

## ESSAY

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**“Based” Bookishness***White Nationalist Strategies for a Post-Print Age*

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If you have spent time in far-right social media, you have likely seen the #ReadSiege hashtag, a reference to *Siege*, a collection of essays written by neo-Nazi James Mason and first published in 1992. After gaining renewed popularity in the mid-2010s thanks to groups like The Base and Atomwaffen Division, *Siege* is now widely regarded as “a kind of neo-Nazi bible” and one of “the most venerated postwar works among neo-Nazis” (Johnson and Feldman 2023, 5). Of course, it is hard to say how many *Siege* fans have actually read the book. Thick as a phone book and packed with disorganized ramblings, *Siege* is far from light reading. Finding physical copies of the book can also be a challenge, with available copies easily costing over a hundred dollars. Perhaps this explains sentiments like those of far-right user “Monsieur le Baron,” who writes that you can “always tell who the leftist and Fed infiltrators [are] because they read *Siege*. Nobody reads *Siege*, man” (2024).

It is easy to see why someone might believe (almost) nobody reads *Siege*, given that the memes and hype surrounding it vastly overshadow substantial discussions of its content. Yet, even if few readers manage to actually get through the text, this does not seem to affect the overwhelming number of “*Siege* selfies” that flood social media spaces. In these images, users display physical copies of *Siege* in curated settings, often alongside Nazi flags, firearms, and other extremist symbols, or feature themselves holding the book while obscuring their faces with masks or bandanas. Other images feature fictional characters and photoshopped celebrities (like Donald Trump) holding *Siege*, echoing the real-life selfies they imitate (figure 1).

The phenomenon of *Siege* selfies is an example of what Jessica Pressman calls *bookishness*: “acts that engage the physicality of the book within a digital culture, in modes that may be sentimental, fetishistic, radical” (2020, 1). Scholars like Katherine Hayles have highlighted how our current “post-print” era has led to a reevaluation of physical books and their new social uses, emphasizing the ways in which digital culture reshapes our engagement with these artifacts (2021). Hayles notes that “post-print” does not signify a division between print and digital media but instead points to their entanglements, which foster new forms of expression. Likewise, Garrett Stewart argues that the rise of digital media grants physical books a new kind of rhetorical currency,

even in their digitally mediated appearance. Stewart describes bookishness as an aestheticization and fetishization of books as artifacts, making the physical book more of what he terms a *bibliobject*: an object whose primary form of transmission becomes undone, “blocked or altered, in the medium of its secondary presentation” (2011, 1). Thus, as we see in the bookish example of *Siege* selfies, the physical book takes on meaning and value independent of the words it contains.



**Figure 1.** Examples of “*Siege* selfies.”<sup>1</sup>

Several scholars have begun examining how such bookishness informs popular practices like “BookTubing,” “bookshelf tours,” “shelf threads,” and “shelfies.” Dorothee Birke and Johannes Fehrle, for example, explore the video genre of BookTubing, where content creators “hold the book they discuss in their hand and show it to the camera repeatedly.” Such BookTubers limit themselves to “commenting only on special features (e.g., an illustrated copy or a collector’s edition)” (2018, 74, 81). Admeire da Silva Santos Sundström has written about the similar video genre of the bookshelf tour, where creators “produce videos [that] . . . showcase their bookshelves and explain the reasons behind their book purchases” (2023). Relatedly, bookish practices like shelfies, a genre Nicola Rodger cheekily calls “bookshelf porn,” often feature carefully curated images of users’ bookshelf contents for online audiences (2019). As these and other scholars have noted, such bookish acts reflect ways in which digitally mediated displays of physical books can facilitate new forms of interaction by taking on new kinds of rhetorical currency.

However, while mainstream bookish practices have begun to attract scholarly attention, there has been little inquiry into their function within far-right spaces. For this reason, I offer this brief essay as an examination of current bookishness in White

1 From left to right, photos are from: Anonymous, 4chan /pol/ (archived on 4plebs), December 27, 2023, <https://archive.4plebs.org/pol/thread/453188100/#453188100>; Anonymous, 4chan /pol/ (archived on 4plebs), December 18, 2020, <https://archive.4plebs.org/pol/thread/297420863/#297423117>; Image of Feuerkrieg Division member “Bauruk” taken from the group’s leaked chats, reposted by Unicorn Riot, March 20, 2020, <https://unicornriot.ninja/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/Bauruk-siege-selfie-FKD.png>.

nationalist rhetorics. Although my observations here are far from an exhaustive inquiry, I want to call attention to how these practices cultivate and sustain a form of ideological genericism, making White nationalist rhetoric more accessible to a broader audience. In what follows, I examine two specific bookish phenomena—shelf threads and bookshelf tour videos—that are popular in spaces like 4chan and Bitchute. Like other forms of bookishness, these practices engage with the physicality of books within a digital culture but focus specifically on *based books*. In digital far-right discourse, “based” has come to signify endorsement of extremist ideas, serve as a marker of ideological defiance, and indicate rejection of so-called “woke” culture. I therefore use *based books* to broadly refer to books that circulate within these networks, particularly in the digital spaces I explore in this essay. While this is not a comprehensive examination, I share these observations to highlight the importance of further investigating how platform affordances, post-print practices, and the changing landscape of ideological discourse intersect in the digital age.

#### “What are we reading today, /pol/?”

When I first started researching shelf threads on the 4chan /pol/ board, I came across a 2018 post that appeared to be just another ordinary (albeit White nationalist) iteration of the shelf threads I had seen on mainstream social media. On one hand, it contained the basic elements typical of a shelf thread: a picture of the user’s bookshelf and a question about what others are currently reading. Shelf threads often begin this way, followed by comments on the original poster’s books and additional photos of other users’ shelves. The opening post reads:

Hey /pol/ what are you currently reading or planning to add to your library? Here’s a picture of my JQ shelf, I have hundreds of books and am currently trying to organize them by subject. I also have dozens more books on the crimes, illegitimacy and influence of Israel but that will be a separate shelf. This is just a tiny portion of my library, but I’m trying to amass as much literature on the Jews as possible since Amazon has begun purging holocaust revisionist and “anti-Semitic.” (Anonymous 2017)<sup>2</sup>

Beside the post is a picture of the author’s “JQ” shelf (a not-so-subtle antisemitic dog whistle referencing the “Jewish question”), featuring books by David Duke, Henry Ford’s *The International Jew*, Holocaust denier Andrew Carrington Hitchcock’s *Synagogue of Satan*, and several other equally virulently antisemitic books (figure 2).<sup>3</sup> In response,

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2 All posts are reproduced here as they originally appeared, unedited for grammar or spelling.

3 Threads on 4chan are started when someone makes an initial post, often called the “original post” (or just “OP”), and then other users reply. Because of 4chan’s image-oriented platform, every OP must include an image. Responses can include images, though this is not a requirement.



While I found myself initially asking *why* these photos were being reposted in such unusual ways, I realized that I first needed to answer a different question: what are these photos *doing*? To delve deeper into this question, I analyzed sixty-five repeated photographs from /pol/ shelf threads archived online. I chose photos that featured stacks of far-right books that had been reposted at least ten times across threads over a period of two months or more. By examining the frequency and context of each photo's reappearance, I looked for patterns that might shed light on their purpose and impact.

One of the duplicate photos I examined shows a worn copy of Gary Smith's antisemitic book *Land of the ZOG*, positioned slightly askew on a wooden table.<sup>6</sup> The photo first appeared on November 23, 2021, in a generic /pol/ thread titled "Reading recommendations."<sup>7</sup> In the original post, the user mentioned enjoying books by a certain sci-fi author and asked fellow anons for similar recommendations. Within twenty-four hours, the thread accumulated three hundred comments, mostly debating the merits of various sci-fi and fantasy books. In the middle of this discussion, an anonymous user posted the *Land of the ZOG* photo without any explanation. Seconds later, the same user posted additional images showing the book's back cover and table of contents.

Since that first post, the same image has reappeared at least forty-four times across various /pol/ threads, with the most recent instance in January 2025 (figure 3). Typically, the image is posted without comment and is often followed by an image of the back cover, table of contents, or both. The threads where this image resurface range from explicitly White nationalist threads with titles like "Redpill Reading List" and "NS/Fascism Essential Literature" to more generic discussions, such as "Book Thread Recommendations and Discussion."



**Figure 3.** Comments on /pol/ threads from November 2021 (left) and January 2025 (right).<sup>8</sup>

6 ZOG refers to the phrase "Zionist Occupied Government," a common term among antisemites and conspiracy theorists alike to reference what is perceived to be Jewish control of the US government.

7 All 4chan posts using this image's unique hash can be found archived at <https://archive.4plebs.org/pol/thread/349162586/#349181809> (accessed May 25, 2025).

8 All 4chan posts using this image's unique hash can be found archived at <https://archive.4plebs.org/pol/search/image/fYxhQKoyI95nlW5GQRdJLA/> (accessed May 25, 2025).

Another commonly reposted photo first appeared in a shelf thread from March 2018 titled “Does /pol/ read books?”<sup>9</sup> The image featured a stack of books by Charles Murray, coauthor of *The Bell Curve* and author of numerous other works promoting scientific racism, and by far-right activist Milo Yiannopoulos (figure 4). This same image was reused as the header image for eighteen separate threads over seven months, between March and October 2018. It appeared on threads with subject lines like “Book Club,” “Book Club for Intelligent Young White Men,” “Book Stack Thread,” “Book Club General,” and “Book Club Thread.” The introductory text for each thread was nearly identical, with only minor (yet revealing) variations in wording:

ITT [in this thread]: We post our literature stacks, things we’ve been reading recently. I recently went oon a bit of an Amazon binge and I’m really looking forward to using my spring break to further my education. Post your stacks, rate, and recommend. (March 9, 2018)

What are you reading, pol? I got ahead of myself on Amazon and bought a big stack of books for summer. I’ve been taking advantage of the nice weather to go outside and catch up. So, post your stacks, rate, and recommend. (May 16, 2018)

What are you reading, pol? I got ahead of myself on Amazon and bought a big stack of books for winter. I’ve been taking advantage of the nice weather to go outside and catch up. So, post your stacks, rate, and recommend. (October 2, 2018)

In October 2018, the bookstack image went dormant on /pol/, not showing up in any threads until it suddenly resurfaced on March 24, 2020, as the opening image of a new thread. Once again, the opening post narrative sounded strangely familiar, with a few new edits tossed in.

I hope you guys are spending your quarantine time wisely. Pic related is what I treated myself to a couple of weeks ago in preparation for this moment. I’m about a quarter of the way through Murray and enjoying it immensely.

Whether or not the 2020 poster (someone who claimed to have just purchased the books for quarantine reading) was the same as the 2018 poster (someone who claimed to have bought the books for a spring break and/or summertime reading binge) is probably impossible to determine. What is more, such questions of provenance and origin are less important than the question of what these posts are *doing* in these spaces.

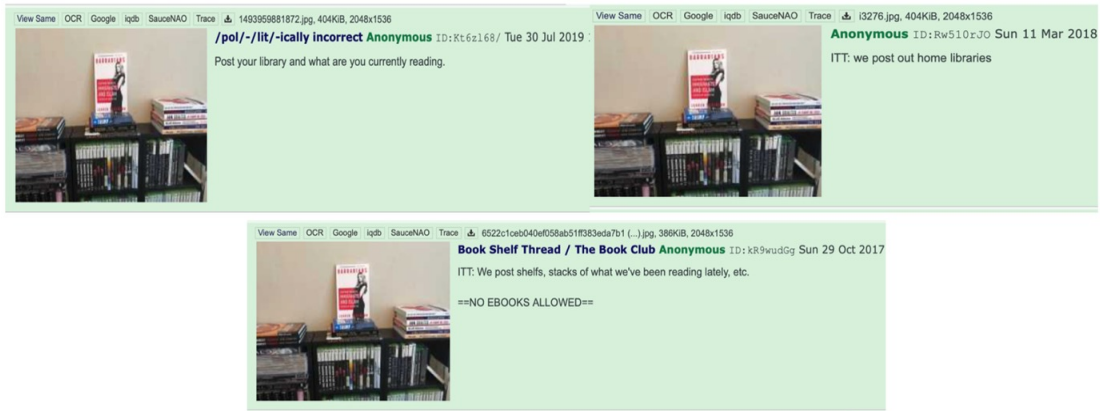
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9 All 4chan posts using this image’s unique hash can be found archived at [https://archive.4plebs.org/pol/search/image/iSkYG00bGK\\_Mywm1V3uazg/](https://archive.4plebs.org/pol/search/image/iSkYG00bGK_Mywm1V3uazg/) (accessed May 25, 2025).



**Figure 4.** Original posts from October 2018 (bottom) and March 2020 (top).

One answer to this became clear as I tracked an image that has appeared at least fifty-six times across /pol/ shelf threads from 2017 to 2025.<sup>10</sup> The image features a bookshelf prominently displaying *Barbarians*, a 2016 book by the far-right activist Lauren Southern, a figure who regularly uses her popular social media channels to promote the Great Replacement and White genocide conspiracy theories. This particular image is notable not only for its frequent reposting but also for how often it appears as the opening post in new shelf threads.



**Figure 5.** Original /pol/ headers from October 2017 to July 2019.

Over seven years, the style and tone of these initial posts vary slightly, but the similarities are far more striking. In a generally “polite” tone, each post invites users to share their own book recommendations and photos in the comments:

What’s some good /pol/-approved and redpilled literature? Pic related is my collection currently, looking to add more to it. (July 14, 2017)

<sup>10</sup> All 4chan posts using this image’s unique hash can be found archived at: [https://archive.4plebs.org/pol/search/image/zy3gLBpWmmLaBPW\\_em6UOw/](https://archive.4plebs.org/pol/search/image/zy3gLBpWmmLaBPW_em6UOw/) (accessed May 25, 2025).

What books does /pol/ recommend to read? Pic related is my collection so far (February 7, 2018)

Book Club Thread! In this general thread, we post pictures of our book shelves/ recently read stacks, share recommendations, and talk about books. I'm curating something of a collection second-hand, amazon is surprisingly good for this purpose (March 2, 2018)

Pic related is my collection, any recommendations for further redpilled books? (November 26, 2017)

Post your library and what you are currently reading. (July 30, 2019)

What are you reading today, /pol/? Feel free to post shelves or stacks. (October 7, 2018)

ITT: we post our home libraries (March 11, 2018)

ITT: We post shelves, stacks of what we've been reading lately, etc. (October 29, 2017)

Book shelf thread! Post your bookshelves or, just the stack of books you've been reading. Rate, discuss, and recommend (October 20, 2017)

What's some essential /pol/ literature? Pic related, my library (October 21, 2017)

Regardless of whether a single person is actually reposting their own image in these fifty-six different posts, they all seem to serve as calls to action, often referencing the photo as part of the call. It is here that we can begin to see how the specific affordances of 4chan's platform help shape the rhetorical currency of these bookish practices. In other words: the platform helps determine why and how these digital instantiations of physical books matter.

Unlike other social media platforms, 4chan is designed for the rapid production of new content. The ephemeral nature of threads and posts is a deliberate feature. When a new comment is added to a thread, it gets bumped to the top of the entire board. To prevent any thread from staying at the top too long, each board has a "bump limit." Once a thread reaches its maximum of three hundred comments or five hundred images—specific to /pol/—it is removed from the site, effectively vanishing into obscurity. This encourages users to post comments, ensuring that these threads remain visible on /pol/, where they are more likely to be read by the 4chan audience. Notably, promoting image posts over text takes advantage of the differing bump limits. Because threads disappear quickly, repeated postings of images or similar content do not stand out as they might on other platforms. This

mechanism ensures that White nationalist content is consistently recycled in spaces like /pol/.

The frequent reposting of images across different contexts also highlights the generic character of White nationalist rhetoric. Here, “generic” carries a dual meaning. In one sense, it refers to a distinct genre of bookish shelf thread posts, which foreground physical books as both object and discourse. At the same time, these posts also cultivate a generic ethos—one that is not tied to an individual but rather emerges through repeated, recognizable forms of engagement. Posting “personal” images of one’s collection in bookish shelf threads allows users to participate in these rhetorical spaces without requiring explicit ideological expression. What is more, for at least some in the 4chan /pol/ community, photos of a user’s “personal” collection lend credibility that might otherwise be hard to come by. As one /pol/ commenter noted in a thread about “red-pilled literature”:

always look at peoples personal collections, largely ignore assembled reading lists of stock photos. . . . of course, check out the lists they provide, but always compare them to anons actual libraries. . . . if anons are spending money on literature and actually promoting them, theres a high chance they are worth a read. (Anonymous 2021)

The fact that a poster may be merely posting an image copied from another post (which itself may have copied the image) is irrelevant. “Bookish” shelf posts provide a way to participate in ideological space through an alternate currency—one that does not necessarily require fluency in complex ideological discourse.

Put another way, these practices amplify (and are amplified by) forms of analytical austerity that infuse White nationalism. For example, Kieran Aarons points to David Lane’s “Fourteen Words,” the de facto White nationalist motto, as an example of such analytical austerity. Today, the mere appearance of “14”—whether as a tattoo, username, or hastily written graffito—signals the presence of White nationalism, though the bare fact of “14” itself lacks explicit ideological content. Even Lane’s “Fourteen Words” statement—“We must secure the existence of our people and a future for White children”—is a relatively empty signifier. Nevertheless, Aarons argues, the phrase conveys a world of communication whose “ideal context of interpretation is not theoretical but passionate and pragmatic” (2023, 273). In a sense, it does not matter that “securing the existence” does not point to articulable specifics insofar as its purpose does not hinge on exposition. As a doctrine, it “does not want to be understood; its purpose is to be answered in practice” (272). Rather, the “Fourteen Words” aims to intensify and amplify White nationalist affinities at an affective level. Consequently, while someone who scrawls “14” on a bathroom stall may not know Lane’s phrase, they are likely to understand its affective resonance. Though they may not know the text, they know its rhetorical currency.

We see something similar happening in the acts of bookish postings above. Sharing a picture of one’s “personal” bookshelf filled with White nationalist literature is meant

to be understood on an affective level rather than an analytical one. The true ownership of the bookshelf is irrelevant, just as it does not matter whether one has read the books. Even if someone has never read past the first page of *Siege*, for example, their “*Siege* selfie” resonates. It is here that we see how such generic rhetorical acts facilitate engagement by opening up channels of communication that operate through resonance. As these photos prompt others to comment, share, and contribute, far-right spaces like 4chan’s /pol/ board amplify White nationalist affinities through the generic affordances of bookishness.

### Unpacking Muh Library

A different *generic* currency shows up in another dimension of bookish White nationalism: the bookshelf tour video. In contrast to the anonymity of 4chan’s shelf threads, bookshelf tour videos are overwhelmingly driven by the personal. Far-right bookshelf tour videos thus look exactly as you might imagine: handheld cameras panning over stacks of books, moving from shelf to shelf, showing off White nationalist and neo-Nazi literature collections. Oddly enough, however, it is the other contents on these shelves—books about gardening, chemistry textbooks, Garfield comic books, sci-fi novels—that can tell us the most about what is happening here.

For example, in a fourteen-minute Bitchute video titled “Racist Library,” the videographer begins with an opening shot of a RAHOWA flag hanging on the wall (Aryan 2020).<sup>11</sup> He then pans to a line of toys, including a plushy version of the Death Star from *Star Wars* and several action figures. From there, the video zooms onto titles of books lining a shelf, beginning with a closeup of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. As the video progresses, we see texts that any self-proclaimed racist might own: Oswald Spengler’s *Decline of the West*, numerous books by Ben Klassen, collections of Hitler’s speeches, and so on. Yet, the camera then moves to shelves containing a mashup of books on esoteric philosophy and occult magic, textbooks on informal logic, and books on Illuminati conspiracy theories. A stack of books by Nietzsche appears alongside a T. S. Elliot poetry collection. Books by Julius Evola are sandwiched between RV repair manuals. Throughout the video, we see the most virulently antisemitic texts sitting next to mundane books that might be found on anyone’s shelf. Whatever else might be said about this particular “racist library,” it is certainly not lacking eclecticism.

We see something similar from Cultured Thug, a White nationalist with a well-known online presence. Cultured Thug has produced several lengthy bookshelf tour videos, most running over an hour. In one such video, a classical music soundtrack plays in the background as Cultured Thug zooms in to the top shelf of a bookcase. “We’ll start in the Jewish question section, obviously,” he begins. He slowly pans across dozens of antisemitic texts, stopping to pull out books to show the camera (2019).

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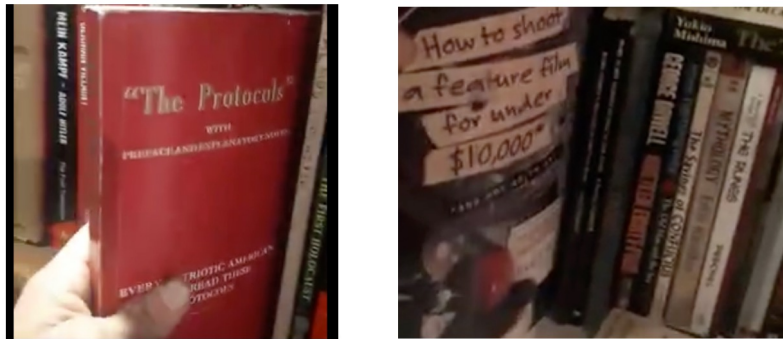
11 In White nationalist circles, RAHOWA is an acronym for “Racial Holy War.”

After an exhaustive look at the “Jewish question” shelves, he then moves seamlessly to a bookshelf that could perhaps be found in any average home library. He points out works by H. L. Mencken and Mark Twain, a book about the benefits of breathing through your nose, and a biography of Mike Tyson, along with many other unremarkable titles (figure 6). With equal seamlessness, the camera then cuts to a book propped up on a wooden holder. “This is my pride and joy. The first American print edition of *Mein Kampf*,” he says while showing off the dusty cover. He flips carefully through the pages and emphatically repeats, “*First American print edition.*” On a dime, the camera pans back to more bookshelves lined both with obscure neo-Nazi texts and the kinds of literary classics found almost anywhere.



**Figure 6.** Images from Cultured Thug’s bookshelf tour video.

At first, I surprised by how these videos pivoted between White nationalist texts and “ordinary” books. As I watched more bookshelf tours, however, I found that this kind of pivot was common to such videos on far-right platforms. A thirty-minute bookshelf tour by The Youthful Curmudgeon, another White nationalist figure, is nearly identical to Cultured Thug’s video. In the opening narration, the author gives details about the antisemitic texts lining his shelves, stopping to note texts that are unique or rare. Showing off an annotated version of *You Gentiles* by Maurice Samuel, he explains, “I don’t have the real version. I can’t find it anywhere. I have it downloaded on PDF, but this is the only version I could find” (Youthful Curmudgeon 2019). The video continues in this vein, with The Youthful Curmudgeon occasionally telling stories about how he acquired certain books. However, much like Cultured Thug’s video, The Youthful Curmudgeon hops between neo-Nazi texts and books that are worlds away from fascist ideologies, including Calvin and Hobbes anthologies, several books by Michael Pollan, and *The Green Witch: Your Complete Guide to the Natural Magic of Herbs, Flowers, Essential Oils, and More* (figure 7).



**Figure 7.** Two stills from The Youthful Curmudgeon’s bookshelf tour: *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and *How to Shoot a Feature Film for Under \$10,000*.

As I watched these videos, I was reminded of Walter Benjamin’s “Unpacking My Library” (his own version of a bookshelf tour), where he ruminates on the assorted books that make up his collection. They are just individual books, differently acquired and without particular relations between them. Even so, Benjamin reflects, this motley assortment of books is a *library*. More specifically, it is *his* library, though it may not appear this way to anyone else. His library is a sense of something existing as a totality, coming into existence through familiar habituation: “For what else is this collection but a disorder to which habit has accommodated itself to such an extent that it can appear as order?” (1968, 59). Through a kind of habituation, order is evoked. The sense of something existing as a totality resonates in a space of disorder. Benjamin’s brief essay kept coming to mind as I tried to make sense of what is happening in these videos. As I watched them unpack their libraries, I got the sense of something being evoked—a totality that transcends individual books within the whole. A habituated sense of order.

I especially found myself reflecting on this evocative order when speaking with Michael, a popular far-right streamer whose channel, “Muh Fashy Bookshelf,” features lengthy bookshelf tours. In typical episodes, Michael shows off a physical book and describes how he acquired it, as well as comments about the book’s value. His extensive library includes almost every neo-Nazi, fascist, and White nationalist text imaginable. During our conversation, when I asked if he calls himself a White nationalist, Michael forcefully rejected the suggestion. “I’m proud to be a fascist,” he explained, and a believer in White European superiority. But, he continued, White nationalists are hot-headed, uneducated, immature, and focused on the wrong issues: “Those people are either LARPer, grifters, or they’re hyper-focused on Jews.”<sup>12</sup> This last comment shocked me, since one of the first questions he asked

<sup>12</sup> LARP is a mainstream acronym for “live-action role-playing,” though derogatory references to “LARPer” in far-right discourse are meant to criticize individuals who are seen as not fully invested in White nationalist ideology.

me was whether I was “of European descent.” When I pointed out that his expansive library prominently features White nationalist texts (something he proudly shares in his videos), he brushed away this detail. “I have all kinds of books,” he replied, “including books by Jews. I even have books by Blacks.”<sup>13</sup>

Michael’s comment immediately brought me back to Benjamin’s *habituated sense of order*. White nationalist texts placed alongside “all kinds of books” evoke a totality. *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* is part of the same totality that also includes RV manuals and informal logic textbooks. The same totality contains neo-Nazi manifestos and “even books by Jews.” In short, these videos are fostering a kind of performative parallelism, rendering fascist and antisemitic texts equivalent to mainstream biographies of famous athletes or books on essential oils. Geoff Boucher and Helen Young note something quite similar in their analysis of the Colchester Collection, an online library that prominently features White nationalist texts alongside subjects like “Arts and Entertainment,” “Philosophy,” and “Fiction.” Boucher and Young argue that the Colchester Collection seeks to legitimate far-right texts through their strategic proximity to mainstream literature (2023, 144). Much like the bookshelf tour videos, therefore, the Colchester Collection unfolds through a performative parallelism, one that creates a rhetorical adjacency to White nationalism. It is the physical embodiment of *just asking questions*: advocating a position through a rhetoric of coexistence. White nationalism is only one idea among others, just as a White nationalist book is only one part of the library’s totality.

### Post-Print Inconclusions

What I have described above are just two small examples of the ideological genericism enabled by post-print rhetorics on the far right. There are, of course, plenty of other instances that also call for critical inquiry. For example, we can find a familiar kind of performative parallelism at work in recent far-right social media discourse around “Little Free Libraries,” small book-sharing boxes (usually located in neighborhoods) where people can take or leave books for free. In 2023, the extremist website Counter-Currents, run by self-professed White nationalist Greg Johnson, announced a “grant” providing individuals with five free Counter-Currents books to place in local Little Free Libraries, promoting this as “a great way to share new ideas in your neighborhood—including white identity politics” (Quinn 2023). Participants were encouraged to “send us pictures to share on social media!” Johnson’s initiative likely drew inspiration from the neo-Nazi website The Daily Stormer, which previously prompted readers to place copies of Benjamin Garland’s antisemitic book *Merchants of Sin* in Little Free Libraries nationwide. Beyond these two PR stunts, many individuals have shared photos of

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13 Communication with the author, January 21, 2024, and January 30, 2024.



books, it becomes another alternative, equivalent to the paperback mysteries, textbooks, books about gardening, presidential biographies, and the like.

In short, perhaps one of the only things we might agree with Johnson about is the fact that, as Filipe Carreira da Silva writes, “books have agency . . . because they are first and foremost social objects” (2016, 6). Insofar as post-print books are different kinds of social objects, however, it is important to trace their specific impacts and effects in the realm of White nationalism. By understanding the rhetorical power of such tactics—asking what they make possible in White nationalist spaces and, consequently, in the broader sphere of public life—we can better advocate for a critical engagement with literature and a more informed public discourse.

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