

# PUBLIC CONFEDERATE MARKERS IN THE UNITED STATES

P. Makoto Hunter

## FOOTNOTES

1. Arline Geronimus, Margaret Hicken, Danya Keene, and John Bound, "'Weathering' and Age Patterns of Allostatic Load Scores Among Blacks and Whites in the United States," *American Journal of Public Health* 96, no. 5 (May 2006): 826.  
<https://ajph.aphapublications.org/doi/10.2105/AJPH.2004.060749>.
2. Heather O'Connell, "Monuments Outlive History: Confederate Monuments, the Legacy of Slavery, and Black–White Inequality," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 43, no. 3 (July 2019): 465,  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2019.1635259>. The value is estimated "using a measure of the disparity in the local Black poverty rate relative to the White poverty rate. Specifically . . . the percent of the non-Hispanic Black population for whom poverty status is determined that has a household income below the official poverty threshold . . . [divided by the] corresponding percentage for the non-Hispanic White population."
3. Caroline Janney, "The Lost Cause," *Encyclopedia Virginia*, Virginia Humanities, last updated July 27, 2016, <https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/lost-cause-the/>; Melanie Buffington, "Confronting Hate: Ideas for Art Educators to Address Confederate Monuments," *Art Education* 72, no. 1 (2019): 15, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00043125.2019.1534435>; "Whose Heritage? Public Symbols of the Confederacy," *Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC)*, February 1, 2019, <https://www.splcenter.org/20190201/whose-heritage-public-symbols-confederacy>; Charles Dew, *Apostles of Disunion: Southern Secession Commissioners and the Causes of the Civil War* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2001), 75–80; "Arizona State Professor Brooks D. Simpson Discusses Neo-Confederate Movement," *Intelligence Report*, Southern Poverty Law Center, September 15, 2000, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2000/arizona-state-professor-brooks-d-simpson-discusses-neo-confederate-movement>. See subsection "Misleading Negationist History" for more details.
4. Jason Fernando, "Gross Domestic Product (GDP)," *Investopedia*, updated November 13, 2020, <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/g/gdp.asp>.
5. "Municipality," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, accessed January 28, 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/municipality>.
6. Alain Finkielkraut, *The Future of a Negation: Reflections on the Question of Genocide*, trans. Mary Byrd Kelly (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 125, <https://www.nebraskapress.unl.edu/nebraska/9780803220003/>; Henry Rousso, Lucy Golsan, and Richard Golsan, "The Political and Cultural Roots of Negationism in France," *South Central Review* 23, no. 1 (Spring 2006): 67, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40039914>; *UNESCO Against Racism: World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance* (Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, 2001), 17, <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000123862>; "Whose Heritage?" SPLC.
7. Janney, "The Lost Cause."
8. Caroline Janney, "United Daughters of the Confederacy," *Encyclopedia Virginia*, Virginia Humanities, updated December 14, 2020, <https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/united-daughters-of-the-confederacy/>.
9. Janney, "The Lost Cause."
10. Janney, "United Daughters of the Confederacy."
11. Janney, "The Lost Cause."
12. "Symbol Type Count By State," in *Whose Heritage SF*, distributed by Southern Poverty Law Center, updated May 11, 2021, [https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1W4H2qa2THM1ni53QYZftGob\\_k\\_Bf9HreFAtCERfjCIU/](https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1W4H2qa2THM1ni53QYZftGob_k_Bf9HreFAtCERfjCIU/)

edit#gid=1205021846; “Whose Heritage?” SPLC.

13. “AHA Statement on Confederate Monuments,” *American Historical Association*, August 2017, <https://www.historians.org/news-and-advocacy/aha-advocacy/aha-statement-on-confederate-monuments>; Ellen Hunt, “What Is a Confederate Monument: An Examination of Confederate Monuments in the Context of the Compelled Speech and Government Speech Doctrines,” *Law and Inequality: A Journal of Theory and Practice* 37, no. 2 (2018): 426, <https://scholarship.law.umn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1616&context=lawineq>; John Winberry, “‘Lest We Forget’: The Confederate Monument and the Southern Townscape,” *Southeastern Geographer* 55, no. 1 (Spring 2015, reprint from 1983): 23, [https://www.jstor.org/stable/44370745?seq=1#metadata\\_info\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/44370745?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents); “Whose Heritage?” SPLC.

14. “AHA Statement on Confederate Monuments,” American Historical Association; Hunt, “What Is A Confederate Monument,” 426; Winberry, “‘Lest We Forget,’” 28.

15. Janney, “The Lost Cause”; Christopher Abernathy et al., “Reconstruction,” Nicole Turner, ed., in *The American Yawp: A Massively Collaborative Open US History Textbook*, vol. 1, eds. Joseph Locke and Ben Wright (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2019), 421; Ann Bausum, “Fighting the Lost Cause,” *The Horn Book Magazine*, November/December 2017, 31; Melanie Buffington, “Confronting Hate: Ideas for Art Educators to Address Confederate Monuments;” “Whose Heritage?” SPLC; “Arizona State Professor,” Intelligence Report; Brian Palmer and Seth Freed Wessler, “The Costs of the Confederacy,” *Smithsonian Magazine*, December 2018, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/costs-confederacy-special-report-180970731/>; Karen Cox, *Dixie’s Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2003), 11–12. <https://www.hbook.com/?detailStory=writers-page-fighting-lost-cause>

16. “Mr. Scott Makes Splendid Speech,” *Vicksburg Herald*, May 11, 1906, morning edition, [https://history.olemiss.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/6/2020/06/The\\_Vicksburg\\_Herald\\_Fri\\_\\_May\\_11\\_\\_1906.pdf](https://history.olemiss.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/6/2020/06/The_Vicksburg_Herald_Fri__May_11__1906.pdf); Anne Twitty, “Ole Miss’s Monument to White Supremacy,” *Atlantic*, June 19, 2020, <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2020/06/ole-misss-monument-white-supremacy/613255/>. Scott also claimed the rest of the world would in time be grateful for the Southern campaign of anti-Black violence because the world was coming around to share the Confederacy’s perspective on the “race question,” as evidenced by a reference to a then-recent national magazine article which described Blacks as “the inferior race” (Charles Adams, “Reflex Light from Africa,” *Century Magazine*, May–October 1906, 105, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015030769643&view=1up&seq=117>). For more on Reconstruction-era anti-Black violence, see Abernathy et al., “Reconstruction.”

17. Adam Dombay, *The False Cause: Fraud, Fabrication, and White Supremacy in Confederate Memory* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2020), 17–20.

18. Roy Harris, “Strictly Personal” column, *Augusta Courier*, September 17, 1951, as cited in John M. Coski, *The Confederate Flag: America’s Most Embattled Emblem* Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of University of Harvard Press, 2005, 137n10, 339.

19. Cox, *Dixie’s Daughters*, 107.

20. “AHA Statement on Confederate Monuments,” American Historical Association; “Whose Heritage?” SPLC.

21. Dew, *Apostles of Disunion*, 47, 77; Thomas Szanya, “Confederate Statues Symbolize Role of Racism in America,” *The RAND Blog*, RAND Corporation, July 16, 2020, <https://www.rand.org/blog/2020/07/confederate-statues-symbolize-role-of-racism-in-america.html>.

22. “AHA Statement on Confederate Monuments,” American Historical Association; Jordan Brasher and Derek Alderman, “A Confederate Statue Graveyard Could Help Bury the Old South,” *The Conversation*, July 26, 2019, <https://theconversation.com/a-confederate-statue-graveyard-could-help-bury-the-old-south-118034>; Steven Lubar, “Museums Can Deal With Confederate Memorials,” Medium, August 30, 2017, <https://medium.com/@lubar/museums-can-deal-with-confederate-memorials-ea18c1ac2828>; Christopher Knight, “Perspective: What to Do With Confederate Monuments? Put Them in Museums

as Examples of Ugly History, Not Civic Pride,” *LA Times*, August 18, 2017, <https://www.latimes.com/entertainment/arts/la-et-cm-confederate-monuments-20170818-htm1story.html>; Holland Cotter, “We Need to Move, Not Destroy, Confederate Monuments,” *New York Times*, August 20, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/20/arts/design/we-need-to-move-not-destroy-confederate-monuments.html>.

23. For examples of primary source collections and scholarly research, see Susan Birkenseer, “The American Civil War: A Collection of Free Online Primary Sources,” *College & Research Libraries News*, May 2015, <https://crln.acrl.org/index.php/crlnews/article/view/9314/10416>; Dew, *Apostles of Disunion*; “Browse By Subject” (toggled to “Civil War”), *Southern Cultures*, accessed March 26, 2021, <https://www.southerncultures.org/subjects/?subject=Civil%20War>; *Reconstruction: America After the Civil War*, directed by Julia Marchesi (PBS, 2019), <https://www.pbs.org/weta/reconstruction/>; “Search Results for: Civil War,” *Encyclopedia Virginia*, Virginia Humanities, accessed March 26, 2021, <https://encyclopediavirginia.org/?s=Civil+War&x=0&y=0>.

24. For example, the discovery of the Scott speech transcript prompted for some a change in how to interpret the history of the University of Mississippi monument. See Twitty, “Ole Miss’s Monument.”

25. “AHA Statement on Confederate Monuments,” American Historical Association.

26. “AHA Statement on Confederate Monuments,” American Historical Association; Anna Marcum, “Mass Produced, Mass Removal: Op-Ed: A Confederate Monument Graveyard is Within Our Grasp,” *Architect’s Newspaper*, August 4, 2020, <https://www.archpaper.com/2020/08/op-ed-a-confederate-monument-graveyard-is-within-our-grasp/>.

27. Winberry, “Lest We Forget,” 29–30.

28. Logan Strother, Spencer Piston, and Thomas Ogorzalek, “Pride or Prejudice? Racial Prejudice, Southern Heritage, and White Support for the Confederate Battle Flag,” *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 14, no. 1 (June 13, 2017): 305, 311.

<https://doi.org/10.1017/S1742058X17000017>.

29. Chelsey Carter, “Confederate Monuments are Killing Us,” *Museum Anthropology* 41, no. 2 (Fall 2018): 140, <https://doi.org/10.1111/muan.12182>; Ta-Nehisi Coates, “What This Cruel War Was Over,” *Atlantic*, June 22, 2015,

<https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2015/06/what-this-cruel-war-was-over/396482/>;

Michael Dickinson, “Black Realities and White Statues: The Fall of Confederate Monuments,”

*Black Perspectives*, African American Intellectual History Society, June 18, 2020,

<https://www.aaihs.org/black-realities-and-white-statues-the-fall-of-confederate-monuments/>.

30. Kathy Frankovic, “Most Black Americans Support the Removal of Confederate Statues but the Nation Is Divided,” YouGov, July 6, 2020,

<https://today.yougov.com/topics/politics/articles-reports/2020/07/06/most-black-americans-support-removal-confederate-s>.

31. Sheryl Gay Stolberg and Brian Rosenthal, “Man Charged After White Nationalist Rally in Charlottesville Ends in Deadly Violence,” *New York Times*, August 12, 2017,

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/12/us/charlottesville-protest-white-nationalist.html>; also see Consequences: Attracting Violent White Supremacy within this brief.

32. See Consequences within this brief.

33. Debra McKinney, “Stone Mountain: A Monumental Dilemma,” *Intelligence Report*, February 10, 2018,

<https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2018/stone-mountain-monumental-dilemma>; “Whose Heritage?” SPLC.

34. McKinney, “Stone Mountain”; “Whose Heritage?” SPLC.

35. Colleen Walsh, “Must We Allow Symbols of Racism on Public Land?” *Harvard Gazette*, Harvard University, June 19, 2020,

<https://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2020/06/historian-puts-the-push-to-remove-confederate-statues-in-context/>.

36. See Contributing Factors within this brief.

37. "Release Detail," *Quinnipiac University*, June 17, 2020, <https://poll.qu.edu/national/release-detail?ReleaseID=3663>; Frankovic, "Nation Is Divided."
38. Bausum, "Fighting the Lost Cause," 31–33; Buffington, "Confronting Hate," 15–16; "Whose Heritage?" SPLC.
39. Denise Watson, "The Racial Reckoning with Confederate Monuments Seems New. But it Dates Back More Than a Century," *Virginian Pilot*, December 11, 2020, <https://www.pilotonline.com/history/Vp-nw-confederate-monuments-africanamerican-resistance-20201211-t6hw67kwvjdc5ggjm2kh7izkeu-story.html>.
40. Strother, Piston, and Ogorzalek, "Pride or Prejudice," 305, 311. Strother, Piston, and Ogorzalek measured knowledge of history by scoring responses to two questions from the original survey: "1) whether the respondent can correctly identify the famous Union general, William Tecumseh Sherman, and 2) the number of Civil War battles the respondent can name (in our analyses, no credit was given for additional battles named after the first two)" (303).
41. Kate Shuster, *Teaching Hard History: American Slavery* (Montgomery: Southern Poverty Law Center, 2018), 19. For slavery as the central cause of the Civil War, see Dew, *Apostles of Disunion*. <https://www.splcenter.org/20180131/teaching-hard-history>
42. Shuster, *Teaching Hard History*, 19.
43. Laura Baines-Walsh, et al., "Teaching Hard History: Innovative Educators Discuss How They Teach About Our Country's Painful Past," interview by Adrienne van der Valk, *Teaching Tolerance*, Spring 2018, 52, <https://www.learningforjustice.org/sites/default/files/2018-01/Teaching-Tolerance-magazine-58.pdf>.
44. Buffington, "Confronting Hate," 15.
45. Bausum, "Fighting the Lost Cause," 31–33; Buffington, "Confronting Hate," 15–16; Janney, "The Lost Cause."
46. "How the Lost Cause Narrative Became American History," *Washington Post*, March 5, 2020, in *Descendants*, produced by Nicole Ellis, YouTube video, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9Y6luq3aUvc>; Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 160-163; Janney, "The Lost Cause"; "Whose Heritage?" SPLC.
47. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 160-163; Janney, "The Lost Cause"; "Whose Heritage?" SPLC.
48. Bausum, "Fighting the Lost Cause," 32; Francis Butler Simkins, Spotswood Hunnicutt Jones, and Sidman Poole, *Virginia: History, Government, Geography* (New York: Scribner, 1957), 373; Dew, *Apostles of Disunion*, 15; Karen Cox, *Dreaming of Dixie: How the South was Created in American Popular Culture* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 1, 22.
49. Buffington, "Confronting Hate," 15.
50. Dew, *Apostles of Disunion*, 10; Palmer and Wessler, "The Costs of the Confederacy."
51. Buffington, "Confronting Hate," 15; Seth Cohen, "A New Southern Strategy? Trump Praises Confederate General Robert E. Lee In Campaign Speech," September 20, 2020, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/sethcohen/2020/09/20/a-new-southern-strategy-trump-praises-confederate-general-robert-e-lee-in-campaign-speech/?sh=40561698bf13>.
52. Chris Kromm, "Fables of the Reconstruction: Why Clinton's Comments About Southern History Matter," *Facing South*, January 28, 2016, <https://www.facingsouth.org/2016/01/fables-of-the-reconstruction-why-Clintons-comments>.
53. "The Myth of Reconstruction," in *Reconstruction: The Second Civil War*, PBS, 2004, <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/reconstruction-myth>.
54. "The Myth of Reconstruction," in *Reconstruction: The Second Civil War*, PBS.
55. Dew, *Apostles of Disunion*, 75–80; Alexander Stephens, "Doc. 48.—Speech of A.H. Stephens," in "Documents and Narratives," in *The Rebellion Record: A Diary of American Events, with Documents, Narratives, Illustrative Incidents, Poetry, Etc.*, vol. 1, ed. Frank Moore (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1861), 45, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433081802930?urlappend=%3Bseq=265>; Janney, "The Lost Cause"; "The Myth of Reconstruction" in *Reconstruction: The Second Civil War*, PBS; Kromm, "Fables of the Reconstruction"; Abernathy et al., "Reconstruction," 405–410, 418–421.
56. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 160-163; Janney, "The Lost Cause"; "Whose Heritage?" SPLC.



57. Bausum, "Fighting the Lost Cause," 31–32; Simkins, Jones, and Poole, *Virginia*, 373; Dana Goldstein, "Two States. Eight Textbooks. Two American Stories," *New York Times*, January 12, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/01/12/us/texas-vs-california-history-textbooks.html>; Cohen, "A New Southern Strategy"; Janney, "The Lost Cause"; Kromm, "Fables of the Reconstruction"; *Gone with the Wind*, directed by Victor Fleming (Selznick International Pictures and Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 1939); Cox, *Dreaming of Dixie*, 92–96; *Lincoln*, directed by Steven Spielberg (Amblin Entertainment and the Kennedy/Marshall Company, 2012); Matthew Pinsker, "Warning: Artists at Work," Emancipation Digital Classroom, The House Divided Project, February 14, 2013, <http://housedivided.dickinson.edu/sites/emancipation/2013/02/14/warning-artists-at-work/>; Tony Kushner, "Kushner's 'Lincoln' is Strange, but Also Savvy," interview by Dave Davies, *Fresh Air*, November 15, 2012, <https://www.npr.org/2012/11/15/165146361/kushners-lincoln-is-strange-but-also-savvy>; Irwin Silber, *Songs of the Civil War* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1960), 363–364; Balitmore Lauren, "Lauren Looks Back: 'Two Brothers' in Two Disney Parks," *Bleeding Cool*, May 29, 2017, <https://bleedingcool.com/movies/lauren-looks-back-two-brothers-two-disney-parks/>; Jason Stevan Hill, *Choice of the Vampire* (Choice of Games, 2010), <https://www.choiceofgames.com/vampire/>; "Whose Heritage?" SPLC.
58. Alexis Okeowo, "Witnessing a Rally for a Brand New Confederate Monument," *New Yorker*, August 29, 2017, <https://www.newyorker.com/culture/culture-desk/witnessing-a-rally-for-a-brand-new-confederate-monument>.
59. Okeowo, "Witnessing a Rally."
60. "Whose Heritage," SPLC; Courtney Lewis, "Banning Change: The South Carolina Heritage Act," *Museum Anthropology* 41, no. 2 (Fall 2018): 129, <https://doi.org/10.1111/muan.12181>; Hunt, "What Is a Confederate Monument"; Alabama Memorial Preservation Act, AL Code § 41-9-232 (2019), *Justia US Law*, <https://law.justia.com/codes/alabama/2019/title-41/chapter-9/article-9a/section-41-9-232/>; GA Code § 50-3-1 (2019), *Justia US Law*, <https://law.justia.com/codes/georgia/2019/title-50/chapter-3/article-1/section-50-3-1/>; MS Code § 55-15-81 (2019), *Justia US Law*, <https://law.justia.com/codes/mississippi/2019/title-55/chapter-15/alteration-of-historical-monuments-and-memorials/section-55-15-81/>; NC Gen Stat § 100-2.1 (2019), *Justia US Law*, <https://law.justia.com/codes/north-carolina/2015/chapter-100/article-1/section-100-2.1/>; SC Code § 10-1-165 (2019), *Justia US Law*, <https://law.justia.com/codes/south-carolina/2019/title-10/chapter-1/section-10-1-165/>; TN Code § 4-1-412 (2019), *Justia US Law*, <https://law.justia.com/codes/tennessee/2019/title-4/chapter-1/part-4/section-4-1-412/>; TX Govt Code § 2166.5011 (2019), *Justia US Law*, <https://law.justia.com/codes/texas/2019/government-code/title-10/subtitle-d/chapter-2166/subchapter-k/section-2166-5011/>; VA Code § 15.2-1812 (2019), *Justia US Law*, <https://law.justia.com/codes/virginia/2019/title-15-2/chapter-18/section-15-2-1812/>.
61. "Symbol Type Count By State," in *Whose Heritage SF*, distributed by SPLC.
62. "Symbol Type Count By State," in *Whose Heritage SF*, distributed by SPLC.
63. Lewis, "Banning Change," 129.
64. Lewis, "Banning Change," 129.
65. Hunt, "What is a Confederate Monument," 440.
66. Carter, "Confederate Monuments," 140.
67. Geronimus, Hicken, Keene, and Bound, "'Weathering' and Age Patterns of Allostatic Load," 826.
68. David Williams, "Race, Socioeconomic Status, and Health: The Added Effects of Racism and Discrimination," *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 896, no. 1 (February 6, 2006): 184, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-6632.1999.tb08114.x>; Timothy J. Cunningham, Janey Croft, Yong Liu, Hua Lu, Paul Eke, and Wayne Giles, "Vital Signs: Racial Disparities in Age-Specific Mortality Among

- Blacks or African Americans—United States, 1999–2015,” *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report* 66, no. 17 (May 5, 2017): 444, <https://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/volumes/66/wr/mm6617e1.htm>; David Williams, Yan Yu, James Jackson, and Norman Anderson, “Racial Differences in Physical and Mental Health: Socio-economic Status, Stress and Discrimination,” *Journal of Health Psychology* 2, no. 3 (July 1, 1997): 338, 349, <https://doi.org/10.1177/135910539700200305>.
69. Cunningham et al., “Vital Signs,” 452.
70. Williams et al., “Racial Differences in Physical and Mental Health,” 338, 349; Cunningham et al., “Vital Signs,” 447.
71. Carter, “Confederate Monuments are Killing Us,” 140; Coates, “What This Cruel War Was Over”; Frankovic, “Removal of Confederate Statues.”
72. O’Connell, “Monuments Outlive History,” 465, 472.
73. O’Connell, “Monuments Outlive History,” 463–465, 472.
74. O’Connell, “Monuments Outlive History,” 472–473.
75. Avidit Acharya, Matthew Blackwell, and Maya Sen, “The Political Legacy of American Slavery,” *Journal of Politics* 78, no. 3 (May 19, 2016): 625–626, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/686631>.
76. O’Connell, “Monuments Outlive History,” 462, emphasis added.
77. Dana Peterson and Catherine Mann, “Closing the Racial Inequality Gaps,” *Citi GPS: Global Perspectives & Solutions*, September 2020, 37–38, <https://ir.citi.com/%2FPRxPvgNWu319AU1ajGf%2BsKbjJjBJSaTOSdw2DF4xynPwFB8a2jV1FaA3ldy7vY59bOtN2lxVQM%3D>.
78. Peterson and Mann, “Closing the Racial Inequality Gaps,” 18–32.
79. O’Connell, “Monuments Outlive History,” 463–465, 472.
80. Peterson and Mann, “Closing the Racial Inequality Gaps,” 18.
81. Peterson and Mann, “Closing the Racial Inequality Gaps,” 8.
82. Peterson and Mann, “Closing the Racial Inequality Gaps,” 39.
83. Palmer and Wessler, “The Costs of the Confederacy.”
84. “Whose Heritage?” SPLC. For example, The Sons’ official website to this day prominently features a 1929 pamphlet titled *A Confederate Catechism*, a document that falsely asserts that “it was not slavery, but rather the vindictive, intemperate anti-slavery movement” that caused the Civil War. The pamphlet also untruthfully claims that before the Civil War, “negroes were the most spoiled domestics in the world” (“Confederate Catechism,” *Sons of Confederate Veterans*, accessed October 21, 2020, <https://scv.org/confederate-catechism/>; Lyon Gardiner Tyler, *A Confederate Catechism: The War of 1861–1865*, 2, 11, <https://scv.org/confederate-catechism/>).
85. Palmer and Wessler, “The Costs of the Confederacy,” emphasis added.
86. Palmer and Wessler, “The Costs of the Confederacy,” emphasis added.
87. Palmer and Wessler, “The Costs of the Confederacy.”
88. Palmer and Wessler, “The Costs of the Confederacy.”
89. Palmer and Wessler, “The Costs of the Confederacy,” emphasis added.
90. Nick Corasaniti, Richard Pérez-Peña, and Lizette Alvarez, “Church Massacre Suspect Held as Charleston Grieves,” *New York Times*, June 18, 2015, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/06/19/us/charleston-church-shooting.html>; Palmer and Wessler, “The Costs of the Confederacy.”
91. Patrick Strickland, “In the US South, Anti-Confederate Protestors Face Harassment,” *Al Jazeera*, January 14, 2019, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/1/14/in-the-us-south-anti-confederate-protesters-face-harassment>.
92. Strickland, “In the US South”; Jeff Adelson and Della Hasselle, “Though Tense, Protests for and Against Removal of New Orleans Monuments End Peacefully,” *New Orleans Advocate*, May 7, 2017, [https://www.nola.com/news/politics/article\\_f98dff88-8176-5c2c-86ba-471ea5695801.html](https://www.nola.com/news/politics/article_f98dff88-8176-5c2c-86ba-471ea5695801.html); Phil McCausland, “Defenders, Detractors of New Orleans Confederate Statue Turn Out in Force,” *NBC News*, May 7, 2017, <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/defenders-detractors-new-orleans-confederate-statue-t>

urn-out-force-n756106.

93. Adelson and Hasselle, "Protests for and Against Removal of New Orleans Monuments End Peacefully."

94. McCausland, "Defenders, Detractors"; Jeff Adelson (@JAdelson), "From protester in helmet w flagpole: 'There's going to be antifa blood on this pole. Going to be no mercy today,'" Twitter, May 7, 2017, 9:59 a.m., <https://twitter.com/jadelson/status/861264170624462848>.

95. Stolberg and Rosenthal, "Man Charged After White Nationalist Rally"; Hawes Spencer and Sheryl Gay Stolberg, "White Nationalists March on University of Virginia," *New York Times*, August 11, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/11/us/white-nationalists-rally-charlottesville-virginia.html>; Derrick Taylor, "Confederate Statue Near Site of White Nationalist Rally in Charlottesville Is Removed," *New York Times*, September 12, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/12/us/charlottesville-confederate-statue-at-ready.html>.

96. Julia Jacobs, "Jury Recommends Life in Prison for James Fields in Fatal Charlottesville Attack," *New York Times*, December 11, 2017; Matt Thompson, "The Hoods are Off," *Atlantic*, August 12, 2017, <https://www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2017/08/the-hoods-are-off/536694/>; Palmer and Wessler, "The Costs of the Confederacy"; Stolberg and Rosenthal, "Man Charged."

97. Kaley Johnson, "Weatherford Protest Turns Violent as Hundreds Show up to Defend Confederate Statue," *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, July 26, 2020, <https://www.star-telegram.com/news/local/article244506187.html>.

98. Johnson, "Weatherford Protest."

99. Johnson, "Weatherford Protest"; Michelle Davis, "Violent Racists Swarm Protest in Weatherford (Graphic)," *Living Blue in Texas* (blog), July 26, 2020, <https://livingbluetx.com/2020/07/violent-racists-swarm-protest-in-weatherford-graphic/?fbclid=IwAR1FvCbl89tjxyL0lym0sWExUNNwTdGRICN1f9vbiUU8X8L84v3rCx7ZIQ&cn-reloaded=1>; Bud Kennedy (@BudKennedy), "Video shows a white male attacking the leader of a justice protest Saturday in Weatherford, Texas, then walking away completely untouched by @txdps or @wpdtx," Twitter, July 25, 2020, 7:29 PM, <https://twitter.com/BudKennedy/status/1287213402549555201>.

100. Johnson, "Weatherford Protest."

101. McCausland, "Defenders, Detractors"; Johnson, "Weatherford Protest"; Hasselle, "Though Tense."

102. Thompson, "The Hoods are Off."

103. Walsh, "Must We Allow."

104. Nicole Chavez, "2020: The Year America Confronted Racism," CNN, December 2020, <https://www.cnn.com/interactive/2020/12/us/america-racism-2020/>; Walsh, "Must We Allow."

105. N'dea Yancey-Bragg, "Nearly 100 Confederate Statues Were Removed in 2020, but Hundreds Remain, New SPLC Data Shows," *USA Today*, February 23, 2021, <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2021/02/23/historic-number-confederate-statues-were-removed-2020-splc/4556708001/>.

106. Marcum, "Mass Produced, Mass Removal."

107. "Whose Heritage?" SPLC.

108. Marcum, "Mass Produced, Mass Removal."

109. "AHA Statement on Confederate Monuments," American Historical Association; Knight, "What to Do With Confederate Monuments?"; Cotter, "We Need to Move, Not Destroy, Confederate Monuments"; Lubar, "Museums Can Deal With Confederate Memorials"; Juan Lozano, "Museum Says Displaying Confederate Statue Part of Healing," *Associated Press*, August 18, 2020,

<https://apnews.com/article/race-and-ethnicity-tx-state-wire-racial-injustice-us-news-lifestyle-de83079beffc51f98719bb25edc48b10>.

110. "AHA Statement on Confederate Monuments," American Historical Association; Cotter, "We Need to Move, Not Destroy, Confederate Monuments"; Lubar, "Museums Can Deal With Confederate Memorials."

111. Cotter, "We Need to Move, Not Destroy, Confederate Monuments"; Lubar, "Museums Can Deal With Confederate Monuments."
112. Lozano, "Museum Says Displaying Confederate Statue Part of Healing."
113. Lubar, "Museums Can Deal With Confederate Monuments."
114. "AHA Statement on Confederate Monuments," American Historical Association.
115. Mariann Simon, "Memento Park, Budapest," *Culture*, no. 6 (November 2014): 76, <http://journals.cultcenter.net/index.php/culture/article/view/50/37>; Dave McClane, "Memento Park—A Surreal Journey Into Budapest's Communist Past," *Man Vs. Globe* (blog), March 15, 2017, <https://www.manvsglobe.com/memento-park-budapest/>.
116. McClane, "Memento Park."
117. "Statue Park," Memento Park, accessed November 9, 2020, <http://www.mementopark.hu/pages/sights/>.
118. Brasher and Alderman, "A Confederate Statue Graveyard."
119. Lozano, "Museum Says Displaying Confederate Statue Part of Healing"; Caroline Bartholomew, "Budapest's Memento Park: An Example for America?" Urban Laboratories Central Europe, October 16, 2017, <https://urbanlabsce.eu/budapests-memento-park-an-example-for-america/>.
120. Barrett Holmes Pitner, "Why Racism in US is Worse Than in Europe," *BBC News*, May 17, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-44158098>; Susan Neiman, "Germany Confronted Its Racist Legacy. Britain and the US Must Do the Same," *Guardian*, June 13, 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/jun/13/germany-confronted-racist-legacy-britain-us>.
121. Joshua Zeitz, "Why There Are No Nazi Statues in Germany," *Politico*, August 20, 2017, <https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2017/08/20/why-there-are-no-nazi-statues-in-germany-215510/>.
122. Darrin McCaffrey, "Analysis: Is Europe Any Better Than the US When it Comes to Racism?" *Euronews*, April 6, 2020, <https://www.euronews.com/2020/06/04/analysis-is-europe-any-better-than-the-us-when-it-comes-to-racism>; Zeitz, "No Nazi Statues in Germany."
123. Zeitz, "No Nazi Statues in Germany," emphasis in original.
124. Ian Bateson, "Is There a Place for the President of the Confederacy?" *New York Times*, October 8, 2020, <https://www.nytimes-com.erl.lib.byu.edu/2020/10/08/arts/design/jefferson-davis-monument.html>.
125. Noah Caldwell and Audie Cornish, "Where Do Confederate Monuments Go After They Come Down?" *National Public Radio*, August 5, 2018, <https://www.npr.org/2018/08/05/633952187/where-do-confederate-monuments-go-after-they-come-down>; Simon, "Memento Park, Budapest," 75, 81–82, 84.
126. Auslander, "Putting Them in Museums?" 138.
127. Elizabeth Merritt, "Are Museums the Rightful Home for Confederate Monuments?" *Center for the Future of Museums Blog*, American Alliance of Museums, April 3, 2018, <https://www.aam-us.org/2018/04/03/are-museums-the-rightful-home-for-confederate-monuments/>.
128. Jennifer Walker, "Budapest's Memento Park: Where Communist Statues are Laid to Rest," *CNN*, June 7, 2018, <https://www.cnn.com/travel/article/memento-park-budapest-hungary/index.html>; Simon, "Memento Park, Budapest," 82.
129. Simon, "Memento Park, Budapest," 84.
130. Palmer and Wessler, "The Costs of the Confederacy."
131. Caroline Bartholomew, "Budapest's Memento Park: An Example for America?" Urban Laboratories Central Europe, October 16, 2017, <https://urbanlabsce.eu/budapests-memento-park-an-example-for-america/>; "Release Detail," *Quinnipiac University*,
132. Marcum, "Mass Produced, Mass Removal"; Graeme Wood, "A Solution to the Confederate-Monument Problem," *Atlantic*, June 8, 2020,



<https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2020/06/let-confederate-monuments-go-seed/612817/>;  
Perot Bissell V, "Monuments to the Confederacy and the Right to Destroy in Cultural-Property Law," *Yale Law Journal* 128, no. 4 (May 2019): 1150–1157,  
<https://digitalcommons.law.yale.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=9326&context=yjl>.

133. Josh Sanburn, "A Confederate Monument Solution, With Context," *Time*, June 22, 2017,  
<https://time.com/4828105/a-confederate-monument-solution-with-context/>; Lorraine Cochran-Johnson, "Barred From Removing Confederate Monument, County Adds Context Instead," interview by Melissa Block, *Weekend Edition Sunday*, September 22, 2019,  
<https://www.npr.org/2019/09/22/763162075/barred-from-removing-confederate-monument-county-adds-context-instead>; Brigit Katz, "New Markers in Atlanta Aim to Put Confederate Monuments in Context," *Smithsonian Magazine*, July 31, 2019,  
<https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/new-markers-atlanta-aim-put-confederate-monuments-context-180972767/>; Hannah Natanson, "There's a New Way to Deal With Confederate Monuments: Signs That Explain Their Racist History," *Washington Post*, September 22, 2019,  
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/history/2019/09/22/theres-new-way-deal-with-confederate-monuments-signs-that-explain-their-racist-history/>.

134. Katz, "New Markers in Atlanta"; Marcum, "Mass Produced, Mass Removal."

135. Sanburn, "A Confederate Monument Solution"; Cochran-Johnson, "County Adds Context"; Katz, "New Markers in Atlanta."

136. "Whose Heritage?" SPLC.

137. Bailey J. Duhé, "Decentering Whiteness and Refocusing on the Local: Reframing Debates on Confederate Monument Removal in New Orleans," *Museum Anthropology* 41, no. 2 (Fall 2018): 123, <https://doi.org/10.1111/muan.12184>; "The Symbols," Take 'Em Down NOLA, accessed November 10, 2020, <http://takeemdownnola.org/symbols>; "Why it Matters," Take 'Em Down NOLA, accessed November 10, 2020, <http://takeemdownnola.org/why-it-matters>.

138. "Protest, Rally, and March," Take 'Em Down NOLA, accessed November 10, 2020, <http://takeemdownnola.org/events/2020/10/24/protest-rally-and-march>; "7 Days of Action: Black Lives Matter, Black Workers Lives Matter, To Rebel Is Justified," Take 'Em Down NOLA, <http://takeemdownnola.org/actions/2020/6/17/7-days-of-action-black-lives-matter-black-workers-lives-matter-to-rebel-is-justified>; "Statement of Solidarity for the St. Bernard Parish Community in their Fight to change the Name of Andrew Jackson Middle School," Take 'Em Down NOLA, accessed November 10, 2020, <http://takeemdownnola.org/updates/2020/9/26/statement-of-solidarity-for-the-st-bernard-parish-community-in-their-fight-to-change-the-name-of-andrew-jackson-middle-school>.

139. "Why it Matters," Take 'Em Down NOLA.

140. "The Symbols," Take 'Em Down NOLA.

141. Zeynep Tufekci, "Do Protests Even Work? It Sometimes Takes Decades to Find Out," *Atlantic*, June 24, 2020,  
<https://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2020/06/why-protests-work/613420/>.

142. Roudabeh Kishi and Sam Jones, "Demonstrations and Political Violence in America: New Data for Summer 2020," *Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project*, September 3, 2020,  
<https://acleddata.com/2020/09/03/demonstrations-political-violence-in-america-new-data-for-summer-2020/>

143. Andreas Madestam, Daniel Shoag, Stan Veuger, and David Yanagizawa-Drott, "Do Political Protests Matter? Evidence from the Tea Party Movement," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 128, no. 4 (2013): 1637, 1681–1683, <https://doi.org/10.1093/qje/qjt021>.

144. "The Symbols," Take 'Em Down NOLA.

145. "Whose Heritage?" SPLC; "Symbol Type Count By State," in *Whose Heritage SF*, distributed by SPLC.

146. "When 'Heritage' Means Hate," NAACP, accessed November 10, 2020,  
<https://www.naacp.org/field-resources/confederate-symbols/>; "NAACP Applauds South Carolina Legislature for Voting to Remove Confederate Battle Flag," NAACP, July 9, 2015,  
<https://www.naacp.org/latest/naacp-applauds-south-carolina-state-legislature-for-voting-to-remov>

e-confed/.

147. "NAACP Applauds South Carolina Legislature," NAACP; "Whose Heritage?" SPLC.