

The Strategic Origins of Post-Conflict Memorialization *

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Abstract

In this paper we explore the political logic behind the construction of Confederate monuments in the post-Civil War U.S. South. Memorial builders had the option of erecting monuments in White strongholds, in predominantly Black areas, or in places where Civil War losses were highest. We find that monuments were disproportionately built in counties with a higher share of enslaved residents in 1860 and, especially, in high-Black-share counties where non-Democratic candidates were electorally competitive two decades after the end of Reconstruction. These findings underscore that Confederate memorialization primarily reflected local efforts to reinforce racial hierarchies in high Black-share counties, especially those where political power remained contested. The broader implication for the burgeoning literature on the long-term effects of memorialization is that in order to fully understand the legacy of memorialization scholars should first account for the original logic of where and why monuments were placed.

Keywords: memorialization, Confederate monuments, racial politics, legacies of conflict, post-conflict politics

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1 Introduction

There is an emerging consensus in the social sciences that post-conflict memorials have a consequential impact on political and social dynamics in communities where they are located. Studies have shown that commemorative interventions, ranging from large museums and exhibitions to decentralized grassroots efforts at memorialization, shape the understanding of the past and influence political behavior in the present, particularly toward groups associated with historical perpetrators (e.g. Balcells et al., 2022; Balcells and Voytas, 2024; De Juan et al., 2025; Turkoglu et al., 2023; Zhukov, 2025). In the American South – which is the locus of this paper – scholars have shown that the presence of memorials dedicated to the Confederacy, the losing side in the U.S. Civil War (1861-65), was associated with higher Democratic vote share and lower turnout in the immediate aftermath of the war (Taylor, 2025) and informed the local pattern of lynchings (Henderson et al., 2021; Ankori-Karlinsky, 2026). Research suggests that Confederate memorials continue to shape local politics in the present. Thus, it has been argued that, in the present-day, Blacks who reside in counties where there are Confederate memorials tend to have a higher sense of racial injustice, feel less integrated into the community, and face higher economic discrimination (Shackel, 2001; Britt et al., 2020; O’Connell, 2020; Williams, 2021), whereas removal of Confederate memorials shapes racial tensions (Rahnama, 2025; Ankori-Karlinsky, 2026).

An underexplored aspect of memorialization in much of this work is the original logic of memorial placement. This is an omission that requires attention because insofar as memorials leave a lasting effect on local communities, which communities are affected is determined by original memorial builders and not by subsequent generations. Put simply, the legacy of memorialization is endogenously shaped by the decision of original monument builders where to place them. There is the general uncontroversial assumption that memorial building is a political act (for the theoretical claim see Nora (1989) and for historical work in the U.S. South Brundage (2009); Cox (2019); Janney (2008)). What is overlooked is that different political logics dictate different dynamics of memorialization. For instance, memorial builders might decide to suppress their opponents and build monuments in communities dominated by the opposition or, in contrast, choose to build memorials in electoral strongholds, or where wealthy donors reside, or in communities of conflict victims where residents might be willing to throw their support behind those championing their cause. These logics of memorialization have never been systematically explored for the post-Civil War American South—a noteworthy omission, given that only 40% of Southern counties had at least one monument by 1965.¹

In this paper, we study the logic of monument construction in the context of the postbellum South (1865-1965) in order to better understand what type of political logic shapes memorialization. We test how well local political factors – notably, the county-level share of Blacks –

¹Throughout this paper, we focus specifically on monuments, not other types of memorials, because monuments were the primary mode of memorialization in the period under study.

explain the dynamics of memorialization relative to alternative explanations, such as proximity to Civil War battle sites, local White wealth, and excess mortality among fighting-age white men in the Civil War decade, among other factors. Crucially, we also seek to understand why some high-share Black areas were more likely to have Confederate monuments than others in the most intensive period of memorial construction, 1900-1916. In those analyses, we examine the importance of county-level political competition immediately before the consolidation of the Jim Crow system and the establishment of the ‘One-Party South’.

We find that the act of memorialization was highly political and targeted at predominantly Black communities, but specifically those where Blacks remained active in politics through the 1890s. Generally, prior to 1916, Confederate monuments were much more likely to go up in counties that had a high share of Blacks. And, at the same level of Black population share, monuments were more likely to be built in 1900-1916 in the most politically competitive counties in the 1892-96 presidential elections, i.e., where non-Democratic candidates received around 50% of the vote. After 1916, as monument construction slowed, other factors such as White wealth and urbanization became more prominent.

These results indicate that memorialization of the Confederacy had as its aim the suppression of Black political power, particularly where Blacks continued to exercise their political rights as the Jim Crow regime was solidifying. It is in those communities specifically that the legacy effect of Confederate memorials has been felt over the post-Civil War decades all the way into the present.

This study contributes to the literature on the dynamics of racial politics in the United States, by illuminating yet another strategy by which White supremacy was maintained in the postbellum South. It also makes a contribution to the broader burgeoning literature in the social sciences on the causes and consequences of memorialization. First, this paper illustrates how local control over something as relatively innocuous as monument construction in the aftermath of a conflict can become a powerful political tool in the hands of the losing side. Second, and most importantly, these results suggest that, in exploring downstream effects of memorialization, scholars should account for the original strategic logic of monument placement, as that logic determines subsequent longer-term effects via an endogenous process.

2 Data and Research Design

The time period under study is 1865-1965, bookended by the conclusion of the Civil War on the one end and the dismantling of the racially discriminatory Jim Crow regime by the federal government on the other. These hundred years span several politically distinctive eras, which we separate into three periods. The initial 1865-1899 period saw a short-lived occupation of the South by federal troops under the Reconstruction and efforts to impose racial equality, which due to federal withdrawal and political violence led to the overthrow of Republican Reconstruction by the end of the 1870s (Foner, 2011). The remainder of the century

saw the rise of lynchings, electoral fraud, and other strategies in an attempt by Southern Whites to remove remaining Black political power and reimpose White supremacy. The next period, 1900-1916, witnessed the gradual consolidation of the Jim Crow regime with formal disenfranchisement of Blacks, legal segregation, and establishment of one-party Democratic rule in the South (Kousser, 1974). The next and final period, 1917-1965, included the height of Jim Crow, was epitomized by the legal suppression of Black rights across the entire South. This period lasted, with some emerging political fissures, until it collapsed under federal pressure in the 1960s. For most of the analyses, we disaggregate the hundred year span into these three periods to better understand the variation in the dynamics of memorialization. While the periodization that we propose is stylized, it is important for us to separate the more (1900-1916) and less (pre-Jim Crow and post-WWI) active periods of monument construction to better understand the time-variant logics of the memorialization process. With regard to geography, the unit of analysis throughout this paper is a 2020 county. There were many boundary changes over these hundred years with new counties created, and it makes sense to anchor the geography to a fixed point.² The total number of 2020 counties under examination is 1,142 in the eleven former Confederate states. Descriptive statistics for all the variables as well as information on the historical sources used to construct them are in **Appendix A**.

2.1 Confederate Monuments

The outcome variable that we seek to explain is the spatial and temporal variation in the construction of Confederate monuments. To study the dynamics of memorialization we use the dataset compiled by the Southern Poverty Law Center, SPLC (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2021).³ It contains information on the location of every Confederate memorial and, for most entries, also information on the construction year. SPLC adopts an expansive definition of memorials. The dataset includes information on monuments, public buildings (e.g. courthouses, schools, university halls), infrastructure (roads, bridges, and dams), places of natural beauty (e.g. parks), and symbols (e.g. county or state flags and seals, and license plates). In the main analyses, we focus specifically on Confederate monuments. This is because in the period under study monuments were by far the most common category of memorials – of all memorials with founding dates prior to 1965, 69% are monuments, and the non-monuments were mostly created in the late Jim Crow period.⁴ The effect of monuments is also more localized and easier to quantify than for some other categories like inter-county roads, license plates, or remote areas of natural beauty.

A total of 671 monuments have a construction date by 1965, and these are the monuments

²To slot historical counties into modern ones we use areal weighted interpolation, whereby each target (contemporary, 2020) county is assigned a weighted average of values from overlapping source (historical) counties, with weights given by the proportion of each source county's area that intersects the target county, so that source units contributing larger shares of overlapping area exert greater influence on the imputed value.

³Downloaded on July 16, 2023.

⁴A breakdown of Confederate memorials by type and period of creation is reported in Appendix Table B1.

that enter the subsequent analyses. Of this total, 532 (79%) are monuments to the fallen rather than statues of Confederate generals or politicians. In the main analysis, we use a binary measure of whether a county has at least one Confederate monument. In the robustness checks, we substitute it with a count measure and expand the monument category to include other types of memorials.

The timing and placement of Confederate monuments was highly uneven across the South. While construction began as soon as the war ended in 1865, only 13% of monuments were built before 1900. The pace of monument construction accelerated substantially in the first decade of the 20th century, coinciding with the consolidation of the Jim Crow system and Democratic Party hegemony. More than half of all the monuments built over the 100-year period under study for which we have construction dates were erected between 1900 and 1916 (55%). The number of counties with at least one monument also grew rapidly. This can be seen in **Figure 1**, where we show how the proportion of Southern counties with at least one Confederate monument changed over time. The pace of construction slowed by the time that the United States entered World War I in 1917 and then further during the Great Depression in the 1930s. Despite widespread monument construction across the South since the end of the Civil War, 60% of counties in the eleven former Confederate states still did not have a Confederate monument by 1965.

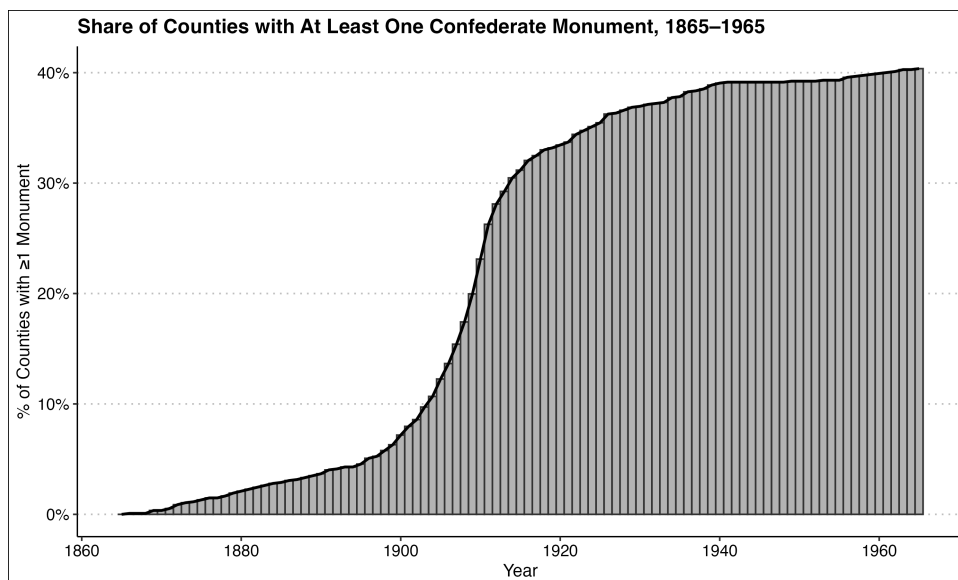


Figure 1: Yearly share of counties with at least one Confederate monument, 1865–1965. $N = 671$ monuments in 1,142 counties.

2.2 Factors Explaining Monument Construction

We test several local factors explaining the placement of memorials in order to adjudicate between the various political logics driving the exercise of symbolic politics. First, we study whether the memorial builders sought to reestablish local racial hierarchies. To measure the

demand among Southern Whites for the subordination of Blacks we use the percentage of slaves in 1860. The logic here is that the White supremacist movement, in response to efforts during the Reconstruction to empower and enfranchise the Black population, sought to repress Blacks especially in counties where they resided in substantial numbers (Foner, 2011). In an average Confederate-state county, Blacks were 34% of the population in 1860 with a standard deviation of 0.22.

The reason that we use slave share in 1860 as a measure of Black residential concentration instead of the number of Blacks in the subsequent decades is because slave share predates memorialization, whereas subsequent patterns of Black settlement might be a response to the presence of Confederate memorials (for instance, Ferlenga (2023) shows that Blacks had a higher propensity to outmigrate from counties with Confederate monuments). Despite these concerns, Southern Black migration remained quite limited until the Great Migration that began around 1910, and county enslaved share in 1860 is correlated at 92% with Black population share in 1900. To dig deeper into the White supremacist motivation, in separate analyses we examine how memorialization rates varied between counties with substantial Black populations that remained politically competitive in the 1892 and 1896 presidential elections and those where effective Black political participation had by then been suppressed.

Second, we test whether monument placement reflected the legacy of losses incurred during the war. We proxy this by a measure of the county-level estimates of Civil War-related deaths. The overall estimate of the Confederate dead as well as county-level estimates have been unavailable until recently because of the poor state of the Confederate war records. The recent release of individual-level census records for 1850-1880 as part of the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) has now made it possible to estimate excess mortality due to the Civil War down to county level. To use these new census data to estimate wartime excess mortality, we compare mortality in a peacetime decade to an adjacent census decade when war takes place. It is then assumed that the difference in mortality between the two periods must be due to war. The wartime mortality estimates comprise of soldiers' deaths in battle and from wounds and death of civilians from starvation and violence. The method for estimating aggregate excess mortality in the U.S. Civil War via a comparison of wartime and adjacent peacetime decades was pioneered by David Hacker (2011) and enhanced by Barceló et al. (2024) to arrive at county-level estimates that adjust for migration. We use the migration-adjusted census comparison method to estimate the number of native-born white males (NBWM) aged 5-44 in each Confederate county who perished in the 1860-70 census period in excess of the regular peacetime mortality for this population.⁵ Excess mortality among this cohort of White males

⁵The method measures intercensal excess mortality due to the Civil War as the share of native-born white males (NBWM) lost between the 1860 and 1870 censuses, expressed as a percentage of the 1860 baseline population, relative to a peacetime counterfactual death rate (defined as the average of the 1850-1860 and 1870-1880 rates). Death rates are by ten-year age cohorts (ages 5-44 in 1860, corresponding to the fighting-age population during the war and allowing for errors in age reporting) and are aggregated using cohort weights derived from the full-count census samples. To account for migration, which also affects intercensal population changes, the method calculates excess migration rates using linked census samples and adjusts the estimates. We exclude 191 frontier

was 13% in the Confederacy; in the peak age group (ages 15-34 in 1860) excess mortality was a substantial 20-33% depending on the state. As relatively few civilians died in the Civil War (McPherson, 2003), this figure comprises primarily soldiers and sailors who died in the war or as veterans in the years before 1870. Therefore, it is a reasonable proxy for the level of human trauma caused by war.⁶

Third, we examine whether, in the postwar effort to restore racial hierarchies, monuments were placed at sites of “glory”, “honor”, and “sacrifice”. For this, we include a dummy if the county saw a class A (decisive) or B (major) battle in the Civil War, as adjudged by the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission of the National Parks Service (Civil War Sites Advisory Commission, 1993). Approximately 6% of the counties in our sample contain such a site.⁷

Lastly, we also control for potential supply-side explanations for memorial placement. These include several measures of prewar economic development, which might have impacted the ability of local Whites to finance the construction of memorials. These variables are the share of the county’s population living in municipalities of at least 2,500 people, county white population density (white population normalized by county square miles), the county Gini coefficient of land ownership, share of adult white males in a county who were illiterate, and the distance of a county’s centroid to the largest urban area in its state. These measures are taken either from the 1860 published census (Schroeder et al., 2025) or calculated from the full-count set of individual census records for the same year (Ruggles et al., 2024).

For all of our main models, we use prewar data is because as they are pre-treatment, i.e. not subject to changes that might come about in response to memorial construction. As discussed below, we additionally update all time-varying measures from our main models (including Black population share) to the census year most proximate to the memorialization period under study to allow for the fact that memorialization might be shaped by contemporaneous factors. The models also include state fixed effects to allow for heterogeneity in state characteristics.

3 Results

3.1 The Logic of Memorial Construction

The most intuitive way to get an initial sense for whether our primary explanatory factors—the presence of Blacks, wartime mortality, battle sites, and urbanization levels—explain the observed pattern of memorialization is to turn to survival analyses (on survival analyses see Box-Steffensmeier and Jones (1997)). In this instance, we use the Kaplan–Meier estimator

counties in South Florida and West Texas from these calculations because census data there in 1860 are unreliable. Excess mortality and enslaved share in 1860 are correlated at 0.05, which means that these two variables do not capture the same underlying process.

⁶In robustness checks, we also look at the relationship between the presence of war pensioners and the placement of memorials, as an alternative.

⁷In robustness checks, we add the location of major Confederate wartime cemeteries to battle sites variable, creating a more expansive measure of sites of wartime significance.

to nonparametrically estimate the survival function for county-level monument construction—that is, the probability that *no* Confederate monument has been constructed in a county up to a given year in our sample. In Figure 2, for visual clarity we split all the counties into quartiles by the size of the enslaved population in panel A or the magnitude of wartime losses in panel B. The first quartile (Q1) is one with fewest slaves (up to 15% of the county population) in panel A or smallest wartime losses (up to 11% of NBWM) in panel B. The last quartile (Q4) represents counties with most slaves (over 50% of the county population) in panel A or highest wartime losses (over 30% of NBWM) in panel B. In Figure 2, we simply plot the binary of whether a county had a major Civil War Battle (panel C) or had an urban area in 1860 (panel D). We plot these as a binary, rather than in quartiles, because so few counties had a major battle (6%) or an urban area (3%).

The survival rate patterns in panel A of Figure 2 indicate that memorialization was fastest and started earliest in counties with the highest number of slaves in 1860 (Q4). By 1965, 58% of counties with most Blacks had at least one Confederate monument relative to 23% of counties with fewest Blacks. A log-rank test confirms this difference as statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 78, p < 0.001$). The failure rate – failure here is memorial construction – is steepest for the counties with most Blacks, and especially so in the crucial period of 1900-1916 during the solidification of the Jim Crow regime.

From Panel B of the same figure, it is clear that there is little to no relationship between the extent of Confederate wartime losses and the pattern of memorialization at county level. If anything, memorials were less likely to be constructed in counties with highest wartime losses (Q4 in panel B) and were built there at a slower rate relative to counties with smallest losses. By 1965, 40% of counties with the highest wartime losses had a monument, compared to 48% of counties with the lowest losses; moreover, the increase over time was less steep in the highest-loss quartile than in the lowest-loss quartile. The difference between the two curves is statistically significant in a formal log-rank test ($\chi^2 = 3.9, p = 0.05$). Panel C in Figure 2 suggests that one way in which Confederate monuments did perform an objective memorialization function is in being much more likely to be placed in counties where major Civil War battles took place. By 1965, 62% of counties on whose soil a major battle took place had monuments relative to 39% of all other counties in the South (this difference is statistically significant; $\chi^2 = 28.1, p < 0.001$). Panel D suggests that monuments were more likely to be built in counties with at least some urban areas than in completely rural counties. Sixty-three percent of counties with urban areas had a Confederate monument by 1965 relative to only 41% of rural counties (this difference is statistically significant; $\chi^2 = 34, p < 0.001$). Recall, though, that few Confederate counties had a major battle or urban areas.

In **Table 1** we present a more rigorous test of the competing hypotheses driving the dynamics of Confederate memorialization. These are the results from linear regressions. The outcome is the incidence of at least one Confederate memorial in a Southern county. Models 1-3 encompass the entire 1865-1965 span of the data, whereas in models 4-6 we examine the time-variant

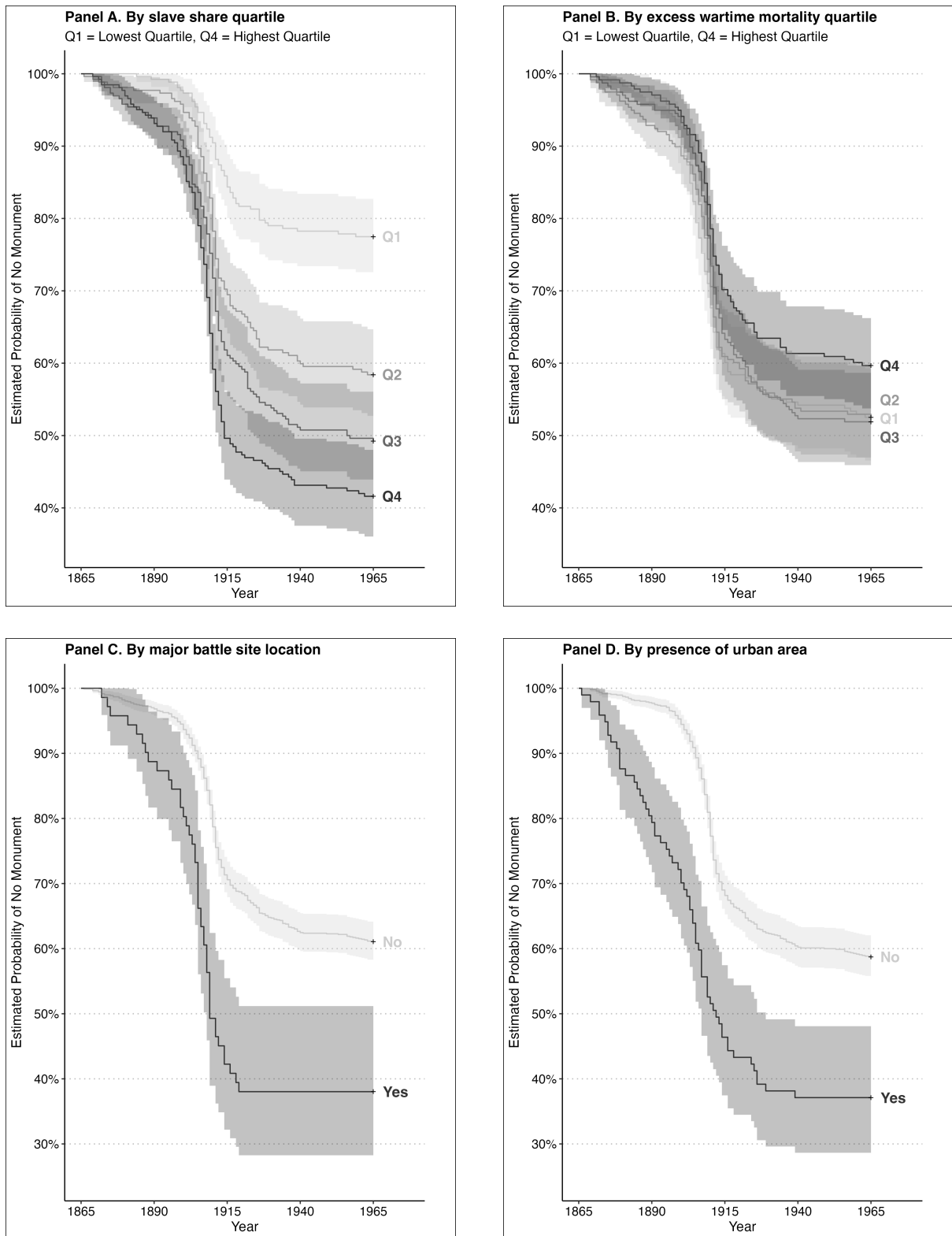


Figure 2: Kaplan-Meier estimates of survival probabilities of monument creation for split-sample estimates by 1860 slave share quartile (Panel A, top left), wartime excess mortality quartile (Panel B, top right), major battle site location (Panel C, bottom left), and presence of urban areas (Panel D, bottom right) in the 11 former Confederate states, based on 2020 county boundaries. Survival = No monument built. N = 1,142 counties (951 in Panel B).

dynamics of memorialization for each of the sub-periods separately. Model 1 includes only the four primary explanatory variables – slave share in 1860, NBWM excess mortality in the 1860-70 intercensal decade, the location of a major Civil War battle, and urbanization; standard errors are clustered at state level. In model 2, we add state fixed effects, and therefore the dynamics there take into account state-specific variation in memorialization. Model 3 includes all of the supply-side controls for counties' economic capacity alongside the main explanatory factors. The effective *n* in these analyses is 951, as excess mortality estimates are missing for 191 frontier counties in South Florida and West Texas where 1860 census data are unreliable.

The results again indicate that in the hundred years after the Civil War, Confederate monuments were built predominantly in locations where there were more Black residents. For a one standard deviation increase in slave-share in a county – this is equivalent to slave share going up by 20.9 percentage points relative to total county population – the likelihood of a Confederate monument being built increases by 11.9 percentage points (about 24% of a standard deviation), all else being equal. The other variable that is consistently positively correlated with monument presence across all the models is White population density. Taken together with the fact that urbanization is also significant in some of the specifications, this suggests that monuments were also more likely to be placed in areas where Whites were living in greater numbers.⁸ An additional factor that is correlated with monument building in 1900-1916 – the period of most active memorialization – is the presence of Civil War battle sites within a county's borders.⁹

Notably, excess mortality in the Civil War decade does not appear to explain the pattern of monument construction; this variable is consistently small in magnitude and not statistically significant. The reader might be concerned that monuments might be built to satisfy demand from the surviving war veterans rather than commemorating the war dead. We address that possibility by examining the relationship between the share of pensioners in a county and the dynamics of monument construction in Appendix Table B4.¹⁰ The pensioners' share variable is negatively signed and not statistically significant.

All in all, the results are indicative of a twin logic of Confederate memorialization: monuments were constructed primarily in counties with a large share of Blacks and, to a lesser extent, in urban agglomerations where Whites were settled densely and in the few counties that saw major battles in the war. These dynamics are clearly discernible during the Reconstruction and in its immediate aftermath (1865-1899; model 4) and especially in the 1900-1916 period

⁸In Appendix Table B2 we update urbanization and proxies for White wealth to values contemporaneous to memorial construction. The urbanization rate and White population density contemporaneous to monument building are statistically significant across all the models.

⁹The reader might wonder whether other objective markers of Confederate wartime sacrifice spur on memorialization. Large Confederate cemeteries are one such potential marker. In Appendix Table B3 we add the location of major Confederate military cemeteries (those with upwards of 200 bodies) to the location of Civil War battles. Forty-nine counties (4% of the total count) have such cemeteries. This combined measure for sites of wartime significance is statistically significant and substantial in magnitude in most models.

¹⁰We have been able to locate data on the number of pensioners around 1900 for seven states: AL, AR, FL, MS, NC, SC, and VA. While this variable is imperfect, as allocation of wartime pensions was subject to political manipulation, it is nevertheless indicative of the underlying patterns.

Table 1: Main Results: The Logic of Confederate Monument Construction, 1865-1965

	1865–1965			1865–1899	1900–1916	1917–1965
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
(Intercept)	0.27*** (0.04)					
Slaves 1860 (%)	0.48*** (0.08)	0.51*** (0.09)	0.57*** (0.10)	0.17** (0.05)	0.37*** (0.10)	0.15* (0.07)
Civil War Mortality (%)	−0.03 (0.08)	0.04 (0.08)	0.09 (0.08)	0.05 (0.04)	0.02 (0.07)	0.05 (0.06)
Civil War Battles (0/1)	0.10 (0.06)	0.08 (0.06)	0.04 (0.06)	0.02 (0.04)	0.15* (0.06)	0.05 (0.05)
Urbanization (%)	0.60*** (0.14)	0.53*** (0.16)	0.11 (0.20)	0.53*** (0.16)	0.12 (0.19)	0.28† (0.17)
White Pop. Density (Log)			0.20*** (0.03)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.10** (0.03)	0.06* (0.02)
Land GINI (0-1)			0.18 (0.25)	0.10 (0.13)	−0.10 (0.23)	0.42* (0.18)
Real Estate GINI (0-1)			−0.34 (0.28)	−0.07 (0.12)	−0.13 (0.26)	−0.35† (0.20)
Adult White Male Literacy (%)			0.39* (0.18)	0.04 (0.08)	0.41* (0.16)	0.04 (0.13)
Distance to Largest City in State (Mi)			−0.00 (0.00)	−0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Num. obs.	947	947	944	944	944	944
State FE	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R ²	0.06	0.13	0.17	0.17	0.12	0.07
Adj. R ²	0.06	0.12	0.16	0.15	0.10	0.05
RMSE	0.48	0.47	0.46	0.24	0.44	0.34

Note: *** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$; † $p < 0.1$.

(model 5). This latter period was the time when the racially repressive Jim Crow system was consolidated, and this is also the period when 55% of all the Confederate monuments were constructed. After 1916 the share of enslaved in 1860 is only weakly correlated with the dynamics of memorialization. By then, the Jim Crow system was entrenched, the pace of monument building slowed substantially, and there were also changes in county-level population composition with the Southern Blacks starting to leave in substantial numbers in the Great Migration. This pattern of results suggests that not only were the Confederate memorials constructed to subdue any potential expression of Black emancipation, but also that this was done strategically in the periods when such symbolic repression of Black identity mattered the most politically – during Reconstruction and in its aftermath and during early Jim Crow.

To ensure the validity of these findings we implement extensive robustness checks. First, we confirm that the pattern holds in the rural sample that excludes all counties with a town of at least 2,500 inhabitants in 1860. We next exclude areas with monuments to Confederate generals and politicians and focus primarily on the effect of Confederate memorials to ordinary soldiers. The results remain very similar – see Appendix Table B5. Third, in Appendix Table B6, we replace the binary measure of memorialization with a log-transformed count of monuments.

The effects are similar because most counties have only one monument. We also replace the binary measure of monument presence with a variable that captures a more expansive measure of Confederate memorialization – a binary of whether a county had a monument, school, or any other public building named after Confederate leaders. The results remain very similar; see Appendix Table B7. We also replace enslaved share in 1860 with a county measure of slaveowner presence (slaveowners / White population). Unsurprisingly, given high correlation between the presence of the enslaved and slave owners, the results hold, as shown in Appendix Table B8. Lastly, to make sure that the results are not an artifact of the way that historical county borders are aggregated to the 2020 counties, we rerun the analyses within the 1860 county borders. The results remain unchanged; see Appendix Table B9.

3.2 Heterogeneity by Political Competition

The results thus far demonstrate that Confederate monuments were considerably more likely to be built in high Black share counties, especially in the 1900-1916 period. This is consistent with the expectation that these monuments were primarily a tool of White supremacy used to intimidate Southern Blacks. However, one of the puzzles of this finding is that a little over 40% of counties with the most enslaved residents in 1860 did not have a monument by 1965 – see the survival curve for the fourth quartile in Panel A of Figure 2. In this section, we examine heterogeneity in the relationship between county slave share and Confederate memorial construction in 1900-1916 across counties with different levels of political competition immediately preceding 1900.

The underlying logic is that high levels of political competition may generate greater demand among monument builders for symbols of White supremacy as Black share of county residents increases than in similar counties where Democrats had already secured political dominance, i.e., where White population had successfully suppressed Black political competition, either by formal (e.g., poll taxes, literacy tests) or informal (e.g., violence, fraud) means. This is because it is in these politically competitive counties that political dominance had not been fully secured. Therefore, we expect to find a non-linear relationship between Democratic vote share and the county's Black population share. Specifically, the association between Black population share and the probability of monument construction should be strongest in politically competitive counties, relative to counties with a similar proportion of Blacks but where Democrats were either already dominant or electorally weak.

As a measure of political competitiveness immediately preceding 1900, we use county-level returns for presidential candidates in the 1892 and 1896 elections. We use presidential vote share because it provides a consistent measure of non-Democratic electoral support across all the states.¹¹ Presidential results in each county were also highly visible and are known

¹¹Several Southern states in the 1890s effectively had no political competition in gubernatorial elections, whereas electoral returns for candidates for state legislatures or other local elections are not consistently available.

to be an important local indicator of the prevailing racial order during this period (Testa and Williams, 2026).

To capture the effect of political competition we estimate a linear probability model in which the effect of county slave share is allowed to vary flexibly with Democratic presidential vote share. Specifically, we interact enslaved share with a B-spline in average Democratic vote share, which allows the conditional effect of slave share to change non-linearly across the range of local political support for Democrats.¹² The model also includes the full set of covariates from the previous specifications, state fixed effects, and heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors.

In Figure 3 we report the marginal effect of enslaved share on monument construction across the observed range of Democratic vote share, along with a histogram showing how counties are distributed across that range.¹³ The pattern suggests a substantively important non-linear relationship between prewar slave share and monument construction in the 1900-1916 period, one that depends on the level of political competition in the 1890s.

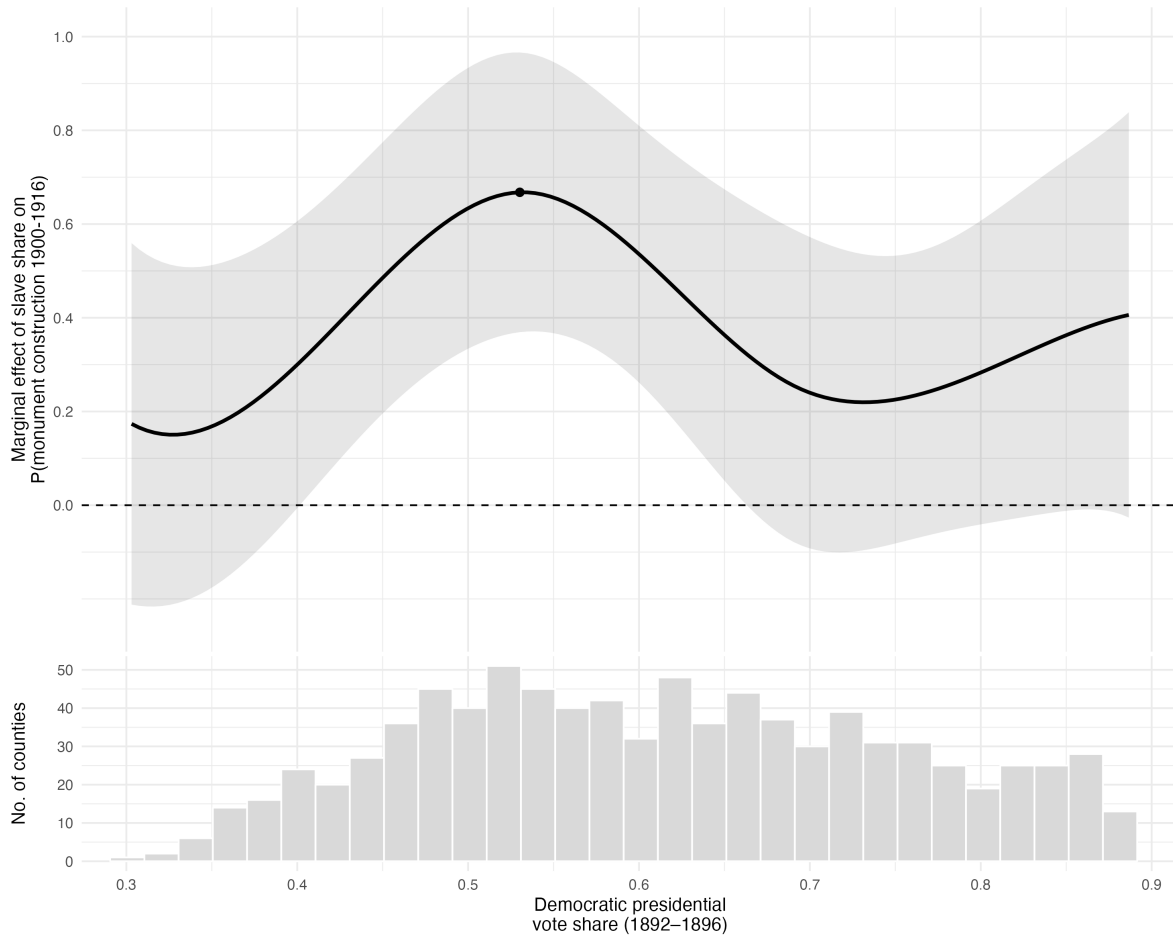
The model predicts most intensive monument construction in highly competitive counties, where Democratic vote share was near parity. More specifically, the marginal effect of slave share peaks at roughly 53 percent Democratic vote share. At that point, the estimated marginal effect is 0.67, which, in substantive terms, implies that a one-standard-deviation increase in slave share (corresponding to 20.8 percentage points) is associated with nearly a 14 percentage-point increase in the probability of monument construction in the 1900-1916 period.

Elsewhere along the political competitiveness curve, the same increase in slave share is associated with a much lower probability of monument construction, so much so that the effect of slave share on memorialization is statistically distinguishable from zero only when Democratic vote share falls roughly between 40 and 67 percent, which is also the range where counties are most electorally competitive. At Democratic vote share of 30%, the marginal effect of slave share is 0.18, implying an increase of about 3.7 percentage points in the probability of monument construction for a one-standard-deviation increase in slave share, an estimate that is not statistically significant and is roughly three to four times smaller than the one observed in the most competitive counties. Much the same is true at the other end of the distribution, at 70 percent Democratic vote share, the marginal effect is 0.24, corresponding to an increase of about 5 percentage points for a one-standard-deviation increase in slave share. This estimate is again statistically non-significant and two to three times smaller than the estimate in highly competitive counties. This is important because approximately one-third of counties had an

¹²We use five degrees of freedom in the main specification. In the Appendix, we show that the substantive pattern is unchanged when we vary the flexibility of the spline and the spline basis itself. In Appendix Figure B1 we reproduce the estimates using both B-splines and natural splines with 4, 5, and 6 degrees of freedom. Across these alternative specifications, the estimated marginal effect of slave share continues to peak in electorally competitive counties and declines at higher and lower levels of Democratic vote share.

¹³For ease of presentation the figure trims the extreme tails of Democratic vote share, below the 2.5th percentile and above the 95th percentile. In our data, this corresponds roughly to vote shares between 30 and 88.7 percent. This trimming affects only the figure; all observations are included in the estimation.

Figure 3: Marginal effect of county slave share on the probability of Confederate monument construction (1900–1916) across levels of Democratic presidential vote share (1892–1896)



Note: The solid line shows the estimated marginal effect and the shaded area the 95 percent confidence interval. The lower panel reports the distribution of counties across Democratic vote share. The plotted range is restricted to the 2.5th to 95th percentiles of Democratic vote share for presentation purposes, although all observations are included in the estimation. N=951 counties.

average Democratic vote share of more than 70%. That is, many majority-Black, low political competition counties constructed monuments at rates indistinguishable from heavily White counties.

Overall, these results suggest that the relationship between Black population share and monument construction was strongest in counties where political control remained contested. Black population share was most strongly associated with monument construction in places where political control remained contested, not where it was already secure or where support for Democrats was too weak to make substantive gains. This reinforces the interpretation of Confederate memorialization as a process locally intended to impose White supremacy in counties where Black populations remained politically active.

3.3 Related Historical Correlates

We also examine whether the broader association between the presence of Blacks and memorialization is robust to the inclusion of several proximate historical variables emphasized in adjacent literatures on postbellum racial politics. Examining the dynamics of Confederate memorialization from 1865 to the present, Henderson et al. (2021) argue that lynchings best predict where memorials are built. In turn, in an effort to explain the pattern of lynchings in the former Confederate states Byun and Kwon (2025) note that lynchings were more likely to occur where Black federal troops were stationed during the Reconstruction. Similarly Frieden et al. (2025) show that Blacks were more likely to secure better longer-run political and economic outcomes where federal troops were stationed during Reconstruction; the expectation being that lynchings were likely a response to Black socioeconomic attainment. ? makes a similar argument when noting that chapters of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, the main funder of monument construction during the intensive 1900-1916 period, were more likely to be established in counties where Black educational and economic attainment was higher.

We examine each of these related postwar explanatory variables—Black & total federal troops, respectively, in 1867-1877, Black socioeconomic attainment in 1900, and lynchings pre-1900 —by adding each of these separately to our standard model that explores the dynamics of monument building in 1900-1916, the most intensive period of memorialization (see Appendix Table B10). All of these variables are statistically significant. The presence of Black troops during the Reconstruction and of any federal troops is positively correlated with subsequent monument construction. Likewise, at least one lynching in a county before 1900 is associated with a higher probability of a Confederate monument being built there subsequently. The measures of Black socioeconomic attainment – coded either as a stand-alone Black occupation score and, separately, as the difference in occupation scores between Blacks and Whites – perform the weakest. In sum, as with political competition in the 1890s, we observe that several local postwar factors conditioned the relationship between Black populations and the incidence of monument construction. Notably, across all of these additional analyses, enslaved share in 1860 remains consistently large in magnitude and statistically significant in a similar pattern to the main findings. Furthermore, each of these local postwar factors is likely to be directly or indirectly caused by enslaved share in 1860 in a temporal causal chain.

4 Conclusion

As with broader comparative literature on post-conflict memorialization, the literature on Confederate memorials has been largely focused on their consequences for attitudes and behaviors. Considerably less work, however, has been done on the strategic factors that influence when and where these memorials are built. Departing from an observation that memorial builders have different political logics available to them when deciding where to build monuments –

notably, whether to appeal to their core constituents, suppress opponents, or target resources at politically competitive areas – in this paper, we examine the local factors that explain where Confederate monuments were constructed. We find that monuments were more likely to be built in counties with a high share of enslaved people in 1860, a pattern that was strongest during the main wave of construction from about 1900 to 1916, when Jim Crow institutions consolidated. There is also compelling evidence that monument builders were especially likely to target Black counties that remained politically competitive – i.e. where Democrats were getting around 50% of the vote in the 1890s – and where Black residents attempted to continue to exercise their political rights. In other words, evidence suggests that memorial builders were particularly likely to target areas where the White supremacist movement was on the cusp of consolidating power. Monuments were also more likely to be built in the small number of counties that saw major battles of the Civil War and in more urbanized areas. We find no association between local wartime mortality among native-born White men and the placement of Confederate monuments.

Bringing these findings back to the broader debates in political science, we highlight two implications. First, long-term exposure to memorials is endogenous to the distribution of political power at the construction stage, as authorities and allied civic organizations targeted places where reasserting racial hierarchy was particularly consequential. Therefore, research on the effects of monuments or their removal might need to treat monument exposure as a strategic allocation problem rather than a neutral background condition. In other words, locations that today are confronting the legacy effects of memorialization received this treatment based on a political logic at some point in the past, and it is important to understand that original logic when studying the legacies of memorialization. Second, the findings inform debates about how societies negotiate the violent past, since, if monument siting reflects power distribution rather than wartime losses, policies that emphasize heritage or neutral commemoration risk misdiagnosing the function that monuments have served in local political orders.

Much work is yet to be done on the mechanisms by which memorials come to exercise their political effects. In the context of the postbellum South, do monuments instill greater fear among Blacks and perhaps force them to relocate to other counties (Furlong, 2023), or do they consolidate the local White community by shaping the setting up of the local branches of institutions associated with the ‘Lost Cause’ narrative, like the United Daughters of the Confederacy or the KKK? Another important issue that merits study is the determinants of why and how some Black counties were able to remain politically competitive through the 1890s, thus attracting the attention of Confederate monument-builders. Finally, moving to the present-day, the dynamics of dememorialization deserve attention in their own right (on this in the U.S. South see Benjamin et al. (2020); Rahnama (2025) or, internationally, Villamil and Balcells (2021); Rozenas and Vlasenko (2022); Ruipérez Núñez and Dinas (2023)).

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Appendices

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A Appendix: Variables Description and Summary Statistics

- **Monuments** (Binary; 1865–1965 with intermittent cutoffs): Indicates the presence of at least one Confederate monument in a county during the specified period. Coded 1 if any monument is present; 0 otherwise. Source: “Whose Heritage?” project, Southern Poverty Law Center.
- **Slave Share** (Percentage; 1860): Slaves as a percentage of the total county population in 1860. Source: IPUMS NHGIS.
- **Black Share** (Percentage; 1900, 1910): Black residents as a percentage of the total county population in 1900 and 1910. Source: IPUMS NHGIS.
- **Civil War Mortality** (Percentage; 1860–1870): Estimated excess mortality among native-born white males attributable to the Civil War. Source: IPUMS USA and IPUMS NHGIS.
- **Civil War Battle Site** (Binary): Indicates if a county had a class A (decisive) or B (major) battle in the Civil War. Source: Civil War Sites Advisory Commission of the National Parks Service.
- **Confederate Cemetery** (Binary): Indicates if a county had formal cemetery with at least 200 Confederate soldiers buried in it. Source: Author construction from various sources (National Cemetery Administration, Sons of Confederate Veterans Confederate Graves Registry, state historical society sites, etc.).
- **Urbanization** (Percentage; 1860, 1900, and 1910): Urban residents as a percentage of the total county population in each year. Source: IPUMS NHGIS.
- **White Population Density** (Log; 1860, 1900, and 1910): Natural logarithm of the number of white residents per square mile in each county (with one added to avoid log-zero). Source: IPUMS NHGIS.
- **Land Gini** (Index; 1860, 1900, and 1910): Gini coefficient of landownership inequality, based on farm sizes, by county. Source: IPUMS NHGIS.
- **Real Estate Gini** (Index; 1860): Gini coefficient of real estate wealth inequality, based on reported property values, by county. Source: IPUMS USA.
- **Adult White Male Literacy** (Percentage; 1860, 1900, and 1910): Literate adult white males as a percentage of all adult white males in a county. Source: IPUMS USA and IPUMS NHGIS.
- **Distance to Largest City** (Miles; 1860, 1900, and 1910): Distance from each county to the largest city in its federal state, measured by year. Source: IPUMS NHGIS.

- **Political Competition, 1890s (%)**: Average vote share for the Democratic Party candidate for U.S. President; 1892 and 1896. Source: Clubb, et al. 2006.
- **Lynchings** (pre-1900): Indicates the presence of at least one lynching in a county before 1900. Coded 1 if a lynching occurred; 0 otherwise. Source: Weaver 2019.
- **Federal Troops**: Indicates the presence of federal troops during Reconstruction (1865-1880). Coded 1 if present; 0 otherwise. Source: Downs 2015.
- **Black Federal Troops**: Indicates the presence of Black federal troops during Reconstruction (1865-1880). Coded 1 if present; 0 otherwise. Source: Downs 2015.
- **Black and White Socioeconomic Attainment** (Index; 1900): Duncan Socioeconomic Index score capturing the weighted sum of occupational education and occupational income, by county (level and White/Black ratio). Source: IPUMS USA.
- **Confederate Veterans Density** (%; 1900): Share of White population who is receiving any Confederate Army pension. Located for seven states (AL, AR, FL, MS, NC, SC, and VA). Source: Annual or Biennial Report of the State Auditor, circa 1900 (AL, AR, MS, NC, VA); Annual Report of the State Comptroller, circa 1900 (FL, SC).

Table A1: Summary statistics for main variables.

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Monuments 1865–1965 (Binary)	1,142	0.404	0.491	0	1
Monuments 1865–1899 (Binary)	1,142	0.063	0.243	0	1
Monuments 1900–1916 (Binary)	1,142	0.276	0.447	0	1
Monuments 1917–1965 (Binary)	1,142	0.130	0.336	0	1
Slave Share 1860 (%)	1,048	0.338	0.215	0.000	0.924
Black Share 1900 (%)	1,138	0.320	0.246	0.000	0.940
Black Share 1910 (%)	1,138	0.310	0.243	0.000	0.942
Civil War Mortality (%)	951	0.223	0.211	−0.974	1.000
Civil War Battles (Binary)	1,142	0.062	0.242	0	1
Confederate Cemetery (Binary)	1,142	0.041	0.199	0	1
Urbanization 1860 (%)	1,052	0.028	0.117	0.000	1.000
Urbanization 1900 (%)	1,138	0.072	0.168	0.000	1.000
Urbanization 1910 (%)	1,137	0.103	0.192	0.000	1.000
White Pop. Density 1860 (Log)	1,052	2.099	0.876	0.000	6.435
White Pop. Density 1900 (Log)	1,142	2.690	1.021	0.000	6.971
White Pop. Density 1910 (Log)	1,142	2.894	0.960	0.000	7.191
Land GINI 1860	1,033	0.727	0.106	0.010	0.999
Land GINI 1900	1,138	0.491	0.116	0.000	0.839
Land GINI 1910	1,138	0.501	0.091	0.019	0.817
Real Estate GINI 1860	1,045	0.787	0.094	0.012	1.000
Adult White Male Literacy 1860	1,046	0.854	0.123	0.013	1.000
Adult White Male Literacy 1900	1,135	0.863	0.086	0.465	1.000
Adult White Male Literacy 1910	1,138	0.898	0.073	0.541	1.000
Distance to Largest City 1860 (Mi)	1,142	173.450	100.311	1.389	530.824
Distance to Largest City 1900 (Mi)	1,142	162.060	100.918	0.737	530.855
Distance to Largest City 1910 (Mi)	1,142	153.020	100.953	0.969	530.824
Black Federal Troops 1865–1880 (Binary)	1,142	0.147	0.354	0	1
Federal Troops 1865–1880 (Binary)	1,142	0.462	0.499	0	1
Black Occupational Income Score 1900 (Index)	1,139	14.984	4.470	0.000	54.014
White-Black Occupation Score Ratio 1900 (%)	1,087	1.190	0.347	0.421	9.289
Lynchings Pre-1900 (Binary)	1,142	0.550	0.498	0	1
Democratic Vote Share 1892–1896 (%)	1,114	0.627	0.158	0.112	0.998

B Appendix: Correlates of Memorialization

Table B1: Total number of three key types of memorials (monuments, buildings and public infrastructure, and schools) by period. Counting memorials with a recorded creation date only.

Period	# Monuments	# Public Buildings	# Schools
1865–1965	671	56	115
1865–1899	87	2	4
1900–1916	370	9	20
1917–1965	214	45	91

Note: 87.5% of monuments with a recorded construction date were built between 1865 and 1965 (671 of 767); 87.5% of buildings and public infrastructure with a recorded construction date were built between 1865 and 1965 (56 of 64); and 83.9% of schools with a recorded construction date were built between 1865 and 1965 (115 of 137).

Table B2: Main models with contemporaneous (rather than pre-treatment) regressor values

	1865–1899	1900–1916	1917–1965
	(4)	(5)	(6)
Enslaved/Blacks (%)	0.16** (0.05)	0.50*** (0.09)	0.16* (0.07)
Civil War Mortality (%)	0.05 (0.04)	0.01 (0.07)	0.02 (0.05)
Civil War Battles (0/1)	0.02 (0.04)	0.12 [†] (0.06)	0.04 (0.05)
Urbanization (%)	0.53*** (0.16)	0.31* (0.13)	0.19 [†] (0.10)
White Pop. Density (Log)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.08** (0.03)	0.08** (0.03)
Land GINI (0-1)	0.06 (0.10)	−0.53* (0.24)	0.11 (0.23)
Adult White Male Literacy (%)	0.03 (0.08)	0.37 (0.24)	0.19 (0.23)
Distance to Largest City in State (Mi)	−0.00 (0.00)	−0.00 (0.00)	−0.00 (0.00)
Num. obs.	944	947	946
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
R ²	0.17	0.16	0.09
Adj. R ²	0.15	0.14	0.08
RMSE	0.24	0.43	0.34

Note: Models 4-6 from Table 1 are replicated using contemporaneous values for each time-varying regressor (i.e., Black share (%), Urbanization (%), White Pop. Density (log), Land Gini, Adult White Male Literacy (%), and Distance to Largest City). The closest Census year prior to the period was used (e.g., Black-share in 1900 was used for the period 1900-1916). Real Estate Gini is omitted because this information was no longer collected by the Census after 1870. *** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$; [†] $p < 0.1$.

Table B3: Replicating all models from Table 1 with a variable for Confederate sites of wartime significance (combines locations of major Civil War battles and large Confederate soldiers' cemeteries).

	1865–1965			1865–1899	1900–1916	1917–1965
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
(Intercept)	0.26*** (0.04)					
Slaves 1860 (%)	0.48*** (0.08)	0.51*** (0.09)	0.57*** (0.10)	0.17** (0.05)	0.37*** (0.10)	0.15* (0.07)
Civil War Mortality (%)	−0.02 (0.08)	0.05 (0.08)	0.09 (0.08)	0.05 (0.04)	0.03 (0.08)	0.06 (0.06)
Confederate Sites of Wartime Significance (0/1)	0.12* (0.05)	0.10† (0.06)	0.06 (0.06)	0.02 (0.04)	0.17** (0.06)	0.08† (0.04)
Urbanization (%)	0.55*** (0.15)	0.48** (0.16)	0.09 (0.20)	0.53** (0.16)	0.08 (0.20)	0.25 (0.16)
White Pop. Density (Log)			0.20*** (0.03)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.09** (0.03)	0.06* (0.02)
Land GINI (0-1)			0.17 (0.26)	0.10 (0.13)	−0.11 (0.23)	0.41* (0.17)
Real Estate GINI (0-1)			−0.34 (0.28)	−0.07 (0.12)	−0.14 (0.26)	−0.36† (0.20)
Adult White Male Literacy (%)			0.39* (0.18)	0.04 (0.08)	0.42* (0.16)	0.04 (0.13)
Distance to Largest City in State (Mi)			0.00 (0.00)	−0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Num. obs.	947	947	944	944	944	944
State FE	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R ²	0.07	0.13	0.18	0.17	0.12	0.07
Adj. R ²	0.06	0.12	0.16	0.15	0.11	0.05
RMSE	0.48	0.47	0.46	0.24	0.44	0.34

Note: *** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$; † $p < 0.1$.

Table B4: Replicating Model 5 (1900–1916) from Table 1 with a variable measuring the density of Confederate Army veterans circa 1900 included.

	1900–1916
	(5)
Slaves 1860 (%)	0.61*** (0.14)
Civil War Mortality (%)	0.03 (0.11)
Civil War Battles (0/1)	0.12 (0.08)
Urbanization (%)	0.08 (0.29)
White Pop. Density (Log)	0.14* (0.05)
Land GINI (0-1)	−0.10 (0.32)
Real Estate GINI (0-1)	−0.06 (0.34)
Adult White Male Literacy (%)	0.28 (0.24)
Distance to Largest City in State (Mi)	0.00* (0.00)
Pensioners Share 1900 (%)	−2.28 (4.91)
Num. obs.	516
State FE	Yes
R ²	0.13
Adj. R ²	0.10
RMSE	0.46

Note: Pensioners Share 1900 (%) measures the number of people receiving a Confederate pension as a share of the county’s white population. This information was located from state auditor and comptroller reports for seven states: AL, AR, FL, MS, NC, SC, and VA. See Appendix A for more information. *** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$; † $p < 0.1$.

Table B5: Results using only rural counties (i.e., counties that contained no urban area of at least 2500 residents in 1860). Replicating all models in Table 1.

	1865–1965			1865–1899	1900–1916	1917–1965
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
(Intercept)	0.27*** (0.04)					
Slaves 1860 (%)	0.47*** (0.08)	0.47*** (0.09)	0.51*** (0.11)	0.10* (0.05)	0.35*** (0.10)	0.12† (0.07)
Civil War Mortality (%)	−0.03 (0.08)	0.08 (0.08)	0.14† (0.08)	0.01 (0.04)	0.09 (0.08)	0.04 (0.06)
Civil War Battles (0/1)	0.06 (0.08)	0.04 (0.08)	−0.01 (0.07)	−0.01 (0.04)	0.08 (0.07)	−0.06 (0.05)
White Pop. Density (Log)			0.22*** (0.04)	0.06*** (0.01)	0.12*** (0.03)	0.06* (0.03)
Land GINI (0-1)			0.08 (0.26)	0.03 (0.12)	−0.12 (0.24)	0.42* (0.17)
Real Estate GINI (0-1)			−0.33 (0.28)	−0.04 (0.11)	−0.11 (0.26)	−0.43* (0.19)
Adult White Male Literacy (%)			0.43* (0.18)	0.05 (0.08)	0.43** (0.17)	0.08 (0.14)
Distance to Largest City in State (Mi)			−0.00 (0.00)	−0.00† (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Num. obs.	863	863	860	860	860	860
State FE	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R ²	0.04	0.13	0.18	0.07	0.13	0.05
Adj. R ²	0.04	0.11	0.16	0.05	0.11	0.03
RMSE	0.49	0.47	0.45	0.21	0.43	0.32

Note: *** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$; † $p < 0.1$.

Table B6: Results based on (log-transformed) count of monuments (rather than a binary indicator). Replication of Table 1. DV = Natural logarithm of the number of monuments for each period (adding one to escape zeros).

	1865–1965			1865–1899	1900–1916	1917–1965
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
(Intercept)	0.20*** (0.03)					
Slaves 1860 (%)	0.40*** (0.06)	0.40*** (0.07)	0.43*** (0.09)	0.12** (0.04)	0.25*** (0.07)	0.10† (0.06)
Civil War Mortality (%)	−0.02 (0.07)	0.02 (0.08)	0.06 (0.08)	0.04 (0.03)	−0.02 (0.06)	0.05 (0.06)
Civil War Battles (0/1)	0.17* (0.07)	0.18* (0.08)	0.15† (0.08)	0.02 (0.04)	0.13* (0.05)	0.08 (0.06)
Urbanization (%)	1.11*** (0.24)	1.06*** (0.24)	0.69** (0.26)	0.43*** (0.13)	0.25 (0.17)	0.52* (0.21)
White Pop. Density (Log)			0.17*** (0.03)	0.06*** (0.02)	0.09** (0.03)	0.05† (0.03)
Land GINI (0-1)			0.13 (0.22)	0.07 (0.10)	−0.13 (0.18)	0.26† (0.14)
Real Estate GINI (0-1)			−0.22 (0.23)	−0.05 (0.09)	−0.00 (0.19)	−0.22 (0.16)
Adult White Male Literacy (%)			0.34* (0.15)	0.03 (0.06)	0.32** (0.12)	0.02 (0.11)
Distance to Largest City in State (Mi)			−0.00 (0.00)	−0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	−0.00 (0.00)
Num. obs.	947	947	944	944	944	944
State FE	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R ²	0.12	0.17	0.20	0.17	0.13	0.10
Adj. R ²	0.12	0.16	0.19	0.15	0.11	0.08
RMSE	0.43	0.42	0.42	0.19	0.34	0.30

Note: *** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$; † $p < 0.1$.

Table B7: Results based on main Confederate memorial types. Replication of Table 1. DV = If any of the three main types of memorials (monuments, public buildings, or schools) was present in each period of analysis.

	1865–1965			1865–1899	1900–1916	1917–1965
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
(Intercept)	0.29*** (0.04)					
Slaves 1860 (%)	0.45*** (0.08)	0.45*** (0.09)	0.52*** (0.10)	0.18*** (0.05)	0.37*** (0.10)	0.13 (0.08)
Civil War Mortality (%)	−0.04 (0.08)	0.03 (0.08)	0.08 (0.08)	0.05 (0.04)	0.01 (0.08)	0.04 (0.06)
Civil War Battles (0/1)	0.14* (0.06)	0.12† (0.06)	0.08 (0.06)	0.02 (0.04)	0.14* (0.06)	0.12* (0.06)
Urbanization (%)	0.64*** (0.11)	0.56*** (0.13)	0.14 (0.17)	0.51** (0.16)	0.14 (0.20)	0.49** (0.18)
White Pop. Density (Log)			0.21*** (0.03)	0.09*** (0.02)	0.10** (0.03)	0.08** (0.03)
Land GINI (0-1)			0.12 (0.26)	0.09 (0.13)	−0.13 (0.23)	0.40* (0.20)
Real Estate GINI (0-1)			−0.35 (0.28)	−0.03 (0.12)	−0.11 (0.26)	−0.40† (0.22)
Adult White Male Literacy (%)			0.30 (0.19)	0.00 (0.09)	0.43** (0.16)	0.01 (0.16)
Distance to Largest City in State (Mi)			−0.00 (0.00)	−0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	−0.00 (0.00)
Num. obs.	947	947	944	944	944	944
State FE	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R ²	0.07	0.13	0.18	0.16	0.12	0.10
Adj. R ²	0.06	0.12	0.16	0.15	0.11	0.08
RMSE	0.48	0.47	0.46	0.25	0.44	0.37

Note: *** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$; † $p < 0.1$.

Table B8: Results using share of slaveowners among adult white males in 1860 (in place of Enslaved Share). Replicating all models in Table 1.

	1865–1965			1865–1899	1900–1916	1917–1965
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
(Intercept)	0.22*** (0.04)					
Slaveowners 1860 (%)	0.78*** (0.10)	0.73*** (0.12)	0.78*** (0.14)	0.23** (0.08)	0.46*** (0.14)	0.27** (0.11)
Civil War Mortality (%)	−0.00 (0.08)	0.05 (0.08)	0.10 (0.08)	0.05 (0.04)	0.03 (0.08)	0.06 (0.06)
Civil War Battles (0/1)	0.09 (0.06)	0.09 (0.06)	0.05 (0.06)	0.02 (0.04)	0.16* (0.06)	0.05 (0.05)
Urbanization (%)	0.62*** (0.14)	0.55*** (0.16)	0.12 (0.20)	0.54*** (0.16)	0.13 (0.19)	0.28† (0.17)
White Pop. Density (Log)			0.18*** (0.03)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.09** (0.03)	0.06* (0.02)
Land GINI (0-1)			0.25 (0.26)	0.11 (0.13)	−0.10 (0.24)	0.48** (0.18)
Real Estate GINI (0-1)			−0.18 (0.28)	−0.02 (0.11)	−0.01 (0.25)	−0.33† (0.20)
Adult White Male Literacy (%)			0.39* (0.18)	0.04 (0.09)	0.43** (0.16)	0.01 (0.14)
Distance to Largest City in State (Mi)			0.00 (0.00)	−0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Num. obs.	944	944	944	944	944	944
State FE	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R ²	0.08	0.13	0.18	0.17	0.12	0.07
Adj. R ²	0.08	0.12	0.16	0.15	0.10	0.05
RMSE	0.48	0.47	0.46	0.24	0.44	0.34

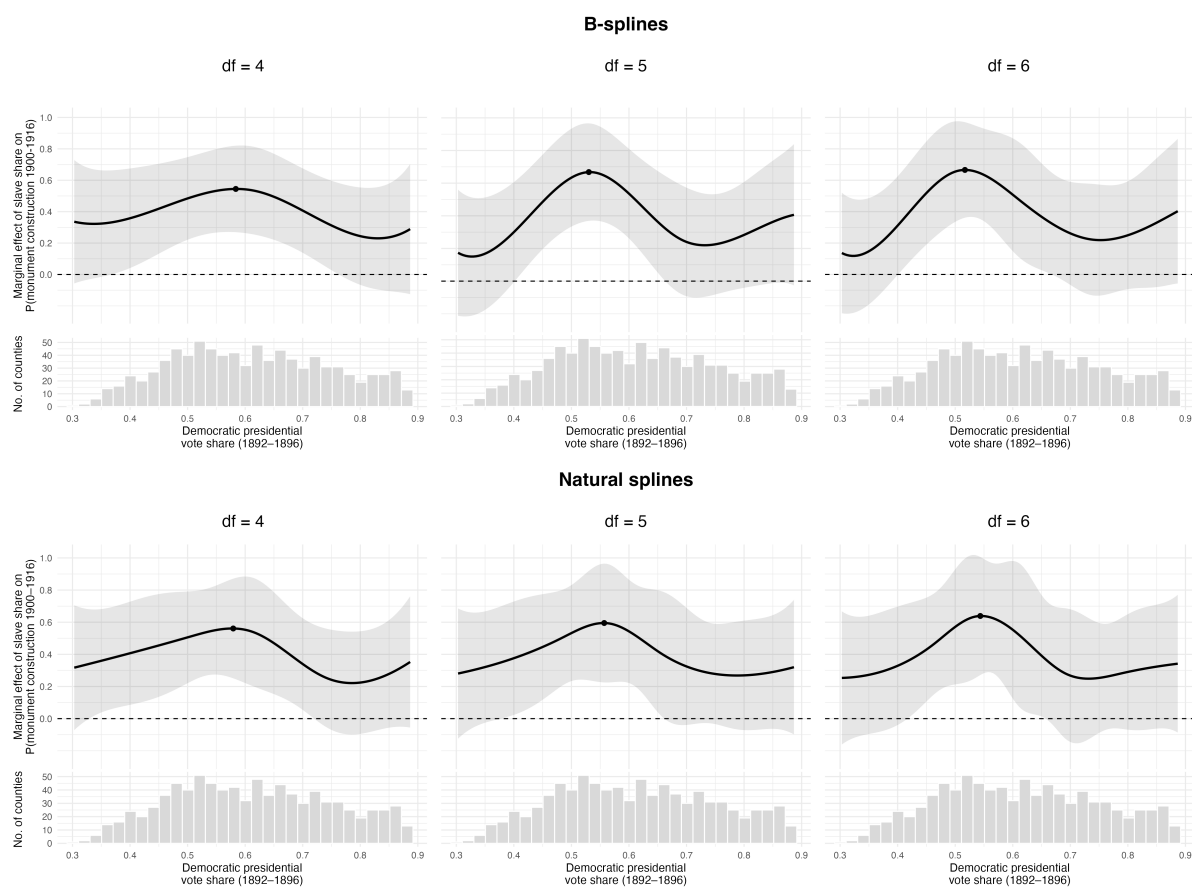
Note: *** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$; † $p < 0.1$.

Table B9: Results using 1860 county borders. Replicating all models in Table 1.

	1865–1965			1865–1899	1900–1916	1917–1965
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
(Intercept)	0.34*** (0.04)					
Slaves 1860 (%)	0.50*** (0.08)	0.49*** (0.10)	0.57*** (0.12)	0.19** (0.07)	0.33** (0.12)	0.09 (0.10)
Civil War Mortality (%)	−0.05 (0.07)	0.07 (0.07)	0.09 (0.07)	0.01 (0.04)	0.02 (0.07)	0.09† (0.05)
Civil War Battles (0/1)	0.08 (0.06)	0.05 (0.06)	0.01 (0.06)	−0.01 (0.05)	0.10 (0.07)	0.09 (0.06)
Urbanization (%)	0.75*** (0.08)	0.74*** (0.09)	0.36* (0.16)	0.80*** (0.17)	0.30 (0.22)	0.40† (0.20)
White Pop. Density (Log)			0.17*** (0.04)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.08* (0.04)	0.05† (0.03)
Land GINI (0-1)			0.28 (0.28)	0.09 (0.15)	−0.07 (0.26)	0.47* (0.20)
Real Estate GINI (0-1)			−0.62† (0.33)	−0.07 (0.15)	−0.22 (0.31)	−0.39 (0.26)
Adult White Male Literacy (%)			0.49* (0.23)	−0.00 (0.11)	0.65** (0.22)	0.16 (0.20)
Distance to Largest City in State (Mi)			0.00 (0.00)	−0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Num. obs.	756	756	752	752	752	752
State FE	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R ²	0.08	0.18	0.22	0.23	0.16	0.09
Adj. R ²	0.08	0.16	0.20	0.21	0.14	0.07
RMSE	0.48	0.46	0.45	0.26	0.45	0.37

Note: *** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$; † $p < 0.1$.

Figure B1: Robustness of the estimated moderation pattern across alternative spline specifications



Note: The figure reproduces the estimated marginal effect of county slave share on the probability of Confederate monument construction across levels of Democratic presidential vote share using alternative spline specifications. Columns vary the degrees of freedom (4, 5, and 6), while rows compare B-splines and natural splines. Across specifications, the same substantive pattern emerges: the effect of slave share peaks in electorally competitive counties and weakens at lower and higher levels of Democratic vote share.

Table B10: Results including measures of ‘alternative logics’: presence of Black and federal occupation troops (1865–1877), Black economic attainment (1900), and lynchings (pre-1900). Replication of Table 1 Model 5 (1900–1916).

	Occupation Troops		Black Attainment		Lynchings
	(5a1)	(5a2)	(5b1)	(5b2)	(5c)
Slaves 1860 (%)	0.32** (0.10)	0.29** (0.10)	0.37*** (0.10)	0.37*** (0.10)	0.36*** (0.10)
Civil War Mortality (%)	0.02 (0.07)	0.04 (0.07)	0.03 (0.07)	0.02 (0.08)	0.02 (0.07)
Civil War Battles (0/1)	0.13* (0.06)	0.13* (0.06)	0.13* (0.06)	0.15* (0.06)	0.15* (0.06)
Urbanization (%)	0.06 (0.19)	0.11 (0.19)	0.09 (0.19)	0.12 (0.20)	0.11 (0.19)
White Pop. Density (Log)	0.10** (0.03)	0.08* (0.03)	0.09** (0.03)	0.10** (0.03)	0.09** (0.03)
Land GINI (0-1)	−0.20 (0.23)	−0.13 (0.23)	−0.10 (0.23)	−0.10 (0.23)	−0.05 (0.23)
Real Estate GINI (0-1)	−0.14 (0.25)	−0.23 (0.25)	−0.16 (0.26)	−0.13 (0.26)	−0.14 (0.26)
Adult White Male Literacy (%)	0.43** (0.16)	0.36* (0.16)	0.41* (0.16)	0.41* (0.16)	0.37* (0.16)
Distance to Largest City in State (Mi)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Black Occupation Troops 1865–80 (0/1)	0.14** (0.05)				
Total Federal Troops 1865–80 (0/1)		0.13*** (0.03)			
Black Occupation Score 1900 (0-80)			0.01* (0.00)		
White/Black Occupation Ratio 1900 (≥ 0)				0.01 (0.02)	
Any Lynchings Pre-1900 (0/1)					0.09** (0.03)
Num. obs.	944	944	942	942	944
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R ²	0.13	0.14	0.12	0.12	0.13
Adj. R ²	0.11	0.12	0.11	0.10	0.11
RMSE	0.44	0.44	0.44	0.44	0.44

Note: See Appendix A for more information about the measurement and sources for each ‘alternative logic’.

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$; † $p < 0.1$.

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