.

1928: An American branch of the British Israel World Federation (based in London) is organised by Howard Rand (p 30).

1930: Rand established the first branch of the Anglo-Saxon Federation of America, based in Detroit. Cameron joins soon after. (p 30).

1930s: Branches of the Anglo-Saxon Federation are established in several U.S. states (p 30).

1933: Cameron gives a series of lectures in Dearborn, Michigan, that form the basis of the later collected edition, *The Covenant People.*

1937: Rand begins to publish the British Israelist *Destiny* magazine.

1939: World War II breaks out. This, along with subsequent global events, contributed to a growing millenarian strain within British Israelism.

1944: *When? A Prophetical Novel of the Very Near Future* is published. The book introduces the major elements that would pivot British Israelism into Christian Identity (p 51).

1945:   The first atomic bomb is detonated, further contributing to the millenarian tone of British Israel publications, particularly by Rand.

1948:   The Jewish state of Israel is established, creating a fundamental crisis in British Israelism's ideological thesis that Anglo-Saxons are the legitimate heirs to the covenants of God with Israel.

1940s: Wesley Swift founds the Anglo-Saxon Christian Congregation church, later renamed The Church of Jesus Christ Christian. He begins to preach Christian Identity doctrine at the church and in lectures around the country (p 62).

1960s: Swift and William Potter Gale form the Christian Defense League, a short-lived Christian Identity paramilitary organisation. The CDL was rumored to be plotting acts of terrorism (p 67).

1960s: Swift delivers a series of radio lectures on Christian Identity.

1963:   Gale publishes *Faith of Our Fathers,* a systematic exposition of Christian Identity doctrine.

1970:   Gale co-founds Posse Comitatus, an anti-government group with ties to the tax protest movement and a firm grounding in Christian Identity doctrine (p 69).

1973:   Richard G. Butler, a disciple of Swift, founds the Christian Identity congregation Church of Jesus Christ Christian in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho (p 69). He subsequently founds the Aryan Nations, an Identity-based white nationalist organisation.

1983:   Gordon Kahl, a longtime Posse Comitatus associate, shoots and kills three law enforcement officers.[185]

1983:   The Order, a white supremacist group linked to Butler and which included Christian Identity adherents among its members, begins a year-long spree of robbery to fund white nationalist groups and multiple murders.[186]

1985:   A Christian Identity group known as The Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord is broken up after a standoff with federal officers who were attempting to arrest members in relation to arson, bombings and unrealised assassination plots.[187]

1995:   Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols carry out the Oklahoma City bombing, killing 168 people. The men were linked to a Christian Identity community in Oklahoma known as Elohim City.

1995:   A spree of bank robberies is committed by a white nationalist gang known as the Aryan Republican Army, some of whose members and associates were Christian Identity adherents and who also spent time at Elohim City.[188]

1995:   Christian Identity minister Willie Ray Lampley attempts to launch a serial bombing plot.[189]

1999:   Buford Furrow, a former Aryan Nations member and close associate of Richard Butler, killed one and wounded five in a spree targeting a Jewish community center in the Los Angeles area.[190]

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[185] D. Levitas, *The terrorist next door: The militia movement and the radical right* (2004), p. 5.

[186] W. Turner, "5 Neo-Nazis Get Stiff Sentences for Crime Spree", *New York Times,* 7 February 1986, http://www.nytimes.com/1986/02/07/us/5-neo-nazis-get-stiff-sentences-for-crime-spree.html.

[187] G. Martin and H. W. Kushner, *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Terrorism, Second Edition* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc, 2011), p. 185.

[188] For a detailed and compelling account of the ARA, see: M. S. Hamm, *In Bad Company: America's Terrorist Underground* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2002).

[189] R. Worthington, "U.S. Indicts Alleged Bombmaker: FBI Infiltrates Group Set `To Make Trouble For The Government'", *Chicago Tribune,* 21 November 1995, http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1995-11-21/news/9511210254_1_militia-movement-willie-ray-lampley-fbi.

[190] "L.A. shooting suspect surrenders in Las Vegas", *CNN,* 11 August 1999, http://www.cnn.com/US/9908/11/california.shooting.04/.

Extremist Construction of Identity: How Escalating Demands for Legitimacy Shape and Define In-Group and Out-Group Dynamics

J.M. Berger
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