The Civil War and Racial Hate in the US South*

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Abstract

This paper studies the effect of the American Civil War on the geography of racial hate in the US South. We construct a new dataset of the universe of Confederate soldiers, their residence before the war, and their military deployment. Communities whose soldiers participated in more violent battles increased their support for segregation and exercised higher violence against Black Americans. These towns developed a stronger cultural attachment to the war and transmitted it to future generations through memorial organizations, Confederate monuments, and names. The war's legacy persists, shaping hate crimes, white supremacist rallies, and police killings of Black Americans today.

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> The dead continued to mingle among the living—in small stone monuments, symbolic bloody shirts, terrorists' white hoods, patriotic songs and speeches, veterans' fraternal bonds, women's Memorial Day committees, and, ultimately, in the tangible form of election ballots.
>
> David Blight, Race and Reunion (2001)

1 Introduction

Group identities are a fundamental determinant of voting behavior, social preferences, and conflict (Alesina and Glaeser, 2004, Bonomi et al., 2021). In the United States, racial identities have been central to cultural and political conflicts, and continue to influence the contemporary political debate. What explains the geography of racial preferences in the US? In this paper, we investigate the role of the Civil War, a critical juncture in the history of race relations, yet one whose implications on political identities and racial conflict have received little attention.[1]

During the Civil War, more than three million Americans fought over the abolition of slavery. The war led to the Emancipation Proclamation and the ratification of civil rights for Black Americans, redefining the country's racial landscape. In their defeat, white Southerners in former Confederate states developed a social identity centered around the war's heritage (Blight, 2001; Cox, 2019). Over the next generations, fighting continued in defense of segregationist policies and hierarchical racial norms. Confederate imagery often accompanied these fights, suggesting a role for the war's collective memory in sustaining and legitimizing discriminatory racial norms.[2] Today, public display of confederate imagery continues to fuel an intense political debate (Forman, 1991; Coski, 2006; Domby, 2020; Cox, 2021).[3]

[1]Existing quantitative research has sought to explain the geography of racial identities and conflict by focusing on the role of slavery (Acharya et al., 2016), migration (Calderon et al., 2019; Giuliano and Tabellini, 2020; Bazzi et al., 2023a,b), and the media (Ang, 2023; Esposito et al., 2023; Ottinger and Winkler, 2022). The Civil War's role in shaping race relations has largely been the focus of historians' qualitative analyses (Blight, 2001; Cox, 2019). Quantitative studies on the war have examined its effects on leadership and incentives to fight (Costa and Kahn, 2003; Hall et al., 2019; Dippel and Heblich, 2021), as well as the war's political (Weaver, 2022), and economic and social consequences (Engerman, 1966; Goldin and Lewis, 1975; Ransom and Sutch, 1975, 2001; Feigenbaum et al., 2022; Dupraz and Ferrara, 2021), focusing largely on the North.

[2]For example, the Dixiecrat Party, a segregationist political party that arose in 1948, chose the Confederate flag as its symbol (Lemmon, 1951).

[3]For evidence of the importance of discriminatory institutions for Black Americans' long-run

A defining feature of the American Civil War is the magnitude of human loss, particularly in the South. In the Confederate Army, composed of 1.1 million young white men, over 300,000 soldiers lost their lives, and a larger number were injured and traumatized by the brutality of the war experience (Hacker, 2011). While most Southern towns were far from the battleground, the mass of fallen soldiers and the intensity of the battle experience deeply affected Southern communities (Faust, 2009).[4]

We argue that these experiences played a key role in determining the geography of racial politics and violence across the South. In the aftermath of the war, Southern communities blamed Northerners and newly emancipated Black Americans for white Southerners' suffering. Many veterans bonded over their shared traumatic experiences and continued fighting for the maintenance of racial hierarchies both in the ballots and through terrorist groups like the Ku Klux Klan (KKK). The families of the fallen gathered in cemeteries to celebrate their relatives and portray them as honorable men who fought for a just cause.[5] Subsequent generations fueled this myth and reinforced the connection between Confederate heritage and racial segregation by funding memorial groups and erecting monuments of Confederate heroes (Blight, 2001). To capture this phenomenon, we study the effect of communities' exposure to the war, *through the battle experience of their soldiers*, on the geography of racial politics and violence in the US South.

While the Civil War represents one of the key events in US history, the lack of comprehensive information on the Confederate army has prevented the quantitative study of its effects in the South.[6] We overcome this limitation using an untapped source of archival material that includes over one hundred million digitized documents from muster rolls, enlistment records, payrolls, hospital registers, and Union prison camps documents.[7] With these documents, we identify the universe of soldiers enlisted in

economic outcomes see Sacerdote (2005); Althoff and Reichardt (2022).

[4]Only 7 percent of the Southern population lived within 5 km of any Civil War battle. If we restrict our attention to large battles (involving at least 10,000 Confederate soldiers), this figure reduces to 3 percent. These calculations are based on original data described in Appendix A.1.

[5]This narrative is often referred to as the Lost Cause, first coined in 1866. The narrative claims that the primary cause of the Civil War was not slavery, and asserts, rather, that the Confederate States fought for a just and heroic cause to defend the Southern way of life against Northern aggression.

[6]The most notable quantitative analysis of the Confederate army is Hall et al. (2019). The authors use digitized State rosters from the National Archive's Compiled Records to study the determinants of volunteering. However, as described by the authors, "these rosters contain a limited set of information about soldiers." No information about soldiers' battle participation is reported, and soldiers' residences are only available at the state level, making this database unsuited to the analysis of the local effect of the Civil War.

[7]These documents have been digitized and made public by Fold3, a company that archives and distributes military data. See Appendix A.1 for the data description.

the Confederate army. We obtain information on 1,087,906 soldiers, including their enlistment regiment and the battles they fought. Using these documents, we are able to allocate 637,943 of these soldiers to 5,772 towns based on their likely residence before the war.[8] To measure a community's exposure to the Civil War through its soldiers' battle experience, we calculate the proportion of soldiers in a given town who fought in each battle. We then compute the average battle participation for each town weighted by the share of Confederate casualties in each battle. This weighted average quantifies the town's exposure to the war by considering both the participation of its soldiers in different battles and the intensity of these battles. This measure (henceforth *battle exposure*) captures the intensity of the war experienced by the average soldier in each town. Our empirical strategy compares changes in outcomes before and after the war between towns with different battle exposure.

To guarantee that our measure only captures the randomness of war instead of town characteristics that could be related to the politics of race, we proceed as follows. First, we only consider large battles (over 10,000 Confederate soldiers), where the risk-taking behavior of soldiers from a few towns is unlikely to drive the overall number of casualties. Second, we restrict our attention to towns in the Confederacy[9] and battles that occurred after the 16th of April of 1862, when the conscription order was issued.[10] By doing this we avoid the possibility that individual soldiers' characteristics determine selection into our sample. Finally, we only use information on soldiers' first unit of enlistment to eliminate the possibility that the decision to reassign soldiers to different regiments based on their combat performance affects our results.

Our main specification exploits residual variation in battle exposure after conditioning on factors that determine regiments' battle experience that may also be correlated with the outcomes of interest. Because regiments were raised at the state level, we control for state by year fixed effects. Further, because most battles were fought in the Eastern Theater,[11] and the distance of soldiers' residences to battles influenced

[8] Figure A.1 shows the map of all towns and Figure A.2 shows the distribution of soldiers' residence. In A.1 we describe how we use the digitized documents to build our dataset.

[9] Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia formed the Confederacy. Some white citizens in Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and West Virginia (known as Border states) enlisted in the Confederate army, but these states never instituted conscription.

[10] After the 16th of April of 1862, conscription required that all white men aged between 18 and 35 living in the Confederacy enlist in the army. Before that date, the Confederate army was composed only of volunteers. Exemptions were made for strategic sectors and individuals owning 20 or more slaves. See Section A.3 for the full list of exemptions.

[11] The Eastern Theater is defined by operations conducted in Virginia, West Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, the District of Columbia, and North Carolina.

their chances of participation, we control for the share of soldiers in each town sent to the Eastern Theater, as well as each town's average distance to battles, both multiplied by year fixed effects.[12] Additionally, because differences in pre-conscription volunteer rates across towns could influence the allocation of soldiers to battles, we control for the share of volunteers in each town times year fixed effects.[13] Finally, while most local communities in the South experienced no or limited physical damage, a few battles took place in Southern towns. Because the local population might have been involved in the town's defense and because these towns could have characteristics that made them strategically relevant, we condition on direct exposure to war battles.[14]

Our empirical strategy is a generalized difference-in-differences (DiD) comparing, before and after the Civil War, towns with different battle exposure, after conditioning on the above-described covariates. Under the assumption that conditional on these controls, trends in outcomes would have been the same across towns with different battle exposure in the absence of war, we identify the causal effect of battle exposure on the outcomes of interest. In support of the parallel trends assumption, we show that after conditioning on these covariates, battle exposure is independent, both in levels and changes, of a large set of observables reflecting economic, political, and demographic conditions measured before the war.

Turning to outcomes, we start by studying the effects on presidential elections, focusing on the vote share for the Democratic party between 1840 and 1944, when the Black population was disenfranchised either because of slavery or discriminatory laws (i.e., Jim Crow laws), and the Democratic party supported racially discriminatory policies (e.g., slavery, segregation, and disenfranchisement).[15] We find that a one standard deviation increase in battle exposure leads to 4.6 additional percentage points in favor of the Democratic party. In a town with an average battle exposure compared to a counterfactual town not exposed to the war, the Democratic party

[12]The battles in our sample are depicted in Figure A.5

[13]In Section 2.1, we describe how soldiers were selected to participate in battles. We show that town characteristics do not predict battle participation, except for distance to battle and the share of volunteers.

[14]We also explicitly control for Sherman's March, where Union Army General Sherman marched through Georgia in 1864 directly targeting local capital stock (Feigenbaum et al., 2022).

[15]During slavery, Black people were not allowed to vote. After the Civil War, until the 1964 Civil Rights Act, Southern States restricted Black citizens' access to the ballot, effectively disenfranchising the Black population. The only exceptions are the 1872 and 1876 elections when Union troops enforced Black citizens' right to vote. For this reason, we exclude these two elections from our baseline specification. Starting with the 1948 election, parties began converging on their position on racial issues (Kuziemko and Washington, 2018). We, therefore, stop our baseline analysis at the 1944 election. More information on the political history of the South can be found in Section 2.2.

vote share is 9.4 percentage points higher. Importantly, the effect of battle exposure does not change when controlling for the share of enslaved in 1860 times years fixed effects, a key determinant of political preferences throughout the twentieth century (Acharya et al., 2016). This result shows that support for segregation caused by the Civil War is orthogonal to anti-Black sentiments rooted in the historical dependence on slavery. When inspecting the dynamic of the effect in an event study framework, we see no differences in trends before the war and an immediate and large jump in the first election after the war (1868), which persists throughout the whole period of analysis. While our study focuses on the period when the Democratic Party unequivocally supported segregation (until 1944), we also investigate the dynamics during the 1948-1964 period, when the Democratic Party started opening towards the Civil Rights movement and Black citizens were still disenfranchised. In line with the defection of racially conservative white voters from the Democratic party (Kuziemko and Washington, 2018), we find that, during this period, the effects become smaller and statistically insignificant.

To provide additional evidence that battle exposure boosted support for racially conservative policies, we show the effect on two additional political outcomes. First, the vote share in favor of the Dixiecrat Party, a segregationist political party that arose during the 1948 Philadelphia nomination convention of the Democratic Party in response to Truman's initiative to desegregate the Armed Forces in the same year (Lemmon, 1951).[16] Second, Congress members' roll-call votes on 523 laws that we identify as concerning racial issues. Estimates based on these outcomes provide a consistent picture indicating a strong effect of battle exposure on political support for segregation among communities most affected by the Civil War.

We then turn to the analysis of one of the most dreadful aspects of racial hate in the United States: anti-Black violence. We build a new dataset on lynchings from 1865 to 1965. We integrate original data collected from historical newspapers with existing data from Tolnay and Beck (1995) and Bailey and Tolnay (2015), building the most complete dataset on lynchings to date.[17] We find that lynchings are 20 percent more likely in towns with an additional standard deviation of battle exposure. Again, we find that controlling for the share of the enslaved population before the war does not offset our estimates.

[16] July 26, 1948, the Democratic president Harry Truman issued the Executive Order 9981 ordering the desegregation of the armed forces.

[17] We collect information between 1865 and 1881 combining automated search and manual verification from local newspapers in Chronicling America and Newspapers.com. We identify an additional 392 lynchings between 1865 and 1881. Section A.5 provides additional details.

To explain these results, we advance the hypothesis that battle exposure led to the formation of a social identity that revolved around the war's heritage, a Confederate culture that sustained segregationist racial norms and violence against Black Americans. To investigate this hypothesis, we first analyze what aspects of the battle experience shaped communities' internalization of this cultural and political tradition. We find that a large part of the effect is driven by the largest and most well-known battles, such as Gettysburg, that stand out for their symbolic meaning and are part of the collective memory. We also find that, although the Union Army deployed Black soldiers only on a few occasions, most of the effect is driven by these battles. This indicates that direct combat against Black Americans facilitated their identification as the enemy. These findings suggest the importance of cultural channels while ruling out the possibility that the effects are solely driven by the number of casualties.

Next, we explore the process of memorialization, a key step in the construction of collective identities (Anderson, 2020; Zubrzycki and Woźny, 2020). We begin by studying the role of cemeteries, where civilians in the home communities of fallen soldiers gathered to celebrate their relatives' sacrifices. We find that the effect is larger in towns with Confederate cemeteries. Next, we study the use of distinctively Confederate names to capture communities' cultural attachment to the war. We show that battle exposure led to an immediate increase in the number of newly-born white males named after Confederate leaders. These results indicate the importance of publicly recognized traumatic events and their memorialization for the emergence of group identity.

We bolster the interpretation that the war's effect is driven by enhanced social identity and cultural attachment to the Confederacy by studying the role of alternative mechanisms, such as the demographic or economic effects of the war. First, we show that the effect is not due to changes in the relative size of the Black population induced by the war (Blumer, 1958; Blalock, 1967), and it is not complementary with the size of the enslaved population before the War (Acharya et al., 2018). This analysis also discards the possibility that demographic changes might have led to an increase in the perceived political threat (Soule, 1992; Testa and Williams, 2023) and further supports our results. Second, we show that migration is not driving our results, indicating that family transmission and local socialization, rather than selective migration, are the key channels of transmission. Third, we analyze the direct effect of the war on economic outcomes. Our findings indicate an increase in income per capita for the white population. Moreover, we find that controlling for changes in economic conditions does not affect our estimates. These results suggest that the

war's effect is not due to an increase in economic competition between the Black and white populations (Raper, 2017; Tolnay and Beck, 1992; Christian, 2017). Lastly, we analyze the role of the slave-owning elite. We find that the effect of battle exposure is independent of the size of the ex-slaveowning community and the presence of large planters, one of the key factors that shaped support for slavery in the antebellum period (Masera and Rosenberg, 2021).

We then turn to the analysis of channels of transmission over time. We find that battle exposure increased the presence of organizations whose goal is the preservation and diffusion of Confederate memory, such as the Daughters of the Confederacy (Cox, 2019) and white supremacist terrorist organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan (Davis, 2023). These associations actively promoted the construction of Confederate soldiers' memorials fostering a social environment conducive to the transmission of racially discriminatory social norms. These results show a strong cultural attachment to the Confederacy and indicate the importance of transmission channels.

Finally, we investigate the present-day legacy of the war. We find that today, communities more exposed to battles during the Civil War have a larger number of hate crimes against Black Americans, are more likely to host white supremacist rallies, and have more police killings of Black people. These results indicate that the war's heritage is still entrenched in local communities, shaping identity politics and racial conflict to this day.

This paper contributes to several strands of the literature. First, our analysis elucidates new aspects of the origins and geography of anti-Black attitudes and behavior in the US South. A large literature has sought to explain variation in support for segregation and violence against Black Americans. Previous works have emphasized different aspects of the theory of racial threat (Blumer, 1958; Blalock, 1967), including labor market competition (Raper, 2017; Beck and Tolnay, 1992; Tolnay et al., 1992; Christian, 2017), group size (Acharya et al., 2018), political threat (Soule, 1992; Hagen et al., 2013; Logan, 2023; Testa and Williams, 2023) and its propagation through the media (Ang, 2023; Esposito et al., 2023; Ottinger and Winkler, 2022), migration (Calderon et al., 2019; Giuliano and Tabellini, 2020; Bazzi et al., 2023a,b), and segregation (Cook et al., 2018). We contribute to this literature by providing the first analysis of the effect of the Civil War on the support for segregation and anti-Black violence.[18] Moreover, the present-day effects of the war experience on hate crimes,

[18]These results also connect us to the large literature on ethnic conflict and violence against minorities. See, for example, Blattman and Miguel (2010); Caselli and Coleman (2013); Jha (2013); Grosfeld et al. (2020).

police killings, and white supremacist political engagement also connect us to the literature seeking to understand contemporary identity politics (Noury and Roland, 2020; Gennaioli and Tabellini, 2023). Our results shed new light on the historical origins of racial norms and identity politics in the US South.

Second, our results contribute to a growing literature studying the cultural and political consequences of war (Dell and Querubin, 2018; Tur-Prats and Valencia Caicedo, 2020; Acemoglu et al., 2022; Koenig, 2023; Carozzi et al., 2023; Cagé et al., 2023; Grosjean et al., 2023; De Juan et al., 2024). In this literature, we are closest to the papers studying the US Civil War. While this literature has focused on leadership and incentives to fight (Costa and Kahn, 2003; Hall et al., 2019; Dippel and Heblich, 2021), as well as the war's economic (Engerman, 1966; Goldin and Lewis, 1975; Ransom and Sutch, 1975, 2001; Feigenbaum et al., 2022), social (Dupraz and Ferrara, 2021) and health (Costa et al., 2018) consequences, overwhelmingly in the North, we focus on an unexplored aspect of the war: its role in determining racial politics and violence.

Finally, our analysis shows that the war's effects persist within communities for many generations through the development of memorial organizations, monuments, and within-family values transmission. These results more broadly connect us to the literature analyzing the long-term legacy of historical events and the persistence of cultural traits and discrimination (Bisin and Verdier, 2001; Nunn and Wantchekon, 2011; Voigtländer and Voth, 2012; Becker and Pascali, 2019). While recent contributions have provided evidence of horizontal and vertical transmission through interpersonal socialization and migration (Miho et al., 2023; Bazzi et al., 2023a), our analysis highlights the role of symbols and grassroots organizations in shaping the dynamic of cultural transmission and contributes to a growing interdisciplinary literature on norm dynamics and collective memory (Fouka and Voth, 2023; Zubrzycki and Woźny, 2020; Gelfand et al., 2024).

2 Historical Background and Data

2.1 The Civil War and Battle Participation

The decades before the Civil War were characterized by political tensions over the future of slavery, which had been abolished in most of the Union but was still legal in 15 Southern states. In 1860, the election of the Republican presidential nominee, Abraham Lincoln, precipitated a sectional crisis, leading 11 Southern states to secede. The move was motivated by the perceived threat among the Southern planter

elite that the Lincoln administration posed to the future of slavery. The Georgia Secession Convention's concluding remarks clarify this point: "The people of Georgia [...] refuse to commit their own to the rulers whom the North offers us. Why? Because by their declared principles and policy they have outlawed $3,000,000,000 of our property." (Smith, 1861). Between December 1860 and February 1861, South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas seceded from the Union to form the Confederate States of America. On April 12th, 1861 the Battle of Fort Sumter marked the starting point of the Civil War and induced Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina to secede and join the Confederacy.[19] The war involved 3.3 million soldiers and led to an estimated 750,000 fatalities (Hacker, 2011), making it one of the most traumatic events in the country's history.

Recruitment and Military Organization. In the war's early months, the Confederacy relied on a few professional soldiers and an initial wave of volunteers. On 6 March 1861, the Provisional Congress allowed the Confederate President, Jefferson Davis, to accept 100,000 volunteers for one year. Unsuccessful attempts to make volunteers reenlist for an additional year led the Confederate Congress to pass the First Conscription Act in April 1862, enlisting all white men aged 18 to 35 for three years. The Act was amended in September of the same year, raising the maximum age to 45 years and, in 1864, to 50.[20] Recruitment was organized at the state level. The smallest unit in the Confederate army, the company, consisted of 100 men recruited from the same or neighboring towns (Shaw, 1962). Ten companies from the same state formed a regiment.

We use digitized military records to create a database on the universe of Confederate soldiers. We obtain information on 1,087,906 soldiers, including their enlistment regiment and the battles they fought. Using these documents, we are able to allocate 637,943 of these soldiers to 5,772 towns based on their residence before the war. Using our new data, we can depict the geographical origin of all regiments. Figure A.3 shows, as an example, the recruitment pool of the 11th and 12th infantry of North Carolina. This figure shows that soldiers from neighboring towns could be assigned to different regiments.

[19]The border states of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and the newly formed state of West Virginia, while slave states, did not secede. In these states, the population enlisted both in the Union and the Confederate Army. The remaining 20 States formed the Union.

[20]Large slaveowners (above 20 slaves) were exempted from service. Other exemptions existed for strategic sectors, including railroad and river workers, civil officials, telegraph operators, miners, pharmacists, teachers, ministers, textile factory workers, and hospital attendants.

Because regiments constituted the basic maneuver unit of the Civil War, soldiers' regiment assignment had important consequences for their war experience. For example, in September 1862, the 12th infantry of North Carolina was operating north of Richmond, where the Union attack led to the most deadly day of the war in the Battle of Antietam. Instead, in the same period, the 11th was sent East of Richmond to defend the Virginia coast, where the Union army eventually gave up on its offensive. To systematically investigate the geographic proximity of members of the same regiments, we measure regiments' geographic concentration using a Herfindahl–Hirschman index. This index assesses the diversity of soldiers' city origins within regiments. Figure A.4 indicates significant geographic fragmentation across the sample, with the average regiment having an HHI index of 0.07.[21]

Casualties. The war's largest and most deadly battles were fought in the Eastern Theater, as shown in Figure A.5, which depicts the 65 largest battles of the war. Together, these battles account for about 70% of the overall casualties in the Confederacy. Casualties happened almost exclusively among soldiers as most communities in the South experienced no or limited physical damage.[22] However, these communities were not spared from the traumatic war experience. A large number of soldiers never returned, and when they did, they carried with them wounds and traumas. Because of the lack of medical knowledge, wounds often led to amputations and long-term disabilities (Dean Jr, 1991). The best estimates suggest that 27 percent of white Southern males died as a direct consequence of the war (Hacker, 2011) and an even larger share was wounded.

Soldiers' Battle Participation. Decisions that determined soldiers' participation in battles were the result of consultations between generals, state governors, and the Department of War (Duncan, 1938). Given the rudimentary transportation system in the US South, the location of the towns of origin was a major determinant of soldiers' deployment. As shown in Figure A.6, towns' distance to battle predicts soldiers' participation. However, distance cannot perfectly predict battle participation. The large number of units involved in the main battles generated an extreme diversity in their geographic origin. For example, if we focus on the 65 largest battles of the war, on average, over 2,000 towns contributed soldiers. The average distance from

[21] HHI ranges from 0 to 1 where 1 implies that the regiment was recruited from a single city.

[22] Notable exceptions include Sherman's March through Georgia in 1864, which directly targeted local infrastructure, but did not target the local population (Feigenbaum et al., 2022).

enlistment towns to the battlefield is 700 km, and the average battle catchment area was 1,292,669 square km wide, about 1.85 times larger than Texas.

The other key regimental characteristic known to officers, and possibly used in deployment decisions, was volunteer status: whether a regiment was originally formed by volunteers or conscripts.[23] To understand the extent to which this information and other town characteristics were used in military decisions, in Table A.1, we study the determinants of soldiers' battle participation. We find that towns with more volunteers are exposed to more battles even after conscription. However, no other town characteristics predict soldiers' battle participation.[24]

2.2 Emancipation, Reconstruction, and the Jim Crow Laws

On January 1st, 1863, President Lincoln passed the Emancipation Proclamation that freed all enslaved people within the Confederacy. Two years later, the 13^{th} Amendment was passed by Congress, abolishing slavery in all states and territories. The surrender of Confederate General Robert E. Lee later that year on April 9, 1865, signifies the end of the Civil War and the beginning of *Reconstruction*, a period characterized by the reintegration of the former Confederate states to the Union and the design of a post-slavery society.

Plans for a radical and progressive transformation of racial relations were undermined by the assassination of President Lincoln on April 14, 1865, less than a week after the end of the war, and the inauguration of Andrew Johnson, who held a more accommodating stance towards the ex-Confederate States. Johnson proclaimed a general amnesty towards former Confederates, vetoed legislation intended to help newly freed Black Americans (Civil Rights Act) and resisted Congress' eventually successful attempts to pass the 14^{th} Amendment granting citizenship to all Black Americans (Foner, 1982).

This first phase of Reconstruction, known as Presidential Reconstruction, ended with the election of President Ulysses S. Grant in 1868. Under Grant's presidency, Congress passed decidedly more progressive policies, including the 15^{th} amendment establishing the right to vote for Black Americans, and actively enforced Black citizens' rights through the use of the military and the construction of local branches of the Freedmen's Bureau, the federal agency devoted to the relief of freedmen and

[23] Volunteer regiments usually changed their name after conscription was instituted but retained all or part of the volunteers. 10 percent of all Confederate regiments continued to be fully soldiered by volunteers.

[24] We construct the volunteering rate at the town level following the procedure described in Appendix A.1

refugees. In the years 1870-71, President Grant enacted the Enforcement Acts, criminal codes that protected African Americans' right to vote, hold office, serve on juries, and enforced equality before the law. Among these, the Ku Klux Klan Act of April 1871 made private acts of violence and offenses against individuals' political rights punishable under federal law and enforceable by federal troops. However, the rise of the Liberal Republican Party, a third party running on a conciliatory platform, undermined Republicans' commitment to this most radical form of Reconstruction. To resolve the political impasse caused by the contested 1876 presidential election, radical Republicans struck a deal with the Democratic Party, marking the demise of Reconstruction. In return, the Democratic party ceased their filibuster preventing the certification of electoral outcomes.

The agreement, known as the Compromise of 1877, led to the removal of the Union troops and the unraveling of the civil liberties granted to Black Americans during Reconstruction. By the mid-1890s, most Southern States had introduced *Jim Crow* laws enforcing racial segregation in most aspects of society. These laws were upheld by the 1896 ruling on *Plessy v. Ferguson*, in which the Supreme Court laid out its "separate but equal" legal doctrine on segregation. The Jim Crow era institutionalized economic, social, and political discrimination toward Black Americans until *Brown vs. Board of Education* in 1954 and eventually the Civil Rights Act of 1964.[25]

2.3 Support for Racial Segregation and Anti-Black Violence

To measure political support for segregation, we obtain data on presidential election returns from ICPSR (1999) for 1840 to 1964 (summary in Table A.4). Our main variable of interest is the vote share in favor of the Democratic Party, which we interpret as the white population's support for racial discrimination. When an explicitly white segregationist third-party candidate emerges (e.g. the Dixiecrats), we also examine support for these parties.

Our focus on the Democratic Party vote share and the period of our study are justified by the party's position on race relations during this time. Before the Civil War, the Democratic Party championed the defense of slavery and led the secessionist movement. Following the war, the party platform centered on racial segregation through the enforcement of the Black Codes and Jim Crow laws.[26] However, begin-

[25]For evidence of the importance of discriminatory institutions for Black Americans' long-run economic outcomes see Sacerdote (2005); Althoff and Reichardt (2022).

[26]Several papers show the association between racial attitudes and the Democratic Party in the South. Masera and Rosenberg (2021) shows that Southern Democratic congressmen were more likely to vote in support of slavery than their Whig counterparts before the War. Fryer and Levitt (2012)

ning with the 1948 Presidential election, the Democratic Party famously started to lose the support of Southern racially conservative whites over their change in position on Black Americans' civil rights (Kuziemko and Washington, 2018).[27]

We stop our analysis at the election of 1964. Before this election, Black voters were disenfranchised, either through the institution of slavery in the antebellum period, or through *de facto* discrimination during the Jim Crow era. After the ratification of the Civil Rights Act in 1964, federal protections guaranteed Black voters some level of enfranchisement.[28] Therefore, the Democratic Party vote share between 1840 and 1944 reflects white voters' racially conservative attitudes. Elections between 1948 and 1964 still provide some information on racial conservatism but should be interpreted with some caution.

We complement this information with data on Congressmen's support for segregationist bills. For the years before the Civil War (i.e. pre-1861), we incorporate information on voting in the House of Representatives on issues related to slavery (Masera and Rosenberg, 2021). The data report representatives' voting behavior in favor or against slavery for the 225 votes held on slavery between 1840 and 1860. After the Civil War (i.e., post-1865), we measure support for segregation using the Congressional Roll-Call Votes Database (Lewis et al., 2019). We code a total of 298 votes regarding racial discrimination between 1867 and 1964. The variable is equal to one if the vote favors slavery/segregation or opposes abolition/integration, and is zero otherwise. More details on the coding are reported in Appendix A.4.

Finally, we study physical violence against Black Americans. While several efforts exist to quantify the number of lynchings in the post-war period, there is no unique dataset that encompasses all years and States (see Cook, 2012 and Bailey and Tolnay, 2015). To overcome this issue, we build a new dataset on lynchings by combining various sources and filling the gaps with original data gathered from historical newspapers. The procedure is detailed in Appendix A.5. Figure A.7 shows an example of information from local newspapers. Figure A.8 shows the trend in lynchings over

shows the correlation between the Ku Klux Klan membership and the Democratic Party among whites in the South in the 1920s. Kuziemko and Washington (2018) shows the association between racially conservative attitudes and support for the Democratic Party.

[27]The beginning of this period is marked by the 1948 Democratic National Convention in which a dispute over civil rights prompted a faction of southern delegates to stage a walkout. The States' Rights Democratic Party ("Dixiecrats") was formed soon thereafter, led by Strom Thurmond.

[28]In the sample of our analysis, the only elections with some level of enfranchisement of Black voters are the 1872 and 1876 elections. Black voters in these elections were enfranchised to some degree through the enforcement of newly passed voting rights granted by the federal policies of Radical Reconstruction. These were quickly dismantled after the 1876 election and the start of the Jim Crow era.

time. Figure A.9 shows the spatial distribution of lynchings.

2.4 Civil War Heritage and Confederate Culture

The Civil War's memory and its mythization played a crucial role in the political symbology that sustained racial segregation as a national doctrine since the end of Reconstruction. In the aftermath of the war, a uniquely Confederate version of the war's meaning, rooted in resistance to Reconstruction and white supremacy, developed in the South. Confederate soldiers were portrayed as honorable men who fought for their freedom, a tradition that came to be known as the Lost Cause (Blight, 2001).

The impulse towards this interpretation started in the cemeteries that remained, during the Reconstruction years, the public site of memorialization. Obelisks and stone pyramids appeared as markers of the recent past and a celebration of its heroes. Veterans' organizations materialized around the ritual of Memorial Day which, in several Southern states, converged on June 3, Jefferson Davis's (the president of the Confederacy) birthday. By the early 1870s, a group of ex-Confederate officers in Virginia had forged a coalition of memorial groups that quickly took over the creation of the Lost Cause tradition.

One of the key myths propagated by this tradition is summed up by former Confederate general Bradley T. Johnson, a popular Confederate memorial speaker: "The great crime of the century," he concluded, "was the emancipation of the Negroes."[29] Since the early days of memorial activities, these groups were committed to writing and controlling the history of the war and its aftermath, and to using this narrative to uphold white supremacist policies in the ballot. Since the fall of Reconstruction, this narrative no longer merely explained the war's defeat but celebrated the South's victory against emancipation. Pollard, the white supremacist newspaper editor who gave the name to the Lost Cause tradition, wrote that "To the extent of securing the supremacy of the white man and the traditional liberties of the country . . . she [the South] really triumphs in the true cause of the war."[30]

Confederacy symbols remained throughout US history charged with political meanings winking to a "better" past of racial purity and white supremacy. The Confederate flag was used as a party symbol by the white supremacist Dixiecrats, founded in 1948. Consistently exhibited by the Ku Klux Klan, it is today used in white supremacist rallies. Continuous display of the Confederate Flag on the grounds of the South Car-

[29] From In Memoriam Sempiternam, a commemorative book produced by the Confederate Memorial Literary Society (Richmond: Confederate Museum, 1896), cited in Blight (2001) p. 258.

[30] Cited in Blight (2001) p. 260, originally in Pollard, The Lost Cause Regained, 1868.

olina State Capitol led the NAACP to call for a boycott of the State of South Carolina from the year 2000 until July 10, 2015, when the flag was permanently removed from the Capitol grounds.[31] Today, it is considered a white supremacist and hate symbol by associations monitoring hate groups such as the Southern Poverty Law Center and the Anti-Defamation League.[32]

3 Empirical Framework

Assessing the effect of towns' battle exposure on anti-Black political preferences and attitudes presents several challenges. For example, a regression that compares towns with different casualty rates might be biased if soldiers who are more ideologically committed to the war are more likely to take risks and are wounded or die in battle. To address these and other potential sources of selection, our strategy exploits variation in towns' battle exposure together with controls that capture the geographic patterns of conscription and war strategies. The following sections present the measure of battle exposure and the empirical specification.

3.1 Battle Exposure

We construct our measure of battle exposure in several steps. First, we define the town-level exposure to each battle as the share of soldiers from a given town i who fought in battle b ($E_{i,b}$). The term $\sum_{b=1}^{B} E_{i,b}$ is equal to the expected number of battles fought by the average soldier in town i. Next, we measure the share of Confederate soldiers who died or were wounded in each battle (C_b). We then compute each town's battle exposure (BE_i) by multiplying the town's exposure to battle b by the share of Confederate dead or wounded in the battle and sum over all battles:

$$BE_i = \sum_{b=1}^{B} C_b * E_{i,b} \tag{1}$$

This measure captures the intensity of the war experience for the average soldier in a town. To mitigate the possibility that the characteristics of a few towns might determine the battle's outcome, we focus on large battles where the behavior of soldiers from a few towns is unlikely to drive the overall number of casualties (C_b).

[31] https://naacp.org/resources/naacp-ends-its-boycott-state-south-carolina

[32] https://www.adl.org/resources/hate-symbol/confederate-flag and https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/ideology/neo-confederate.

We define large battles as battles involving more than 10,000 Confederate soldiers.[33] Furthermore, to avoid the possibility that individuals may self-select into the army, therefore mechanically increasing BE due to exposure to a larger number of battles, we limit our attention to battles that occurred after conscription was instituted (April 16, 1862).[34]

After imposing these restrictions, we obtain a measure of BE based on 65 battles listed in Table A.2 and displayed in Figure A.5. Casualties from these battles together account for about 70% of the overall number of Confederate deaths. Finally, notice that because $E_{i,b}$ is the share of soldiers from town i who fought in battle b, differences in BE_i are not driven by differences in the number of soldiers or exemption rates at the local level. Panel (a) of Figure 1 plots the raw spatial variation in BE_i. Panel (c) of Figure 1 plots the raw distribution of BE_i.

3.2 Identification Strategy

Our main specification has the following form:

$$y_{i,t} = \alpha_i + \delta_t + \beta BE_i \times PostWar_t + \theta \mathbf{X}_{i,t} + \epsilon_{i,t} \tag{2}$$

where $y_{i,t}$ are outcomes capturing preferences for segregation and other anti-Black attitudes and behaviors in town i and year t.[35] We control for town and year fixed effects, respectively (α_i and δ_t) and time-varying covariates ($\mathbf{X}_{i,t}$). The main variable of interest, $BE_i \times PostWar_t$, represents battle exposure in town i interacted with an indicator function taking value one after 1865. We normalize BE_i to have mean zero and standard deviation one, such that the coefficient β captures the change in outcome y in town i induced by a one standard deviation increase in battle exposure. Finally, $\epsilon_{i,t}$ is a random error term, capturing all omitted factors, which we allow to be heteroskedastic and correlated across time by clustering at the town level. In Appendix B, we allow for spatial autocorrelation of the error term within 50 and 200 km.

When the outcomes of interest are not observable before the Civil War, we estimate the following specification:

[33] In section 5.1, we present estimates using an alternative threshold.

[34] In section 4.3, we present estimates using only battles that occurred after June 1862 to allow for some delay in the conscription process.

[35] When the outcome is reported only at a higher level of aggregation (county or congressional district), we assign the outcome to our sample of towns using census maps. In Appendix A.2, we discuss the procedure and the advantages of measuring town-level battle exposure, even when the outcomes are at a higher level of aggregation.

$$y_{i,t} = \delta_t + \gamma BE_i + \theta \mathbf{X}_{i,t} + \epsilon_{i,t} \tag{3}$$

where $y_{i,t}$ represents post-war variables and γ captures the difference in the outcomes between towns that differ by one standard deviation in BE_i. We include year fixed effects (δ_t) and time-varying covariates ($\mathbf{X}_{i,t}$).

While our measure of BE_i is arguably independent of differences in casualty rates due to soldiers' ability to select themselves into specific battles, it is still possible that local characteristics determine military strategic considerations that correlate both with higher battle exposure and our outcomes of interest. As discussed in Section 2.1, most battles were fought in the Eastern Theater and soldiers' recruitment location influenced their participation in battles. These two facts result in battle exposure's geographic patterns depicted in Panel (a) of Figure 1. To eliminate this as a source of potential bias, we control for the share of soldiers in each town sent to the Eastern Theater and the towns' average distance to battles, both multiplied by year fixed effects. Furthermore, as discussed in Section 2.1, regiments originally formed by volunteers were deployed in more battles. Because a town's volunteer rate may be correlated with our outcomes of interest, we control for the town's share of volunteers times year fixed effects. Additionally, because regiments were organized at the state level, our analysis only exploits within-state variation by controlling for state by year fixed effects. Finally, while most of the South remained far from the battleground, a few battles were fought in Southern towns where the local population may have been involved in the defense efforts. This is problematic if battles occur in strategic locations with characteristics that correlate with outcomes. To account for this issue, we include an indicator function if the town is within 10 km from a battle or from the Sherman's March path.[36] Panel (b) of Figure 1 shows the distribution of BE_i after including these controls, clearly indicating that accounting for these patterns substantially reduces geographic clustering. Panel (d) of Figure 1 shows the distribution of battle exposure after controlling for the covariates.

Under the assumption that, after conditioning on the aforementioned controls, trends in outcomes would have been the same across towns with a different BE_i in the absence of war, the parameter β identifies the causal effect of battle exposure on the outcome y. In support of the parallel trends assumption, in Table 1 we show that after conditioning on these controls, BE_i is independent, in trends and levels, of a large set of pre-war variables potentially correlated with changes in the outcomes of interests.

[36] General Sherman marched through Georgia in 1864 directly targeting local capital stock.

In addition to standard political, socio-economic, and geographic variables, we show that BE_i is independent of the share of the enslaved population in 1860, the share of the free Black population in 1860, voting behavior in support of the Democratic Party, and Congressional votes in support of slavery in the years before the Civil War. Table 1 shows an economically and statistically negligible relationship between key local socio-economic characteristics and our treatment, providing evidence of the identification assumption.

Additionally, in Figure 2, we report coefficients β_t from the following event-study specification:

$$y_{i,t} = \alpha_i + \delta_t + \sum_{t=1840, t\neq 1860}^{1964} \beta_t \mathbf{1}_{\text{Year = t}} \ BE_i + \theta_t \mathbf{X}_i + \epsilon_{i,t} \tag{4}$$

where $y_{i,t}$ is the vote share in favor of the Democratic party. Figure 2 provides a graphical representation of the absence of pre-trends in our main outcomes of interest. We also provide a formal sensitivity check of the pre-trends assumption following Rambachan and Roth (2023). Figure B.12 shows that the value for which the effect stops being statistically significant implies pre-trends with an implausibly large deviation from linearity.

Since all cities are treated simultaneously, our data structure implies a static panel without a staggered treatment roll-out. In this setting negative weight estimations that might lead to spurious results are unlikely to be a concern (De Chaisemartin and d'Haultfoeuille, 2020). Nevertheless, in Table B.8, we show that the results are similar when using robust estimation methods.

Finally, to validate our measure, we show that BE_i determines changes in young white male demographics after the war. First, we use war records to estimate the effect of battle exposure on the share of casualties and deaths among soldiers.[37] Table B.10 indicates that an additional standard deviation in battle exposure increases the share of casualties (deaths) by 4.7 percent (2.4 percent). Second, we further validate our measure using Census information. We estimate Equation 3 between 1850 and 1870 and report results in Table B.11. Our estimates indicate that with each standard deviation increase in BE_i, immediately after the war there is a 6.3 percentage point decline in white males of military age (between 15 and 44 years) relative to the total population. Consistent changes are also observed when studying the ratio of young white males to young white females and young white males to the overall white male population.

[37] This information is available only for a subset of soldiers.

4 Main Results

4.1 Political Support for Segregation

We study the impact of battle exposure on the politics of segregation. We first analyze popular support for segregation by looking at the results of presidential elections. We then study elected politicians' behavior by analyzing roll-call votes on race-related issues in the House of Representatives.

4.1.1 Presidential Elections

Results in Table 2 show the estimates of equation 2, where the outcome of interest is the Democratic vote share in presidential elections. Column (1) shows our baseline specification using only elections between 1840 and 1944. As described in Section 2.2, we interpret the outcome as reflecting white support for racial segregation for two main reasons. First, Black voters were effectively disenfranchised during this period, either by law or because of Jim Crow restrictions.[38] Second, the Democratic party openly sustained segregation during this time.

The results show a large, positive, and significant effect of battle exposure. A one standard deviation increase in battle exposure increased the post-war democratic vote share by 4.5 percentage points. In a town with an average battle exposure compared to a counterfactual town not exposed to the war, the Democratic party vote share is 9.4 percentage points higher. To quantify the size of the effect, we focus on the last election in the estimating sample, the 1944 presidential election, which happened almost 80 years after the end of the Civil War. In this election, 3.8 million people from towns in our sample voted. When comparing to a counterfactual scenario with no war, our estimates in column (1) imply an extra 360,000 voters for the Democratic party.

In column (2), we expand the elections in our sample to include those between 1948 and 1964. As described in Section 2.2, during this period, the Democratic party "lost the South" because of its change on segregation. As expected, the effects are smaller but still significant. In columns (3) and (4), we show that our results are robust to changes in the measurement of battle exposure. First, in column (3), we measure battle intensity restricting attention to Confederate soldiers' death rate. Because deaths are more precisely recorded this allows us to reduce measurement

[38] Elections held in 1872 and 1876 are excluded because in these elections, Black citizens could exercise their right to vote thanks to the protection of the Freedemen's Bureau and the Union troops.

error. In column (4), we only include defensive battles. This restriction is based on the assumption that the ability of generals to select who participates in defensive battles is smaller than for offensive ones. This specification, therefore, minimizes the possibility that generals' decisions could bias our results. The magnitude of the result is stable when using these alternative measures.

Finally, in column (5), we control for the share enslaved in 1860 times $PostWar_t$. As expected, given that battle exposure and the measures capturing past reliance on slave labor are uncorrelated, the estimate of the effect of battle exposure on voting is unchanged. Column (5) confirms the results found in previous research showing that places historically more dependent on slave labor had higher support for the Democratic Party after the Civil War (Acharya et al., 2018). The results show that a one-standard deviation increase in battle exposure leads to an additional 4.3 percentage points in the Democratic vote share and that a one standard deviation increase in percent enslaved corresponds to an additional 7 percentage points in the Democratic party vote share. Overall, these results highlight the importance of both the legacy of slavery and the Civil War for our understanding of the politics of race in the Jim Crow era. Places dependent on slave labor and affected by the Civil War are distinct, but for different reasons, evolved along similar trajectories in the vote share for the Democratic party.

In Figure 2, we explore the dynamic effects of battle exposure on the Democratic vote share by estimating the event study in Equation 4. The results show no pre-existing trends before the start of the war when comparing towns with different battle exposure. This provides evidence indicating that the parallel trends assumption is satisfied. The event study shows an immediate increase in the vote share for the Democratic party in towns with higher battle exposure after the war. In the 1868 elections, held just 3 years after the end of the war, one additional standard deviation in battle exposure increased the vote share for the Democratic party by 5.2 percentage points.[39] In the two subsequent elections (1872 and 1876), we still observe a significant effect of battle exposure on support for the Democratic party, but the point estimates are smaller. This is consistent with the fact that Black men were allowed to vote in those elections.

Results during the first part of the Jim Crow era (1880-1944) show a large, stable, and statistically significant effect of battle exposure on the Democratic vote share. Point estimates are close to zero starting with the 1948 elections until the end of the

[39]Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia only rejoined the Union after the election of 1868, so their citizens did not vote in this election.

Jim Crow era. This trend is explained by the Democratic Party's opening on racial equality. In response to this change, pro-segregation Southern Democrats supported the Dixiecrats in the 1948 election as shown in Figure 2. A standard deviation rise in battle exposure increases the vote share for the Dixiecrats by 5.2 percentage points. This effect is particularly large given that, in our sample, the Dixiecrats received 20 percent of the vote. These results highlight that towns that experienced higher battle exposure did not become Democratic party loyalists but rather voted for the party's position on racial issues. As soon as the position changed, voters shifted their support to the new pro-segregation party.

4.1.2 House Representatives Support for Segregation

To further establish that battle exposure affected white preferences for segregation and not only partisanship, we study roll-call votes in the House of Representatives from 1840 to 1964. We focus on laws related to racial issues such as slavery, segregation, and civil rights. Table 3 shows the results of estimating equation 2, where the outcome is a binary variable equal to 1 if the representative votes in favor of slavery/segregation or opposes abolition/integration, and is zero otherwise.

All estimates in Table 3 show a positive, robust, and significant effect of battle exposure on the probability that a representative votes in support of racially conservative legislation after the war. The point estimate in column (1) implies that an additional standard deviation increase in battle exposure raises the probability of a racially conservative vote by 2.8 percentage points. In addition, limiting the BE measure to deaths (column 2) and defensive battles (column 3) does not alter our main findings. Moreover, we find again in column (4) that dependence on slave labor affects the outcome but does not perturb our main effect and is smaller in magnitude.

4.2 Violence Against Black Americans

In this section, we study lynchings, the most violent expression of anti-Black behavior. Given the lack of comprehensive lynching data before the Civil War, we can not estimate a DiD. Instead, we estimate Equation 3. Results are displayed in Table 4. In the first 4 columns, we focus only on lynchings that can be geolocated at the town level. The outcome is a binary variable equal to 100 if, in that year and town, a Black person was lynched.[40] We observe large effects of battle exposure on lynching. A one

[40]Estimates in Table B.7, which uses the inverse hyperbolic sine of total lynchings, show that the effects of battle exposure are on the intensive margin.

standard deviation increase in battle exposure raises the probability of a lynching in a given town and year by 0.21 percentage points. This is a 21% increase with respect to the average lynching rate. The results are similar when using other measures of battle exposure. Column (4) shows that the effects of slavery are larger but that the main effect of battle exposure on lynching remains stable.

In columns (5) to (8) we also include lynchings that are identifiable at the county level. With this data, we can construct per capita lynching rates using county-level information on population. Overall, these results confirm the positive effect of battle exposure on lynching. An additional standard deviation rise in battle exposure increases lynching rates by 0.031 per 100,000 people.

4.3 Robustness Checks

In Tables B.5, B.6 and B.7, we show that all results are robust to changes in specification and definition of the treatment and outcomes. First, we show that results are similar if we do not weight by the size of the town. Second, we estimate unweighted regression focusing on towns with more than 20 soldiers to guarantee that results are not driven by a few small towns. Again, the results in this subsample are similar. Additionally, we change the definition of the sample and the outcomes. When the outcome is the vote share for the Democratic party in presidential elections, we show that results are robust to only focusing on competitive elections (i.e., where the votes were not all captured by one party). When exploring the effect on roll-call votes in Congress, we show that the results are robust to dropping abstentions or giving a value of 0.5 to the outcome if the representative abstained. In the case of lynching, we explore the intensive margin by having as an outcome the inverse hyperbolic sine of the number of lynchings in a town and county. For both geographies, we see more lynchings in places with greater battle exposure. In Table B.8, we present results using specifications that are robust to forbidden comparisons arising from two-way fixed effect models (De Chaisemartin and d'Haultfoeuille, 2020). Finally, in Table B.9 we show that inference is robust to alternative clustering strategies allowing for spatial autocorrelation of the error term within 50 and 200 km.[41]

[41] We only present results robust to spatial autocorrelation for the Democrat Vote share and lynchings because estimates in the case of segregation laws are computationally too demanding given the large number of observations.

5 Mechanisms

Our interpretation of the relationship between Civil War battle exposure and racial hate revolves around the idea that the war experience engendered the development of a Confederate culture based on the war's heritage. We argue that battle exposure led to the formation of a social identity centered on the sacrifices of war and opposition to the enemy, often identified as Black Americans, whose enslavement was so central to the war motives. Communities more heavily exposed to battles developed a stronger commitment to the interpretation of the war as a just and noble cause, to celebrate white supremacy, and to resist Reconstruction efforts. This shared Confederate identity sustained persistent segregationist racial norms and violence against Black Americans through the memorialization of the war over generations. This section provides evidence consistent with this interpretation and against several alternative hypotheses.

5.1 Group Identity and Confederate Culture

5.1.1 Symbolic Battles and Black Soldiers

We begin by investigating what aspects of the battle experience shaped communities' internalization of this cultural and political tradition. First, collective identities emerge around chosen heroic and traumatic events (Volkan, 2001; Cagé et al., 2023). In the case of the Civil War, the largest and most well-known battles, such as Gettysburg, stand out for their symbolic meaning. As a consequence, communities' participation in large and celebrated battles might have contributed more to the emergence of Confederate values. To investigate this hypothesis, we decompose our measure of battle exposure into exposure to the largest battles (*BE: Largest Battles*) and exposure to the remaining battles (*BE: Remaining Battles*).[42] In column (1) of Table 5, we find that all of the effect is driven by the largest battles. We then measure each battle's cultural footprint by looking at how many times they are mentioned in books using Google Books Ngram. With this measure of battle popularity, we decompose battle exposure into exposure to the most famous battles (*BE: Most Famous Battles*)

[42] *BE: Largest Battles* is computed using equation 1 restricting battles to those involving more than 40,000 Confederate soldiers (17 battles). *BE: Remaining Battles* is computed including the 48 remaining battles that involved more than 10,000 Confederate soldiers (but less than 40,000). The threshold for the number of Confederate soldiers has been chosen so that *BE: Largest Battles* accounts for half of the baseline measure of battle exposure.

and exposure to the remaining battles (*BE: Less Famous Battles*).[43] In column (2) of Table 5, we find that the effect is entirely driven by the most famous battles.

Second, we investigate an important aspect of the war that enhanced the sense of hostility towards Black Americans: their presence in combat. We decompose the town-level battle exposure measure into battles in which only white soldiers participated (*BE: Only White Soldiers*) and battles that saw the participation of Black soldiers on the Union side (*BE: Black Soldiers*).[44] Battles with Black soldiers account for 20% of our baseline measure of battle exposure. However, column (2) shows that these battles drive most of the result, with a point estimate three times larger than the baseline effect.

These results show that communities exposed to battles with similar casualties, but that differ in other dimensions – namely exposure to symbolic battles and combat against Black soldiers – experienced significantly different outcomes. These findings highlight the significance of cultural channels while ruling out that the war's effects are determined by changes in demographics.[45]

5.1.2 Cemeteries as First Memorial Sites

Outside the battlefield, civilians in the home communities of fallen soldiers gathered in cemeteries to celebrate their relatives' sacrifices. We argue that these first memorial sites played a crucial role in the emergence of a Confederate culture exposing individuals to the experience of collective grief, celebratory speeches, and fostering in-group identity. We collect information on Confederate cemeteries from Cooper (1904). In Table C.12, we show that, as expected, towns with more battle exposure are 45 percentage points more likely to have a Confederate cemetery within a 25km distance. Column (4) of Table 5 shows that these first memorial sites played an important role in shaping political behavior. The presence of a Confederate cemetery within a 25km distance increases the effect of battle exposure by 76%. Overall, Table 5 shows that memorial sites, shared experiences of publicly known traumatic events, and combat

[43] In Appendix A.7, we explain how we measure battles' popularity using Google Books Ngram. In Table A.2 we list the popularity of each battle using this method. *BE: Most Famous Battles* is computed using equation 1 restricting battles to the most popular 12 battles. *BE: Less Famous Battles* is computed including the remaining battles. The threshold of popularity has been chosen so that *BE: Most Famous Battles* accounts for half of the baseline measure of battle exposure. While large battles tend also to be famous there is no perfect overlap between the two measures.

[44] *BE: Black Soldiers* is computed using equation 1 restricting battles to those involving Black soldiers on the Union side. *BE: Only White Soldiers* is computed including the remaining battles that involved more than 10,000 Confederate soldiers. Battles involving Black soldiers are displayed in Table A.2

[45] See Section 5.2 for further analysis on the role of demographic changes.

exposure to the perceived enemy were key to the emergence of a Confederate culture.

5.1.3 Evidence of Group Identity: Confederate Names

Finally, we study naming patterns by focusing on distinctively Confederate names to capture individuals' attachment to the Confederate identity.[46] Using the complete-count Census records, we measure the prevalence of distinctively Confederate names among cohorts of white southern males born between 1840 and 1900. We identify distinctively Confederate names by focusing on the names of generals, the vice-president, and the president of the Confederacy. To select only names the names that most likely signal an attachment to the Confederate identity, we follow a procedure described in Appendix A.6.[47] Panel (a) Figure 3 shows that the share of white males born each year named with a distinctively Confederate name increased fivefold in 1861, the first year of the war, and remained high in the following decades. To study how these patterns relate to battle exposure, in Panel (b) we present an event study of the effect of battle exposure on the local share of white male newborns with distinctively Confederate names. Starting in 1863, the use of distinctively Confederate names increased more in towns with higher battle exposure. This pattern continued until 1870. The effect is largest in 1865 when an additional standard deviation of battle exposure increased the share of Confederate names by 0.34 percentage points, more than twice the pre-war sample average. This pattern shows an immediate emergence of a cultural attachment to Confederate heroes among communities highly exposed to battles.

5.2 Alternative Mechanisms

In the following sections, we explore the role of the slave-owning elite, as well as the effect that the demographic and economic consequences of battle exposure might have had on racial politics and violence.

5.2.1 The Role of The Slaveowning Elite

In the aftermath of the war, Black emancipation decreased planters' ability to coerce labor, raising production costs. To solve the problem of labor shortages, former slave-

[46] There is a broad consensus among social scientists that naming decisions reflect individuals' sense of collective identities (Lieberson, 2000; Varnum and Kitayama, 2011; Fouka, 2019; Bazzi et al., 2020).

[47] A similar approach is used by Bazzi et al. (2023b) who define a child's first name as belonging to a Confederate leader when containing all of its distinctive constituent parts.

owners imposed restrictions to labor mobility (Naidu, 2010) and pursued paternalistic strategies offering Black employees defense against white violence (Alston and Ferrie, 1999). Critical to these strategies was the actual threat of white violence in the form of lynching. One natural hypothesis is, therefore, that the planter elite leveraged the war trauma to promote the formation of a coercive apparatus. We investigate this hypothesis by studying the heterogeneous effect by the size of the slaveowning elite. Table D.15 shows that the effect is the same in counties with or without slaves in 1860. Moreover, Figures D.15 and D.16 show the effect of battle exposure on the Democratic vote share by quartile of the share of slaveowners in 1860 and conditional on the share of enslaved population. We find that where slaveowners are more than 50% of the white population the effect of battle exposure is not statistically different from zero (Figure D.15). These findings indicate that in counties with widespread interests in the slave economy, battle exposure had a limited additional effect. The results vary little depending on the share of planters with more than 50 slaves among slaveowners (Figure D.16), suggesting a negligible role of the planter elite in leveraging the traumatic experience of war for political purposes.

5.2.2 Racial Composition

Because battle exposure led to a reduction in the white male population, these changes affected the Southern demographic structure (as shown in Table B.11). As a consequence, changes in the racial composition might have increased concerns among white southerners about their economic and political control of the Black minority, as suggested by the theory of the racial threat (Blumer, 1958; Blalock, 1967; Acharya et al., 2018).

To investigate this possibility, in Table D.13 column (1), we study the effects of battle exposure on the Black population. We find that a one standard deviation increase in battle exposure led to a 1.4 (1.8) percentage point rise in the short (long) run Black population share. While it is plausible that a relative increase in the Black population affected pro-segregationist sentiments, we show that this seems to play a marginal role in explaining the main effect. First, we find that when controlling for the Black population share, the effect of battle exposure on the Democratic vote share is not statistically different from the unconditional effect (see column (1) in Table D.14). This is consistent with results in Table 2, where column (5) shows that the relationship between battle exposure and changes in the Democratic vote share does not change when the share of slaves in 1860 is included in the regression.

To further ascertain the role of the Black population in explaining our results,

we estimate the heterogeneous effect of battle exposure by quartiles of the Black population share in 1860. Column (1) in Table D.15 shows that the effect does not change when we focus on the counties in the bottom quartile of the slave distribution in 1860. These results indicate that the effect of battle exposure on Democratic vote share operates through channels other than racial composition and discredits the hypothesis that the observed results are due to the political threat represented by the size of the newly enfranchised Black population (Soule, 1992; Hagen et al., 2013; Logan, 2023; Testa and Williams, 2023).

Another potential effect of battle exposure on towns' demographic composition is migration.[48] We explore this effect for white and Black males and find that, for white males, there is no effect in the short run and an increase in in-migration in the long run (column (2) of D.13). For Black males, we find that, if anything, in-migration is lower in the short-run (column (3) of D.13). Moreover, as shown in columns (2) and (3) of Table D.14, the main results are statistically indistinguishable after controlling for migration patterns.

5.2.3 Economic Outcomes

An alternative hypothesis is that the war might have affected racial politics through its effect on the labor market, where an increase in labor market competition between Black and white laborers might have precipitated an increase in racial resentment (Raper, 2017; Beck and Tolnay, 1992; Tolnay et al., 1992; Tolnay and Beck, 1995).

Results in columns (4) to (7) of Table D.13 indicate that towns with greater battle exposure experienced an increase in manufacturing, an increase in the long-run white occupational score, a slight increase in the relative occupational score between Black and white men, and a reduction in long-run farm values. Each of these results is in line with the expected effects of a large casualty shock to the white male population, which would make white labor relatively scarce. Overall, however, this suggests an increase in living standards for the white population and casts doubts over an interpretation that the main effect is driven by economic competition. Indeed, statistical tests reported in Table D.14 show that controlling for these outcomes does not alter the main effect of battle exposure.

[48] We estimate the immigration of white men using linked Census samples from 1850 to 1940. We classify a person as an immigrant if their county in the previous census decade is different from the current census decade. Linked census samples are not accurate for Black males, especially in 1850 and 1860, which would only capture free Black men. Therefore, we measure Black male immigration using full-count census data from 1870 to 1940. We classify a person as an immigrant if they were born in a different state than the state in which they were enumerated in the current census decade.

5.2.4 Military Outcomes

Finally, we consider two military-political war outcomes that could have affected racial resentment. First, we examine the location of refugee camps for the formerly enslaved, which comprised communities of people escaping slavery within Union lines (Cooper, 2017; Ramos-Toro, 2021). Second, we explore federal military camps established by the Union Army during the Reconstruction period, whose purpose was to enforce federal Reconstruction policies. In both cases, the main effect does not change with these controls (columns (8) and (9) of Table D.14).

5.3 Transmission of Confederate Culture

5.3.1 Memorial Organizations and Monuments

Essential to the perpetration of Confederate political and social norms were the memorial organizations founded by Confederate veterans' sons and daughters. The most prominent of these associations was the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), a hereditary association for female descendants of Confederate soldiers, founded in 1894. This association advocated for the integration of the Lost Cause into the official historical narrative by promoting the adoption of pro-Southern history textbooks, lobbying legislatures and Congress for the reburial of Confederate dead, raising money for college scholarships awarded to descendants of Confederate veterans, and organizing and financing Confederate monuments (Cox, 2019).

We geocode the location of UDC chapters from 1897 to 1925 by digitizing the organization's "Minutes of the Annual Meeting". For each town in our sample, we identify whether there is a UDC chapter and measure the average number of members. Figure A.10 shows the geographic distribution of UDC chapters.

In Column (1) of Table 6, we show that towns with one standard deviation greater battle exposure had 30% more members of the UDC in their local chapters. Differences in the size of the UDC's local branches should reflect different abilities to lobby local governments and mobilize the population to build Confederate memorials (Chamberlain and Yanus, 2021).

Between 1865 and 2020, over 1,500 Confederate monuments and memorials were erected in the US South, with a peak in 1910 (see Figure A.10). These include dedications of roads, schools, courthouses, buildings, holidays, and most commonly, public statues (Henderson et al., 2021). The event of monument unveiling took on a significance equal to, if not greater than, Memorial Day (Blight, 2001). The first of these monuments was a standing statue of Stonewall Jackson, unveiled in Richmond,

Virginia, on October 26, 1875, in front of nearly fifty thousand people gathered for the celebration. The realization of these monuments required large investments and political leverage, capturing the complex strategies that characterized the organizational effort of memorial organizations. A telling example is the story of the Robert E. Lee Monument on Monument Avenue in Richmond, Virginia. After Lee's death in 1870, memorial organizations in the Richmond area began fundraising and organizing efforts. A Lee Monument Association was founded to raise money for the monument. It took twenty years of activities to eventually cover the $77,500 cost of the massive monument that was finally erected in 1890 (Owley and Phelps, 2020). The monument stood for more than a century until it was removed on September 8, 2021. The symbolic meaning of the celebration of Confederate heroes became a powerful mechanism of transmission of the Lost Cause narrative.

We collect information on Confederate memorials from a list compiled by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC)'s "Whose Heritage?" database. For each town in our sample, we identify whether there is a Confederate monument. Column (2) in Table 6 shows that one additional standard deviation in battle exposure increases the probability of having a Confederate monument by 12.4 percentage points.

5.3.2 White Supremacist Organization: Ku Klux Klan

The KKK was founded immediately after the Civil War by six Confederate Veterans and, in the next few years, opened chapters across the former Confederacy. They operated as a network of local terrorist groups, targeting newly freedmen and suspected Republicans (regardless of race) supporting the radical Reconstruction efforts (Foner, 1982). In 1870, after the federal grand jury categorized the KKK as a terrorist organization, hundreds of Klan members were prosecuted, leading to the organization's disintegration. However, in 1915, the KKK was reborn with chapters opening across the nation. While the objective of white supremacy remained the same, their methods became more sophisticated. The second Klan not only used violence to control the Black population but also infiltrated the government and bureaucracy. At its peak in 1924, the KKK had 4-6 million members, including lawmakers, judges, and police officers (Bullard, 1998). The presence and actions of these terrorist organizations polarized local communities and perpetuated racial conflict. Moreover, the visible presence of the KKK represented a powerful display of symbology in itself, recalling Confederate elements and other symbols of white supremacy. The effects of their actions persisted even after their demise through their influence on the local administration, including school boards, judges, politicians, and public employees (Bullard,

1998).

We obtain information on the location of the second KKK chapters from 1915–40 from the Virginia Commonwealth Library's Klan Map Project (see Figure A.9). Column (3) in Table 6 reports the effect of battle exposure on the probability of observing a KKK chapter in a given town between 1915 and 1940. We take the presence of a chapter as an indication that the KKK captured the local institutions and enforced racial segregation facilitating the transmission of racist social norms. We find that a standard deviation increase in battle exposure raises the likelihood that a town has a KKK chapter by 6.4 percentage points. The magnitude of the effect is 82% of the average probability of having a KKK chapter per town.

5.3.3 Prevalence of Confederate Names

Finally, we investigate the prevalence of Confederate names among individuals living in towns more or less exposed to the Civil War. In our previous analysis (5.1.3), we documented the emergence of Confederate names among white males born during the war. Here, we study their prevalence over time. Even though battle exposure increased the number of newborns with Confederate names only for a few years after the Civil War, the prevalence of these names within communities might have persisted over time, possibly affecting the horizontal transmission of Confederate values.

Using the complete-count Census records, we measure the share of white Southern males with distinctively Confederate names in each census year between 1840 and 1900. In Column (4) of Table 6, we show that battle exposure had a substantial and statistically significant effect on the share of white males with Confederate names. In an event study framework (Figure C.14) we show that the effects are observable in the first census after the war (1870) and are present for many decades, fading away only in 1910.

Overall, Table 6 shows that battle exposure had a strong and lasting effect on the transmission across generations of a culture that celebrates and memorializes Confederate soldiers as war heroes fighting for a just cause. The war memorialization effectively sustained a culture of discrimination against Black Americans and promoted physical and political violence through lynchings and segregation.

6 Long-term Effects: The Legacy of the Civil War

In the last section of the paper, we ask whether the war's heritage still affects racial conflict today. To measure contemporary white supremacy and violence against Black

Americans, we use the prevalence of police killings of Black people, white supremacist rallies, and anti-Black hate crimes.

6.1 Police Killings of Black People

First, we look at the relationship between public institutions and the Black population. We focus on the police, an institution at the center of the debate on institutional racism. Because public institutions carry inertia, we may still observe a racial bias within these institutions today. To explore this hypothesis, we study police killings of Black people, an issue that has come under great scrutiny in the last decade and, in certain instances, directly results from institutional racial bias (Masera, 2021; Hoekstra and Sloan, 2022).

We incorporate data on police killings that are recorded by the Mapping Police Violence Database (MPVD- 2000-2018). We use information on the victims' race and event location to measure the number of police killings of a Black person. We match data on police killings from 2000 to 2018 to our sample of towns by constructing a variable equal to 1 if, in a given year, a police killing of a Black person occurred within 25 km. In total, there are 1,510 killings of a Black person in our sample.

In column (1) of Table 7, we estimate a large and precise relationship between battle exposure and the probability that a police killing occurred within 25 km. An additional standard deviation in battle exposure increases the probability that a town has a police killing by 6.7 percentage points. In column (2), we show the results are robust to controlling for the share of enslaved people in 1860. This control both captures the well-known legacy of slavery and predicts the contemporary share of Black inhabitants. By controlling for this measure, we mitigate the worries that the police killings of Black people only reflect the proportion of the Black population. An important caveat to interpreting these results as evidence of institutional discrimination is that police killings of Black people may also be driven by differences in crime rates and police resources, which we do not control for.

6.2 White Supremacist Rallies

Second, we study the long-run persistence of white supremacist organizations by looking at white supremacist rallies that were held between 2020-2023. White supremacist rallies are from the armed conflict location and event dataset (ACLED) (Raleigh et al., 2010). Since 2020 ACLED has collected information on political protests and violent events in the United States. We combine this information with a list of U.S.-

based white supremacist groups provided yearly by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), a non-profit organization monitoring extreme-right activists in the United States. We code a white supremacist rally as any event involving a white supremacist group identified by the SPLC and measure the likelihood that a white supremacist rally occurred between 2020 and 2023 within a 25 km radius of each town in our sample. In total, there have been 121 white supremacist rallies in this period.

As we showed in Table 6, towns with larger battle exposure had substantially more KKK chapters during the second wave of the KKK between 1915 and 1940. After that, the KKK and other white supremacist organizations lost their widespread support, but in more recent years, they have reemerged. We this reemergence in columns (3) and (4) of Table 7. The results show that an additional standard deviation in battle exposure increases the probability that a town had a white supremacist rally within 25 km by 6.7 percentage points.

6.3 Hate Crime

Finally, we study extreme actions by private citizens by looking at hate crimes towards Black people. Information on hate crimes has been gathered by the F.B.I. through the Uniform Crime Reporting Program Data Series since 1990. Hate crimes are defined as crimes that manifest evidence of prejudice based on race, religion, sexual orientation, or ethnicity. We focus on crimes motivated by racial considerations and measure the number of Black hate crimes per 100,000 residents in each county from 1992 to 2018.[49] We find large and significant effects of battle exposure on hate crimes. An additional standard deviation increase in battle exposure raises the hate crime rate against Black people by 0.062 per 100,000 people.

While these results should be interpreted with caution given the distance in time separating the Civil War from contemporary events, Table 7 presents suggestive evidence that the war's heritage still affects racial conflict today.

7 Conclusion

Our study sheds new light on the geography of racial hate in the US South by exploring the role of the Civil War. We show that communities that experienced greater battle exposure developed a stronger attachment to a Confederate identity centered on the

[49]The smallest identifiable geographic unit in this data is the county.

war's heritage, causing an increase in the support for segregationist racial norms and violence against Black Americans.

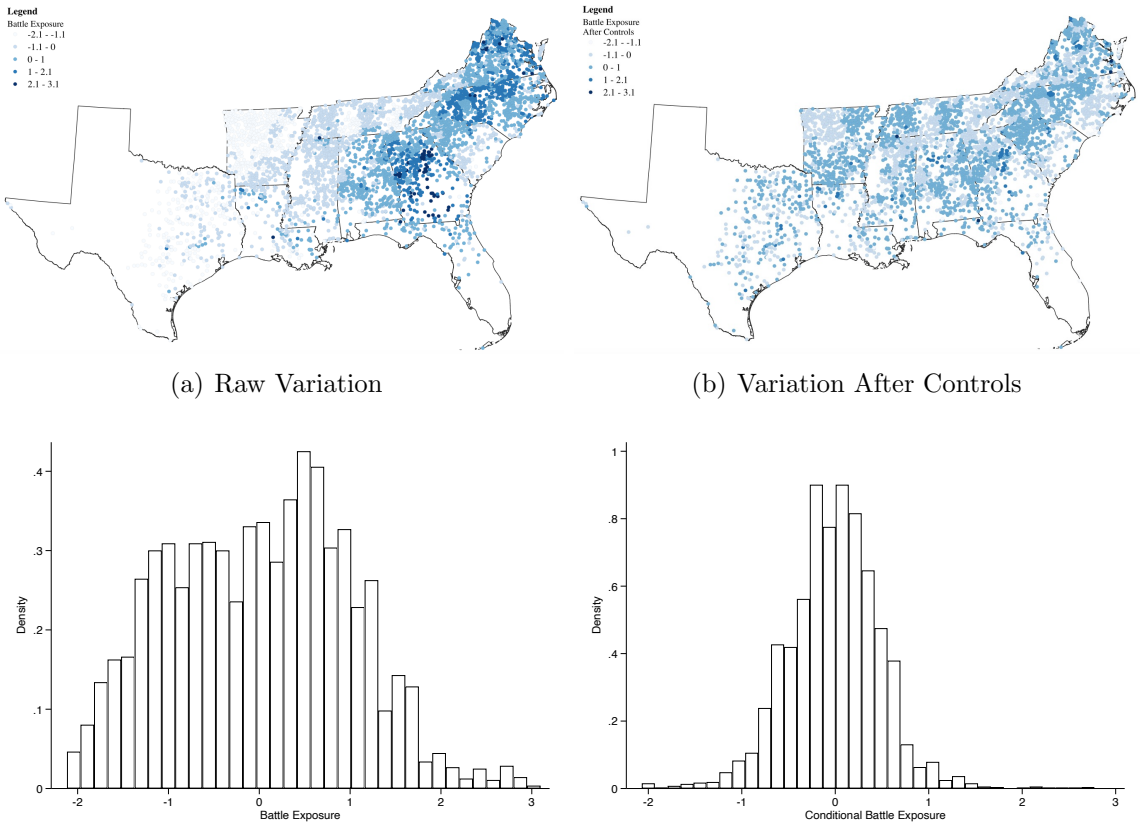
We find that exposure to battles with similar casualties but that differ in other dimensions —namely exposure to symbolic battles and combat against Black soldiers— drives the main effects. These results, in combination with the increase in the prevalence of distinctively Confederate names in communities with higher battle exposure, indicate the significance of cultural channels in explaining the findings. Moreover, our results highlight the importance of civilians' experiences in the home communities of fallen soldiers. We argue that cemeteries, where citizens gathered to celebrate their relatives' sacrifice, became the first sites of memorialization. These played a crucial role in the emergence of a Confederate culture exposing individuals to the experience of collective grief, celebratory speeches, and fostering in-group identity.

Our findings rule out interpretations of the war's effects determined by demographic and economic changes. Importantly, we find that the Civil War exacerbated racial conflict, spreading it outside regions traditionally associated with slavery. The effect of the Civil War does not depend on the size of the local Black population, nor is it complementary to the presence of large ex-slaveowners in the post-war period.

The effects of the war on racial hate persisted for generations. Our results indicate that persistence is due to the creation of memorial organizations and symbols that acted as drivers of socialization. The presence of Confederate statues, KKK and UDC chapters, and the naming of children after Confederate heroes indicate the importance of both within-family and community-wide transmission. Today, the war's heritage and its symbology remain entrenched in local communities, continuing to shape identity politics and racial conflict.

8 Tables and Figures

Figure 1: Battle Exposure



(a) Raw Variation

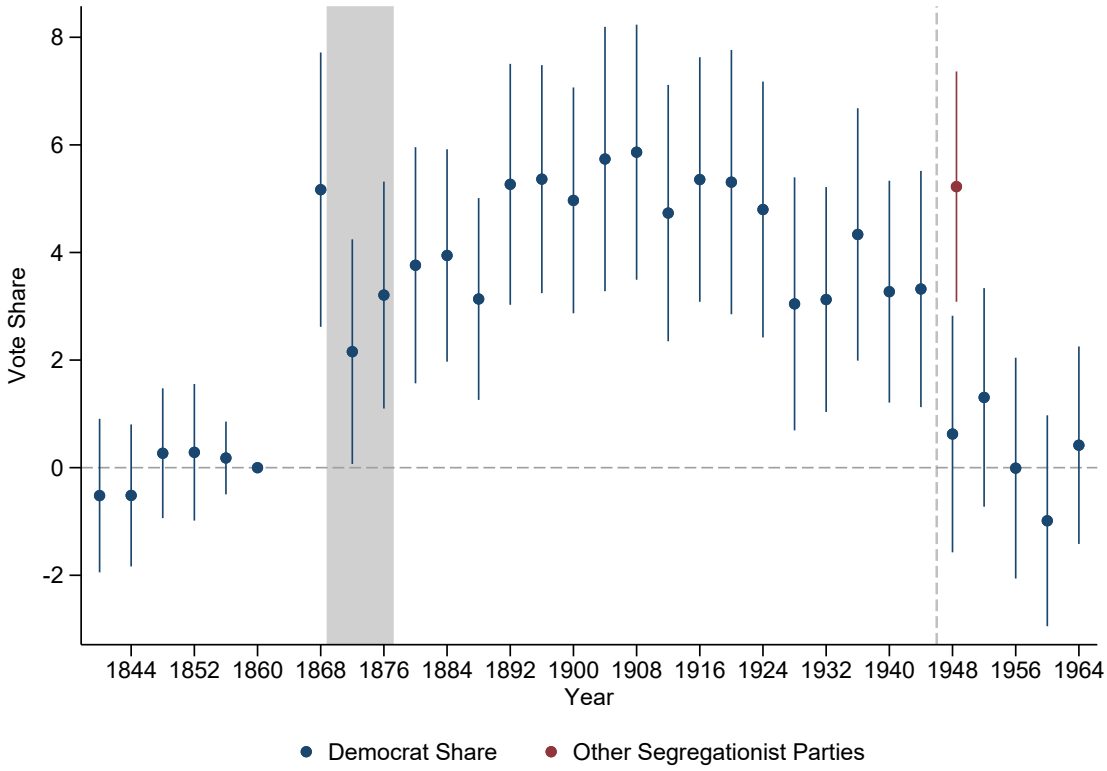
(b) Variation After Controls

(c) Raw Variation

(d) Variation After Controls

Figure in panel (a) displays the raw variation in each town's battle exposure. Figure (b) displays the variation in battle exposure after controlling for the share of volunteers, state fixed effects, the share of soldiers who fought in the eastern theater, the average distance to a battle, whether the town is within 10km of a large battle, and whether the town is within 10km of the Sherman March. Darker colors indicate higher battle exposure. Panel (c) and (d) show the histogram of the unconditional and conditional variations, respectively.

Figure 2: Effect on Presidential Elections, Relative to 1860



The figure displays coefficients from an event study where 1860 is the excluded year. Coefficients correspond to the effect of a one standard deviation increase in battle exposure on the Democratic vote share in Presidential elections. In red is displayed the effect on the vote share for the Dixiecrats in 1948. The gray bars indicate elections in which many Black voters were enfranchised – the elections of 1872 and 1876. Elections to the right of the vertical gray line occurred after the political realignment of the Democratic Party along racial lines.

Table 1: Baseline Characteristics by Battle Exposure

Variable	Mean (1860)	Battle Exposure	
		Pre-Level	Pre-Trend
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Percent Enslaved	35.58	0.25	0.22
		(2.73)	(0.32)
Slave Crops Suitability	0.77	0.05	.
		(0.04)	
Share Free Black	1.52	-0.20	0.07
		(0.23)	(0.05)
Democrat Vote Share	57.55	-2.49	-0.10
		(1.80)	(0.37)
Pro-Slavery Vote	71.17	-0.41	0.73
		(2.51)	(1.44)
Distance to Railroads	0.55	0.03	.
		(0.05)	
Latitude	34.50	0.04	.
		(0.12)	
Longitude	-84.58	-0.33	.
		(0.25)	
White Sex-Ratio	95.06	0.22	0.35
		(0.44)	(0.30)
Ln of Population	9.57	0.09	0.02⋆
		(0.06)	(0.01)
Literacy Rate White	23.87	1.40	-0.55
		(1.03)	(0.38)
Share Born Abroad	2.76	0.65	0.01
		(0.44)	(0.11)
Occupational Score White	8.29	0.05	-0.40⋆⋆⋆
		(0.44)	(0.11)
Ln White Skilled Laborers	7.24	0.18⋆	-0.00
		(0.10)	(0.04)
Ln Black Skilled Laborers	3.00	-0.03	-0.02
		(0.15)	(0.07)
Value of Real Estate	512.37	-24.31	-25.84⋆
		(39.56)	(14.66)

* p< 0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p < 0.01. The unit of observation is a town. The sample restricted to states in the former Confederacy before the war. Each number in columns (2) and (3) represents the coefficient from a regression of the variable on battle exposure (normalized to mean zero, standard deviation one). All estimates are weighted by the number of enlisted solidiers from a given town and include state fixed effects, whether the town is within 10km of a battle, whether the town is within 10km of the Sherman March, the share of soldiers who fought in the eastern theater, the average distance to a battle and the share of volunteers. In column (3) these controls are interacted with a year fixed effect. Column (3) also includes a town fixed effect. Column (2) standard errors are corrected for spatial autocorrelation with a 100km bandwidth. Column (3) clusters standard errors by town.

Table 2: Effect on Presidential Elections

	Democratic Party Vote Share				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Post Civil War × BE	4.546***	3.615***	4.202***	4.148***	4.262***
	(1.258)	(1.230)	(1.215)	(1.453)	(1.166)
Post Civil War × % Enslaved (1860)					7.036***
					(0.692)
Observations	91276	111454	91276	91276	91276
Sample	Baseline	1840-1964	Baseline	Baseline	Baseline
BE Measure	Baseline	Baseline	Death	Defensive	Baseline
Outcome Average	66.11	63.94	66.11	66.11	66.11
Y($\overline{BE}$) - Y(0)	9.353	7.437	8.998	8.139	8.362

* p< 0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p < 0.01. OLS estimates. The unit of observation is a town-presidential election year. The baseline sample starts with the 1840 and ends with the 1944 election. Radical Reconstruction years (1872 and 1876) are excluded. Post Civil War is a dummy equal to one for years after 1865. *BE* and *% Enslaved (1860)* are normalized to mean zero, standard deviation one. The outcome is the vote share for the Democratic presidential candidate. The sample is restricted to states in the former Confederacy. All regressions control for town and year fixed effects. We also control for state fixed effects, and whether the town is within 10km of a battle, within 10km of the Sherman March, the share of soldiers who fought in the eastern theater, the average distance to a battle, and the share of volunteers, each interacted with year fixed effects. All regressions are weighted by the number of enlisted soldiers from each town. Standard errors clustered at the town level are reported in parentheses.

Table 3: Effect on Support for Segregation in the House of Representatives

	Vote in Favor of Segregation			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Post Civil War × BE	0.028***	0.031***	0.029***	0.029***
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Post Civil War × % Enslaved (1860)				0.012***
				(0.004)
Observations	969370	969370	969370	969370
BE Measure	Baseline	Death	Defensive	Baseline
Outcome Average	0.600	0.600	0.600	0.600
Y($\overline{BE}$) - Y(0)	0.060	0.068	0.059	0.060

* p< 0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p < 0.01. OLS estimates. The unit of observation is a town-roll call vote for years 1840 to 1964. Radical Reconstruction is excluded (1869-1876). Post Civil War is a dummy equal to one for years after 1865. *BE* and *% Enslaved (1860)* are normalized to mean zero, standard deviation one. The outcome is a binary variable equal to one if the representative voted in support of slavery / racial segregation. The sample is restricted to states in the former Confederacy. All regressions control for town and year fixed effects. We also control for state fixed effects, and whether the town is within 10km of a battle, within 10km of the Sherman March, the share of soldiers who fought in the eastern theater, the average distance to a battle, and the share of volunteers, each interacted with year fixed effects. All regressions are weighted by the number of enlisted soldiers from each town. Standard errors clustered at the town level are reported in parentheses.

Table 4: Effect of Battle Exposure on Lynchings (1865-1964)

	Town Level Outcome				County Level Outcome			
	100*1(Lynching)				Per capita Lynching			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
BE	0.211**	0.194**	0.192*	0.206*	0.031**	0.033***	0.023*	0.030**
	(0.102)	(0.098)	(0.100)	(0.108)	(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.013)
% Enslaved (1860)				0.372***				0.076***
				(0.074)				(0.011)
Observations	401039	401039	401039	401039	401039	401039	401039	401039
BE Measure	Baseline	Death	Defensive	Baseline	Baseline	Death	Defensive	Baseline
Outcome Average	0.983	0.983	0.983	0.983	0.236	0.236	0.236	0.236
Y($\overline{BE}$) - Y(0)	0.433	0.414	0.377	0.424	0.064	0.070	0.045	0.062

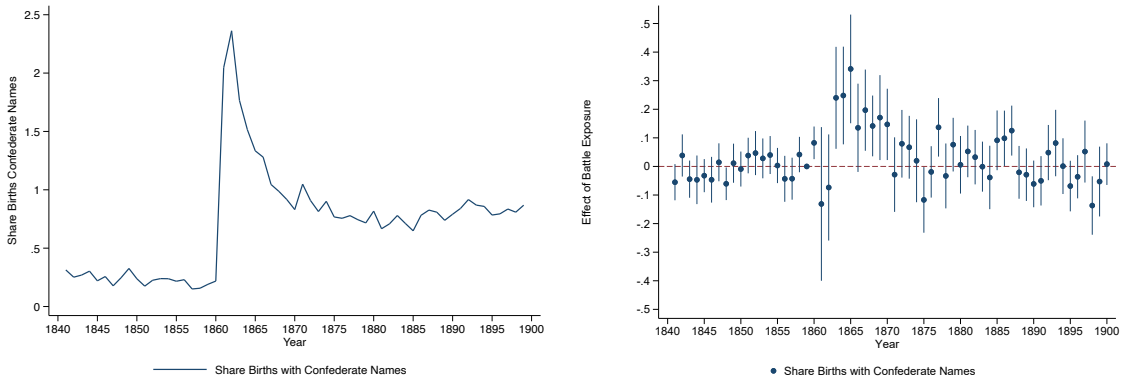
* p< 0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p < 0.01. OLS estimates. The unit of observation is a town each year from 1865 to 1964. The sample is restricted to states in the former Confederacy. In columns (1)-(4) the outcome is measured at the town level using a combination of self-collected data and information from the Monroe Work Today (MWT) collection, which takes value 100 when a lynching occurred in that town-year and zero otherwise. In columns (5)-(8) the outcome is the number of lynchings per 100,000 people, measured at the county level using a combination of self-collected data and the Bailey-Tolnay-Beck (BTB) inventory. All regressions control for town and year fixed effects. We also control for state fixed effects, and whether the town is within 10km of a battle, within 10km of the Sherman March, the share of soldiers who fought in the eastern theater, the average distance to a battle, and the share of volunteers, each interacted with year fixed effects. All regressions are weighted by the number of soldiers enlisted from each town. Standard errors clustered at the town level are reported in parentheses. *BE* and *% Enslaved (1860)* are normalized to mean zero, standard deviation one.

Table 5: Type of Battle and Early Memorialization

	Battle Experience			Memorialization
	Democrat Share	Democrat Share	Democrat Share	Democrat Share
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
BE: Largest Battles	10.064***			
	(2.634)			
BE: Other Battles	0.127			
	(2.031)			
BE: Most Famous Battles		10.446***		
		(2.653)		
BE: Less Famous Battles		3.443		
		(2.361)		
BE: Black Soldiers			17.920***	
			(5.274)	
BE: Only White Soldiers			2.145	
			(1.590)	
Post Civil War × BE				3.860***
				(1.355)
Post Civil War × BE × Cemetery				2.963***
				(1.101)
Observations	91280	91280	91280	91280
Outcome Average	66.110	66.110	66.110	66.110

* p< 0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p < 0.01. OLS estimates. The unit of observation is a town - presidential election year. The sample starts with the 1840 and ends with the 1944 election. Radical Reconstruction years (1872 and 1876) are excluded. The outcome is the share of votes for the democratic party. *BE: Largest Battles* and *BE: Other Battles* represent, respectively, battle exposure for the largest 17 battles and for the remaining 48 battles. *BE: Most Famous Battles* and *BE: Less Famous Battles* represent, respectively, battle exposure for the most famous 12 battles and for the remaining 53 battles. *BE: Black Soldiers* and *BE: Only White Soldiers* represent, respectively, BE computed from battles in which Black soldiers fought in the Union Army and battles in which only white soldiers fought. *Cemetery* is a dummy equal to one if the town had a Confederate cemetery within 25 km. The sample is restricted to states in the former Confederacy. All regressions control for town and year fixed effects. We also control for state fixed effects, and whether the town is within 10km of a battle, within 10km of the Sherman March, the share of soldiers who fought in the eastern theater, the average distance to a battle, and the share of volunteers, each interacted with year fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the town level. All regressions are weighted by the number of enlisted soldiers from each town.

Figure 3: Battle Exposure and the Emergence of Confederate Names



(a) Share of Confederate Names

(b) Effect on Confederate Names

Panel (a) displays the share of white males with distinctively Confederate names born each year. Figure (b) displays the effect of battle exposure on the share of white males with distinctively Confederate names born each year.

Table 6: Mechanisms of Persistence

	Members UDC	1(Monument)	1(KKK Chapter)	Confederate Names
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
BE	0.299*	0.124***	0.064**	
	(0.160)	(0.030)	(0.026)	
Post Civil War × BE				0.031***
				(0.012)
Observations	4051	4051	4051	19843
Outcome Geography	Town	Town	Town	County
Outcome Average	44.740	0.390	0.080	0.460
Y($\overline{BE}$) - Y(0)	0.614	0.255	0.131	0.064

* p< 0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p < 0.01. OLS estimates. In columns (1)-(3), the unit of observation is a town and the outcomes are measured at the town level. In column (1) the outcome is the inverse hyperbolic sine of the average yearly number of members of the United Daughters of the Confederacy from 1897 to 1925 in each town. In column (2) the outcome is a binary variable equal to one if a town has a Confederate monument. In column (3) the outcome is a binary variable equal to one if the town ever had a KKK chapter. In column (4) the unit of observation is a town in each year from 1850 to 1900 and the outcome is measured at the county level. *BE* is normalized to mean zero, standard deviation one. The sample is restricted to states in the former Confederacy. All regressions control for whether the town is within 10km of a battle, within 10km of the Sherman March, the share of soldiers who fought in the eastern theater, the share of volunteers, the average distance to a battle and state fixed effects. In Column (4) we interact these controls with year fixed effects and include town fixed effects. In columns (1)-(3) standard errors corrected for spatial autocorrelation with a 100km bandwidth are reported in parentheses. In column (4) standard errors clustered at the town level are reported in parentheses. All regressions are weighted by the number of enlisted soldiers from each town.

Table 7: Long-Run Effect of Battle Exposure on Anti-Black Violence Today

	1(Police Killing)		1(White Supremacy Rally)		Per Capita Hate Crimes	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
BE	0.067***	0.067***	0.067*	0.067*	0.062**	0.061**
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.038)	(0.037)	(0.028)	(0.028)
% Enslaved (1860)		-0.026**		-0.037*		0.035**
		(0.012)		(0.019)		(0.014)
Observations	76969	76969	4051	4051	109377	109377
Years	2000-2018	2000-2018	2020-2023	2020-2023	1992-2018	1992-2018
Outcome Geography	Town	Town	Town	Town	County	County
Outcome Average	0.160	0.160	0.170	0.170	0.260	0.260
Y($\overline{BE}$) - Y(0)	0.137	0.138	0.137	0.138	0.127	0.126

* p< 0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p < 0.01. OLS estimates. In columns (1) and (2), the unit of observation is a town in each year from 2000 to 2018. The outcome is a binary variable equal to one if a Black person was killed by police within a 25 km buffer of the town that year. In columns (3) and (4) the unit of observation is a cross-section of towns. The outcome is a binary variable equal to one if a white supremacist rally occurred within a 25 km buffer of the town during the period 2020 to June 2023. In columns (5) and 6), the unit of observation is a town in each year from 1992 to 2018. The outcome is the number of hate crimes against Black people per 100,000 people, measured at the county level. *BE* and *% Enslaved (1860)* normalized to mean zero, standard deviation one. The sample is restricted to states in the former Confederacy. All regressions control for whether the town is within 10km of a battle, within 10km of the Sherman March, the share of soldiers who fought in the eastern theater, the average distance to a battle, state fixed effects and the share of volunteers. Columns (1),(2),(5) and (6) we interact these controls with year fixed effects and standard errors are clustered at the town level. In columns (3) and (4) standard errors corrected for spatial autocorrelation with a 100km bandwidth are reported in parentheses. All regressions are weighted by the number of enlisted soldiers from each town.

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Contents

A Data

A.1 Confederate Army Data

We use Confederate muster rolls, enlistment records, payrolls, hospital registers, and census records to build our dataset of the Confederate army. These documents have been collated and digitized by Fold3, which specializes in providing access to military records. With these documents, Fold3 identifies 1,087,906 Confederate soldiers. Using the information in these documents we allocate each soldier to their likely place of residence before the war and construct their battle history by following these steps:

1. For 215,848 soldiers we found a document that contains residence information. After cleaning the location names for spelling mistakes and digitization arti-

facts, we geolocate these locations by merging them with the list of historical geolocated towns created by Berkes et al. (2023). For the names of towns that do not merge with this list, we geolocate them using Google Maps API and manual search of the town. The Berkes et al. (2023) list of towns amended with our newly identified towns forms our full list of towns in the Confederacy and border States. In total, we have 5,772 towns as depicted in Figure A.1.[50]

2. Using the full names of soldiers and all white males aged between 13 and 43 in the 1860 Census, we locate 132,517 soldiers. We first remove all punctuation and suffixes (Jr., Sr., II, ...) from their names. Because regiments are state-based, we know the state of origin of all soldiers. Within each state, we find the closest name in the census for each soldier. To measure distance we use the Levenshtein method to measure the minimum number of single-character edits required to change one name into another. This is then normalized with the following formula $\frac{\text{Maximum length of the two names} - \text{Levenshtein distance}}{\text{Maximum length of the two names}} \times 100$. We then drop any match that scores less than 95. Out of the remaining matches, we keep those that respect one of the following conditions: a) The match is unique. This means that there is only one soldier matched to a census name and this census name is not matched to any other soldier. b) There is only one perfect match (distance = 0). This means that the soldier's name exactly matches only one census name and this census name exactly matches only one soldier.

3. For 1,004,447 soldiers we found a document that contains the place of enlistment. When multiple enlistment documents are available (as in the case of soldiers who change regiments), we only use the information from their first enlistment. After cleaning the location names for spelling mistakes and digitization artifacts, we geolocate these locations by merging them with the list of historical towns created by Berkes et al. (2023). For the names of places that do not merge with this list, we geolocate them using Google Maps API and manual search of the places. We can geolocate the enlistment place of 513,447 soldiers. We assign these soldiers to all towns less than 50 km from the enlistment place in proportion to the size of the white male population born between 1817 and 1847 in each town (between 18 and 48 years old by the end of the war). To corroborate the choice of 50 km distance between the location of enlistment and

[50]Out of these 215,848 soldiers we can geolocate the town of residence of 178,338 soldiers. For the remaining soldiers, we can only identify their county of residence. We assign these soldiers to all towns in that county in proportion to the size of the white male population born between 1817 and 1847 in each town (between 18 and 48 years old by the end of the war).

residence, we study 120,657 soldiers for whom we have both information. We observe that 56% of the soldiers live at less than 20 km from the place of enlistment, 67% at less than 50 km, and 77% at less than 100 km. Given that there are likely some geolocation errors either in the places of residence or enlistment and that for some soldiers we may be misidentifying documents as relating to the first time they enlisted when instead they are documents produced when the soldier changed regiment we believe that using 50 km from the enlistment place as to infer their residence is appropriate.

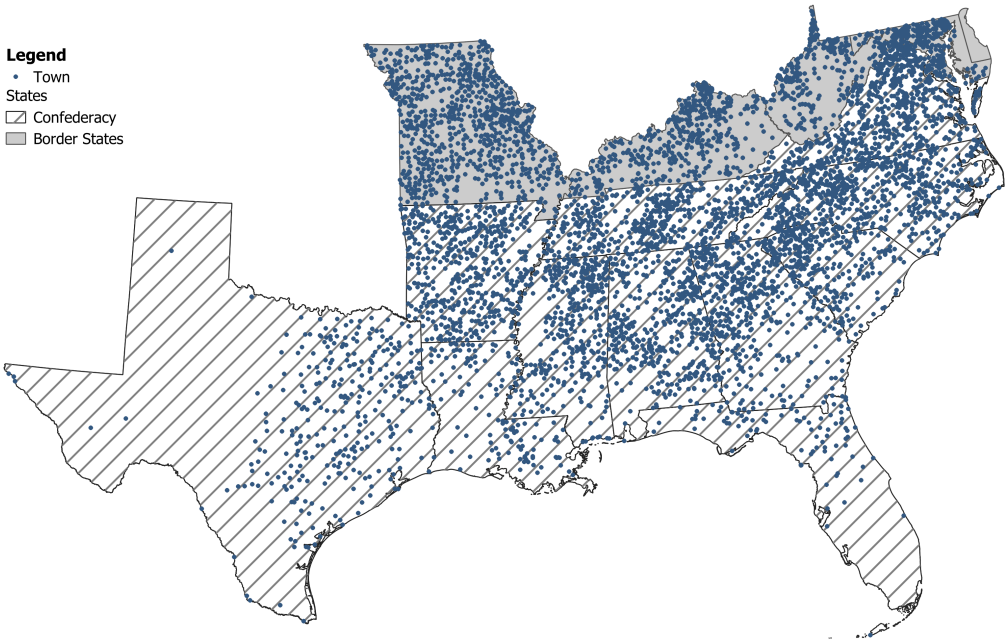
4. We assign the likely residence location of a soldier first based on the procedure described in 1. When unable to do so we use the Census information as described in 2. Finally, for the remaining soldiers, we use information on their first enlistment as described in 3. Following this procedure, we assign a likely residence to 637,943 soldiers. The geographical distribution of these soldiers is depicted in Figure A.2.

5. For each geolocated soldier we identify the first regiment they were enlisted in. We then merge this information with the Fold3 "War Stories" database that details which regiments participated in each battle and then use data from the American Battlefield Trust to identify the number of deaths and wounded in each battle.[51]

Additionally, using Fold3 data, we classify a soldier as a volunteer if we locate any military record related to his enlistment before the 16th of April of 1862 when conscription was enacted. With this information we calculate the town-level share of volunteers.

[51]The American Battlefield Trust is a charitable organization devoted to the preservation of battlefields of the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, and the American Civil War.

Figure A.1: Sample of Towns



Note: The figure presents towns with at least one soldier participating in the Confederate army.

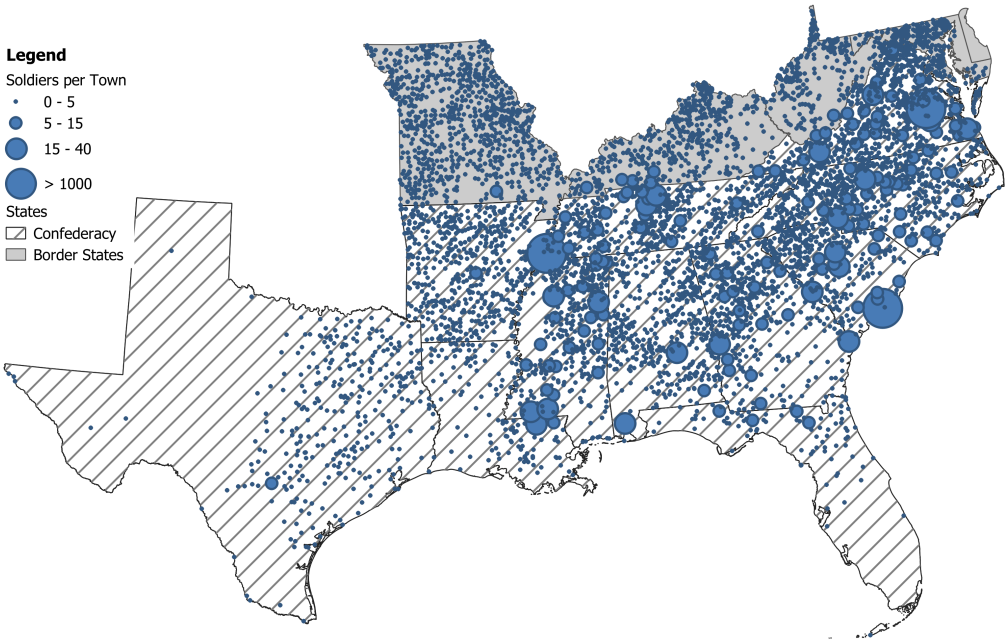
A.2 Matching Procedure and the Use of Town level Data

Some of our outcomes are reported at a level of aggregation higher than the town. In those cases, we assign outcomes to towns using the procedure described below. To illustrate the procedure we use the data for the presidential electoral returns.

First, for each election, we identify the county in which each town is located. Towns may change counties because of border changes. All towns in the same county are given the same outcome; in the case of presidential elections that is the share of voters who voted for the Democratic party.

In a simplified situation where there are no border changes and we do not use town-level controls, running a regression using this procedure or one where the treatment is aggregated at the county level would yield exactly the same results. In reality, we do observe various border changes in this setting, and in our empirical strategy, we always use controls that are calculated at the town level (share of volunteers, distance to battle, direct exposure to battle, share of soldiers sent to the Eastern

Figure A.2: Soldiers by Town



Note: The figure presents towns with at least one soldier participating in the Confederate army. The size of the marker shows the number of soldiers.

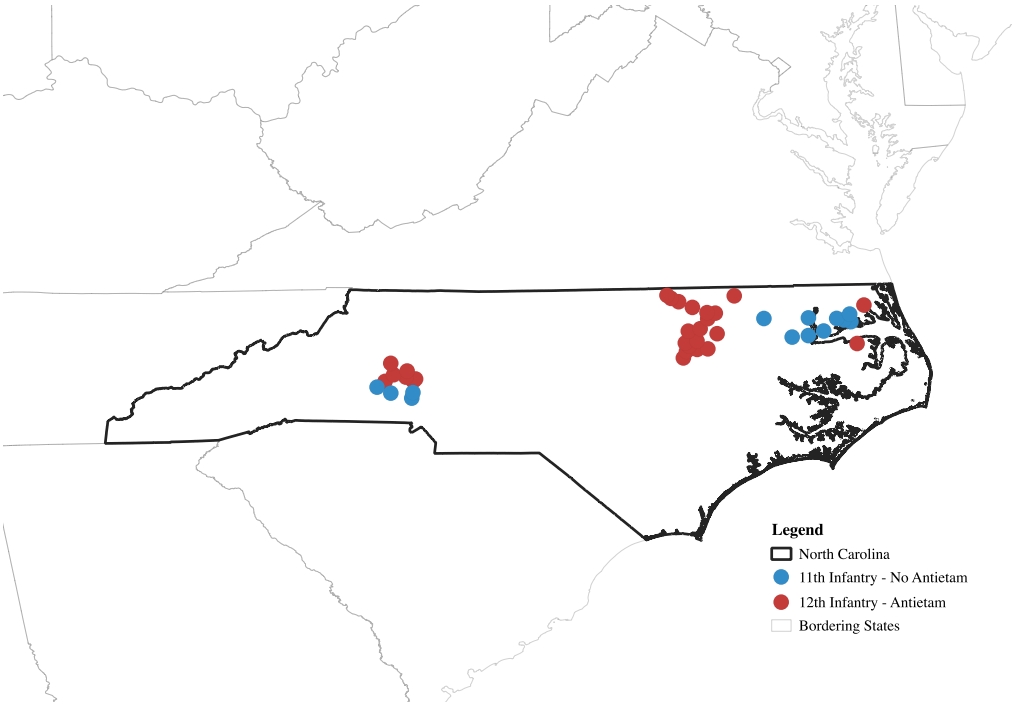
front). Therefore, carrying on the analysis at the town level, instead of running a simpler regression with aggregated controls at the county level, allows us to exploit the full variation present in our data.

A.3 Conscription

While all white men were expected to serve, exemptions were made for strategic sectors, including railroad and river workers, civil officials, telegraph operators, miners, pharmacists, teachers, ministers, textile factory workers, and hospital attendants (Shaw, 1962). In a move that reflected the deep class divisions of the antebellum South, the Confederate Congress passed the Twenty Negro Law in October 1862, exempting anyone owning 20 or more slaves from service, an act that stirred deep resentment among poorer conscripts. In addition, until December 1863, wealthy men could hire a substitute to fight for them. After sustained losses and low morale, the conscription acts were amended again in 1864 to extend the age limits from 17 to

50. By March 1865, the Confederate Congress authorized the conscription of up to 300,000 Black men, but the plan was never implemented due to the surrender of Confederate forces at Appomattox in April 1865.[52]

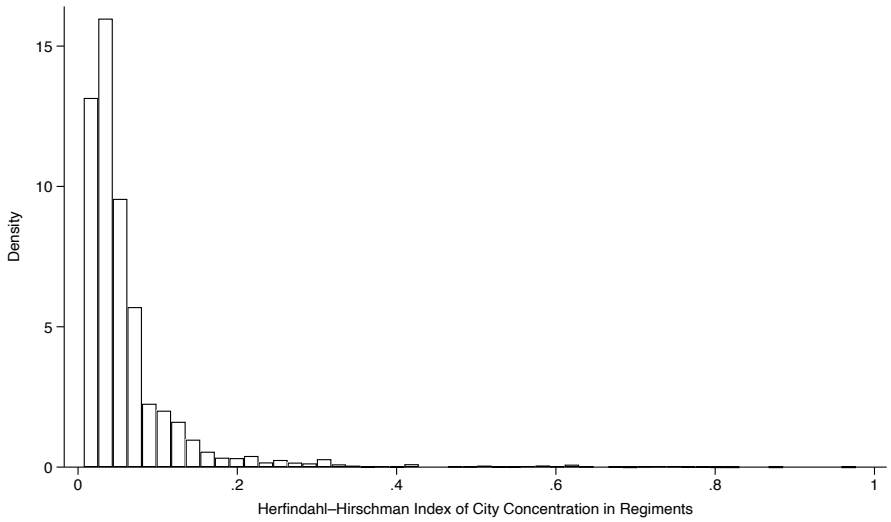
Figure A.3: 11th and 12th Infantry of North Carolina



Note: The red circles display the location of town where more than 10% of the soldiers were enlisted in the 12th Infantry Regiment of North Carolina. Blue circles display the location of towns where more than 10% of the soldiers were enlisted in the 11th Infantry Regiment of North Carolina.

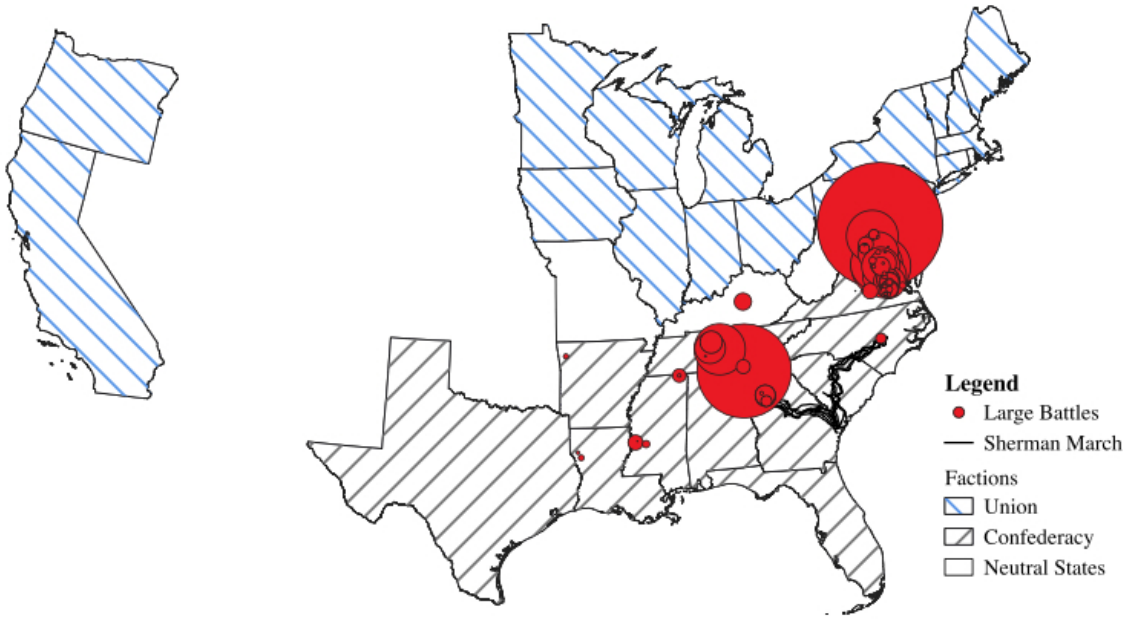
[52]Nearly 200,000 Black men served in the Union Army.

Figure A.4: Soldiers Geographic Concentration



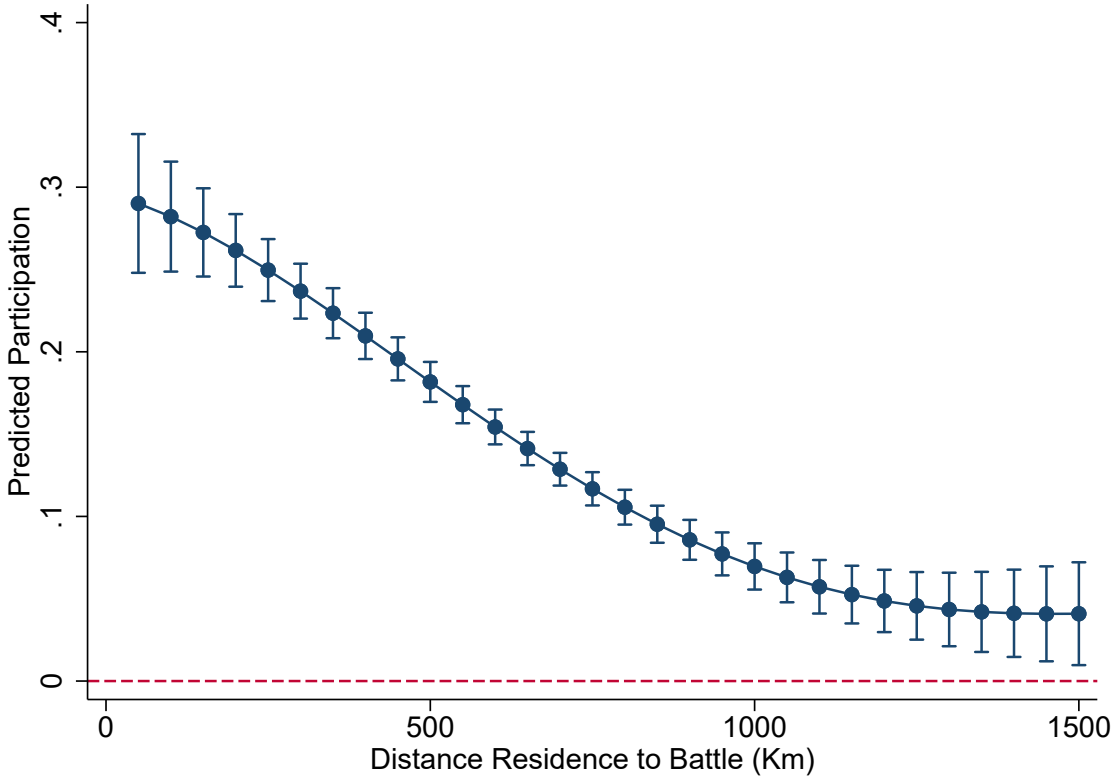
Note: The figure presents the histogram of the Herfindahl–Hirschman Index of City Concentration in Regiments. $\text{HHI}_c = \sum_r^R (CS_{c,r})^2$, where CS is the share of soldiers in city c belonging to regiment r. The HHI is equal to 1 if all soldiers in a regiment are recruited from the same city.

Figure A.5: Union, Confederacy, and Large Battles



Note: States with up-sloping gray stripes joined the Confederacy. States with down-sloping blue stripes joined the Union Army. States with no stripes were neutral. Red circles display the location of battles involving more than 10,000 Confederate soldiers. The size of the circle is proportional to the number of Confederate casualties. The black lines indicate the path followed by each of the five military units in the Sherman March based on Feigenbaum et al. (2022) data.

Figure A.6: Participation and Distance to Battles



Note: This figure is based on regression at the battle-town of origin level where the outcome is the share of soldiers from a town that participates in a battle, and the regressor is a 4th-order polynomial function of the distance between the town and the battle. The figure depicts the estimated function with confidence intervals based on two-way clustered standard errors at the city and battle levels.

Table A.1: Determinants of Battles Participation

Variable	Battle Participation
Percent Volunteers	1.08***
	(0.26)
Percent Enslaved	-0.03
	(0.23)
Share Free Black	-0.08
	(0.24)
Democrat Vote Share	-0.25
	(0.19)
Pro-Slavery Vote	0.04
	(0.15)
Number Soldiers	0.04
	(0.05)
Railroad Access	0.20
	(0.15)
Sex-Ratio	0.07
	(0.25)
Occupational Score White	-0.06
	(0.15)
White Skilled Laborers	0.13
	(0.14)
Value of Real Estate	-0.14
	(0.14)

* p< 0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p < 0.01. The unit of observation is a town-battle. The sample is restricted to states in the former Confederacy. The numbers represent the standardized coefficients from a regression of the variable on the share of soldiers that participated in each battle. All regressions are weighted by the number of enlisted soldiers from a given town and include battle times state-fixed effects and a fourth-polynomial of distance to the battle. Standard errors are clustered and the town and battle level.

Table A.2: Battles

Name Battle	Dates	Number Confederate Soldiers	Wounded Confederate Soldiers	Dead Confederate Soldiers	Black Soldier Union Army	Popularity Ngram
Battle of Fredericksburg	December 11-15, 1862	78513	4116	608	No	55.5
Battle of Gettysburg	July 1-3, 1863	73000	18735	3903	No	66.6
Battle of the Wilderness	May 5-7, 1864	66140	7866	1477	Yes	34.7
First Battle of Corinth	April 29 – May 30, 1862	65000	555	116	No	16.1
Battle of Chickamauga	September 19-20, 1863	65000	14674	2312	No	42.9
Battle of Cold Harbor	May 31-June 12, 1864	60500	3376	788	Yes	14.7
Battle of Chancellorsville	April 30-May 6, 1863	60298	9081	1665	No	31.4
Battle of Spotsylvania Court House	May 8-21, 1864	57500	5414	1515	Yes	9.1
Battle of Gaines' Mill	June 27, 1862	57018	6402	1483	No	4.1
Battle of Malvern Hill	July 1, 1862	55000	3135	655	No	13.0
Battle of North Anna	May 23–26, 1864	51500	704	124	No	0.6
Battle of Second Manassas	August 28-30, 1862	50000	6202	1096	No	10.8
Battle of Mine Run	November 27 – December 2, 1863	48000	570	110	No	1.7
Battle of Glendale	June 30, 1862	45000	2814	638	No	6.3
Battle of Missionary Ridge	November 25 1863	44010	2160	361	No	6.6
Fall of Petersburg	April 2, 1865	42500	2775	580	Yes	4.0
Battle of Atlanta	July 22, 1864	40438	3052	638	No	3.0
Battle of Seven Pines	May 31-June 1, 1862	39000	4749	980	No	9.6
Assault on Petersburg	June 15 – June 18, 1864	38000	2900	200	No	3.0
Battle of Antietam	September 17, 1862	38000	7752	1567	No	71.5
Battle of Stones River	December 31, 1862-January 2, 1863	35000	7945	1294	No	16.2
Siege of Vicksburg	May 18-July 4, 1863	33000	1938	805	No	24.9
Battle of Williamsburg	May 5, 1862	31823	975	288	No	27.1
Battle of Franklin	November 30, 1864	27000	3800	1750	No	11.9
Battle of Nashville	December 15–16, 1864	26000	3330	696	Yes	18.1
Battle of Appomattox Court House	April 9, 1865	26000	305	195	Yes	38.4
Battle of Jonesborough	August 31 – September 1, 1864	24000	1800	200	No	0.5
Battle of Harpers Ferry	September 12 – 15, 1862	23500	247	39	No	0.1
Second Battle of Corinth	October 3–4, 1862	22000	1997	473	No	17.5
Battle of Champion Hill	May 16, 1863	22000	1018	381	No	1.3
Battle of Bentonville	March 19–21, 1865	21900	1694	239	No	7.2
Battle of Cedar Creek	October 19 1864	21102	1540	320	No	13.8
Battle of Peachtree Creek	July 20, 1864	20250	2500	1113	No	0.3
Battle of Mansfield	April 8, 1864	20000	581	113	No	6.4
Battle of Chantilly	September 1, 1862	20000	444	92	No	3.4
Battle of Sailor's Creek	April 6, 1865	18500	1800	1000	No	2.4
Battle of Ezra Church	July 28, 1864	18450	3000	642	No	0.5
Battle of South Mountain	September 14, 1862	18000	1560	325	No	11.4
Battle of Proctor's Creek	May 12 – May 16, 1864	18000	555	116	No	0.5
Battle of Kennesaw Mountain	June 27, 1864	17733	555	116	No	0.1
Battle of Bristoe Station	October 14, 1863	17218	797	136	No	1.2
Battle of Cedar Mountain	August 9, 1862	16868	1107	231	No	12.7
Battle of Beaver Dam Creek	June 26, 1862	16356	823	172	No	0.3
First Battle of Winchester	May 25, 1862	16000	329	68	No	.
Battle of Perryville	October 8, 1862	16000	2635	510	No	11.4
Third Battle of Winchester	September 19 1864	15514	2228	465	No	.
Second Battle of Deep Bottom	August 14–20, 1864	15000	900	200	Yes	2.9
Battle of Globe Tavern	August 18 – August 21, 1864	14500	990	211	Yes	0.3
Battle of Chaffin's Farm	September 29–30, 1864	14500	1250	250	Yes	0.3
Battle of Monocacy	July 9, 1864	14000	444	92	No	3.8
Battle of Lynchburg	June 17 – June 18, 1864	14000	160	40	No	0.2
Battle of Hatcher's Run	February 5–7, 1865	13835	644	134	Yes	2.2
Battle of Chickasaw Bayou	December 26–29, 1862	13792	120	57	No	2.3
Second Battle of Kernstown	July 24, 1864	13500	333	69	No	4.2
Second Battle of Winchester	June 13–15, 1863	12500	219	47	No	.
Battle of Pleasant Hill	April 9, 1864	12100	902	188	No	6.6
Second Battle of Marye's Heights	May 3, 1863	12000	388	81	No	0.6
Battle of Spring Hill	November 29, 1864	12000	277	58	Yes	0.1
Battle of Boydton Plank Road	October 27–28, 1864	11691	721	150	Yes	0.1
Battle of Prairie Grove	December 7, 1862	11000	817	164	No	7.5
Battle of Five Forks	April 1, 1865	10600	1637	342	No	11.5
Battle of Salem Church	May 3 – 4, 1863	10000	2738	572	No	0.3
Battle of Peebles' Farm	September 30 – October 2, 1864	10000	499	104	Yes	0.5
Battle of Fort Stevens	July 11–12, 1864	10000	249	52	No	0.1
Battle of Fort Stedman	March 25, 1865	10000	2400	600	No	0.3

Notes: The table reports the 65 large battles used to compute Battle Exposure. The method used to calculate Ngram popularity is explained in Appendi A.7

A.4 Congressmen' Support for Segregation

Laws in favor of slavery are from Masera and Rosenberg (2021). Laws regarding segregation between 1865 and 1964 are coded in the following way. We first selected all laws mentioning the words "negro", "race", and those categorized as relating to "Civil Rights, Desegregation, Busing, and Affirmative Action" according to Poole and Rosenthal specific issue codes. We then read and manually coded each law as either in favor or against segregation. When undecided we applied the following strategy, coding a law as opposing segregation in the following cases:

- If the share of positive votes by members of the Democratic party or by representatives elected in Confederate states was lower than 20% and the share of Republican votes or Northern votes was higher than 60% before 1960.
- If no members of the Democratic party or represenative elected in Confederate states voted in favor of the law.

A similar strategy is applied in the case of laws favoring segregation.

A.5 Measurement of Lynchings

First, we incorporate data from the Tolnay-Beck inventory of lynchings (Tolnay and Beck, 1995), which has been updated by Bailey and Tolnay (2015) and actively maintained by the Center for Studies in Demography and Ecology at the University of Washington. We refer to this data as the Bailey-Tolney-Beck (BTB) dataset. One caveat of this dataset is that lynching episodes are only identifiable at the county level. We supplement this dataset with town-level information from the Monroe Work Today Dataset Compilation (Ramey and Lewis, 2023), which has created a geocoded database of lynchings from the Tuskeegee Institute inventory (Tolnay and Beck, 1995), and 70 additional scholarly sources. We match the geolocation of these lynchings to our sample of towns that enlisted a Confederate soldier. We refer to these data as the Monroe Work Today (MWT) dataset.

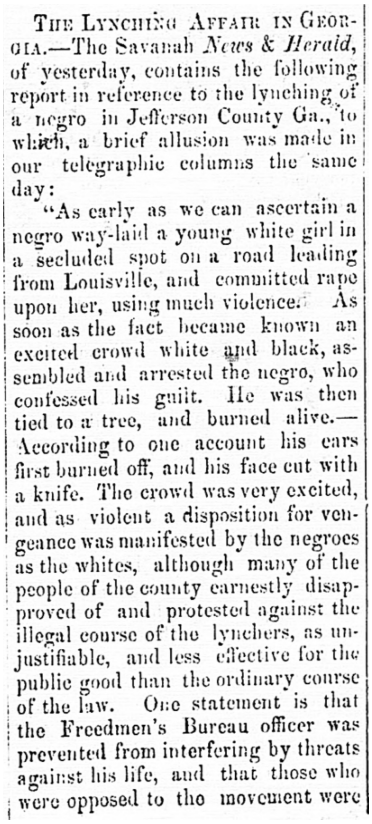
Many of the sources used to construct the BTB and MWT datasets only contain comprehensive information beginning in 1882.[53] We, therefore, supplement these data with a novel set of information on lynching from 1865-1881, which we construct through keyword searches of newspapers during the time. Using the Chronicling

[53]Both datasets record lynching episodes prior to 1882, but some states have more comprehensive coverage than others.

America and Newspapers.com databases, we conducted keyword searches for lynchings, throughout the entire country, and hand-coded lynching events and their geolocation. Figure A.7 displays an example of a newspaper article that documents a lynching and its location. We find 392 additional lynchings between 1865 and 1881. In total, the integrated database comprises 3,961 unique cases of lynchings of Black men from 1865 to 1964. This is the first dataset to cover the entirety of the South throughout the whole post-war era.

Appendix Figure A.8 plots the time variation in the total lynchings of Black men per 10,000 people from 1865 to 1964. Lynchings spike immediately following the end of the war and remain high through the 1890s, with some annual variation. After the 1890s, per capita lynchings decline slowly until tapering off in the 1930s.

Figure A.7: Lynchings in Newspapers

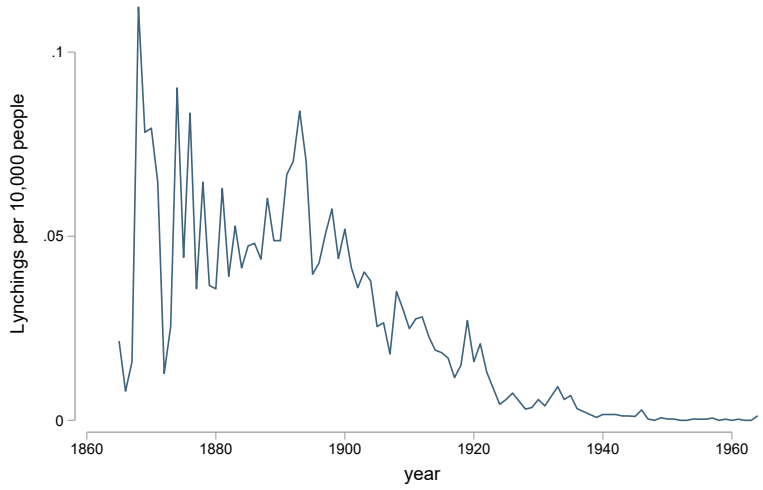


THE LYNCHING AFFAIR IN GEORGIA.—The Savanah *News* & *Herald*, of yesterday, contains the following report in reference to the lynching of a negro in Jefferson County Ga., to which, a brief allusion was made in our telegraphic columns the same day:

"As early as we can ascertain a negro way-laid a young white girl in a secluded spot on a road leading from Louisville, and committed rape upon her, using much violence. As soon as the fact became known an excited crowd white and black, assembled and arrested the negro, who confessed his guilt. He was then tied to a tree, and burned alive.—According to one account his ears first burned off, and his face cut with a knife. The crowd was very excited, and as violent a disposition for vengeance was manifested by the negroes as the whites, although many of the people of the county earnestly disapproved of and protested against the illegal course of the lynchers, as unjustifiable, and less effective for the public good than the ordinary course of the law. One statement is that the Freedmen's Bureau officer was prevented from interfering by threats against his life, and that those who were opposed to the movement were

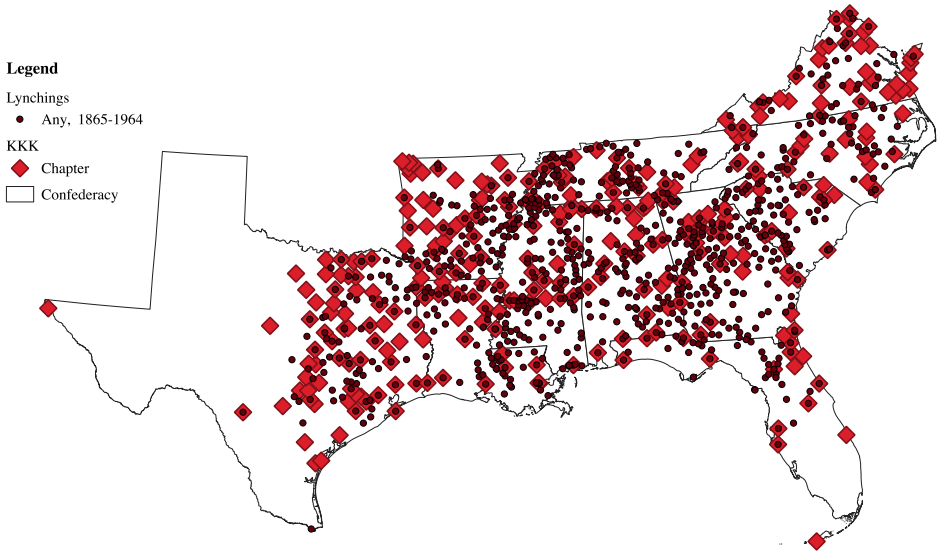
Source: The figure shows a lynching reported in a newspaper article from the *Chronicling America* newspaper database.

Figure A.8: Lynchings of Black Men Over Time



Source: Data for the years 1865-1881 obtained from the authors' own data collection from the *Chronicling America* and *Newspapers.com* databases. This is combined with data from the Bailey-Tolnay-Beck inventory (Bailey and Tolnay, 2015) for the years 1865-1964.

Figure A.9: Lynchings, 1865-1964 and KKK Chapters



Note: A dot represents a city in our sample with at least a lynching between 1865 and 1964. Diamonds represent cities with a Ku Klux Klan chapter in 1924.

A.6 Confederate Names

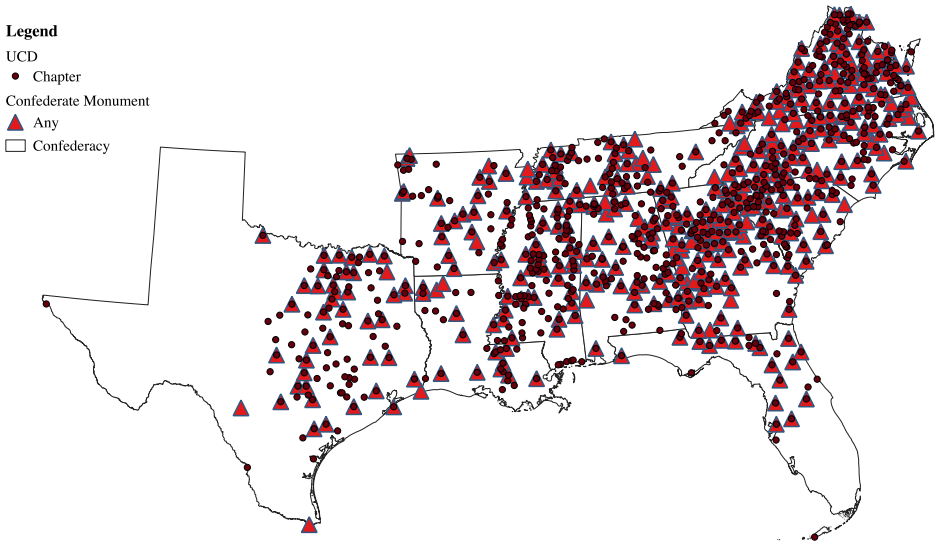
We build the index of distinctively Confederate names as follows. First, we produce a list of potential Confederate names by compiling a list of first names, surnames and nicknames of Confederate generals who fought in the Civil War and the president and vice-president of the Confederacy. For each name, we inspected the time trend and only selected those names displaying a spike in popularity during the war. We obtain the following list of names: "ROBERT", "BRAXTON", "JEFFERSON", "DAVIS", "LEE", "STONEWALL", "BEAUREGARD", "KIRBY". We discard the name ROBERT because of its popularity. The dynamics of the popularity of these names is reported in Panel a, Figure 3.

Table A.3: Confederate Names Summary

	Confederate Names Per 1000 born
Robert	28.1
Braxton	0.3
Jefferson	10.4
Davis	3.4
Lee	7.5
Stonewall	1.2
Beauregard	1.2
Kirby	0.2

Notes: The table reports the average share of newborns per name between 1861 and 1900.

Figure A.10: Memorial Organizations and Monuments

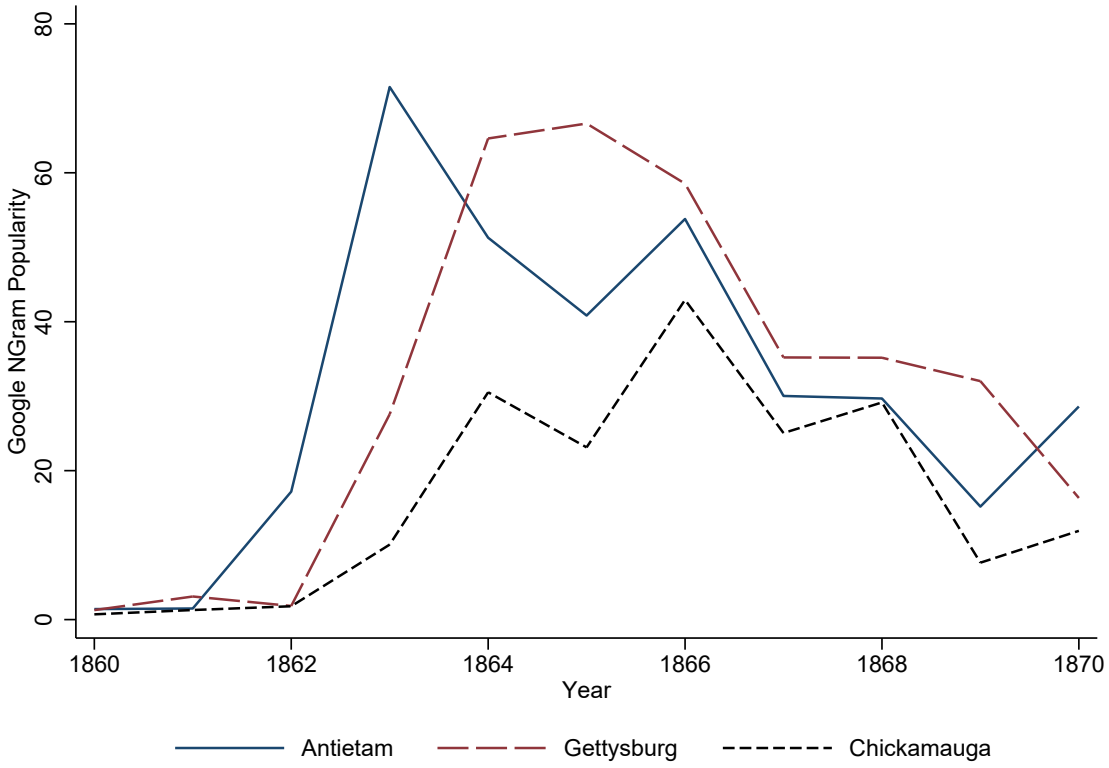


Note: A dot represents a city in our sample with a chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy between 1897 and 1925. Triangles represent cities with at least one monument dedicated to a Confederate hero between 1865 and 2020.

A.7 Famous Battles

To measure the fame of each battle, we use data from the Google Books Ngram. For each battle, we search for its complete name (e.g., Battle of Gettysburg) and record its peak popularity between 1860 and 1870. The search is done only on English texts and is case-insensitive. According to this metric, Antietam is the most popular battle of the war. While not the deadliest, it is often celebrated by historians as the war's turning point. At the peak of its popularity, 71.5 out of a million English Ngrams included "Battle of Antietam". In Figure A.11, we plot the time series of the popularity of the Battle of Antietam and other two popular battles. The battle of Gettysburg and the battle of Chickamauga.

Figure A.11: Popularity of Battles



Note: Google Book Ngram for "Battle of Antietam", "Battle of Gettysburg" and "Battle of Chickamauga".

We drop the three battles with a non-distinguishable name, the three battles of Winchester.

A.8 Summary Statistics

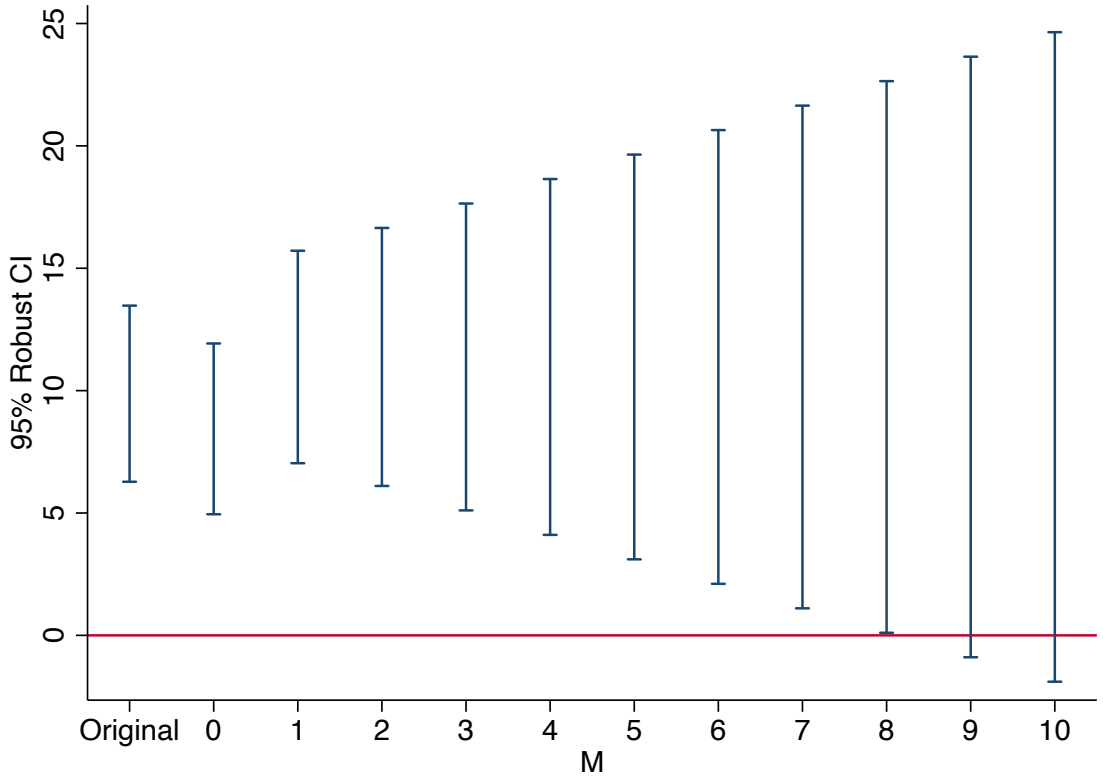
Table A.4: Summary Statistics

Variable	Observations	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Treatment					
Town Level - Crossection					
Battle Exposure	4051	1.16	0.47	0.00	2.73
Outcomes					
County Level - 4 years - From 1840 to 1964					
Democratic Vote Share	124164	63.62	20.69	0.00	100.00
Congressional District - Vote - From 1840 to 1964					
Racially Conservative Votes	1442885	0.50	0.50	0.00	1.00
Town Level - Yearly - From 1865 to 1964					
Any Black Lynching	405090	0.01	0.10	0.00	1.00
Any White Lynching	405090	0.00	0.03	0.00	1.00
County Level - Yearly - From 1865 to 1964					
Black Lynchings per 1000	405090	0.05	0.37	0.00	27.00
County Level - Yearly - From 1988 to 2018					
Black Victims of Hate Crime per Capita	109377	0.26	1.65	0.00	78.80
Town Level - Yearly - From 2000 to 2018					
Any Black Victim of Police Killings	76969	0.16	0.36	0.00	1.00
Town Level - Yearly - From 2020 to 2023					
Any White Supremacist Rally	4051	0.17	0.38	0.00	1.00
Mechanisms					
Town Level - Crossection					
Any Confederate Cementery	4051	0.18	0.39	0.00	1.00
County Level - Yearly - From 1840 to 1900					
Share of Confederate Names	399637	0.03	0.02	0.00	0.50
Town Level - Crossection					
United Daughters of the Confederacy (Members)	4051	44.74	120.35	0.00	874.68
Town Level - Crossection					
Any Confederate Monument	4051	0.39	0.49	0.00	1.00
Town Level - Crossection					
Any KKK Chapter	4051	0.24	0.43	0.00	1.00

Notes: This table reports summary statistics for the main variable used in the paper. The sample includes only the town in the former Confederate States.

B Robustness and Identification Checks

Figure B.12: Parallel Trends Assumption Test



Note: Diagnostics for parallel trends assumption test in Rambachan and Roth (2023) The figure displays fixed length confidence intervals of the effect in the first year after the war for different values of the smoothness of the difference in trends.

Table B.5: Presidential Election - Robustness Checks

	Democratic Party Vote Share			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Post Civil War × BE	3.941***	3.587***	3.611***	4.365***
	(0.635)	(0.771)	(1.267)	(1.259)
Observations	91276	71335	91276	90962
Change from Baseline	Unweighted	Unweighted soldiers> 20	Battles from June 1862	Only Competitive Elections
Outcome Average	65.38	65.17	66.11	66.01
Y($\overline{BE}$) - Y(0)	8.108	7.379	7.522	8.980

* p< 0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p < 0.01. OLS estimates. The unit of observation is a town-presidential election year. The estimating sample starts with the 1840 and ends with the 1944 election. Radical Reconstruction years (1872 and 1876) are excluded. Post Civil War is a dummy equal to one for years after 1865. *BE* is normalized to mean zero, standard deviation one. The outcome is the vote share for the Democratic presidential candidate. The sample is restricted to states in the former Confederacy. All regressions control for town and year fixed effects. We also control for state fixed effects, and whether the town is within 10km of a battle, within 10km of the Sherman March, the share of soldiers who fought in the eastern theater, the average distance to a battle, and the share of volunteers, each interacted with year fixed effects. Regressions in columns (1) and (2) are unweighted. In columns (3) and (4) we weight by the number of enlisted soldiers from each town. Column (2) only includes towns with more than 20 soldiers. Column (3) calculates BE using only battles that happened after June 1862. Column (4) drops county-years that had uncontested elections. Standard errors clustered at the town level are reported in parentheses.

Table B.6: Racially Conservative Votes - Robustness Checks

	Vote in Favor of Segregation				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Post Civil War × BE	0.025***	0.025***	0.027***	0.025***	0.025***
	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.005)
Observations	969370	755807	969370	813885	969370
Change from Baseline	Unweighted	Unweighted soldiers> 20	Battles from June 1862	Drop Abstentions	Abstentions = 0.5
Outcome Average	0.600	0.600	0.600	0.720	0.680
Y($\overline{BE}$) - Y(0)	0.053	0.052	0.057	0.053	0.053

* p< 0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p < 0.01. OLS estimates. The unit of observation is a town-roll call vote for years 1840 to 1964. Radical Reconstruction is excluded (1869-1876). Post Civil War is a dummy equal to one for years after 1865. *BE* is normalized to have mean zero, standard deviation one. In column (3) we calculate BE only using the battles that happened after June 1862. In columns (1), (2) and (3) the outcome is a binary variable equal to one if the representative voted in support of slavery / racial segregation and zero otherwise. In column (4) we drop abstentions, in column (5) abstentions are equal to 0.5. The sample is restricted to states in the former Confederacy. All regressions control for town and year fixed effects. We also control for state fixed effects, and whether the town is within 10km of a battle, within 10km of the Sherman March, the share of soldiers who fought in the eastern theater, the average distance to a battle, and the share of volunteers, each interacted with year fixed effects. Columns (1) and (2) are unweighted regressions. The rest of the regressions are weighted by the number of enlisted soldiers from each town. Standard errors clustered at the town level are reported in parentheses.

Table B.7: Lynching - Robustness Checks

	Town Level Outcome				County Level Outcome			
	100*1(Lynching)			IHS(Lynch)	Per capita Lynching			IHS(Lynch)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
BE	0.082***	0.154***	0.206**	0.002**	0.049***	0.045***	0.033***	0.007***
	(0.027)	(0.033)	(0.101)	(0.001)	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.012)	(0.002)
Observations	401039	310850	401039	401039	401039	310850	401039	401039
Change from Baseline	Unweighted	Unweighted soldiers> 20	Battles from June 1862	ihs(Lynch)	Unweighted	Unweighted soldiers> 20	Battles from June 1862	ihs(Lynch)
Outcome Average	0.389	0.435	0.983	0.983	0.236	0.236	0.236	0.236
Y($\overline{BE}$) - Y(0)	0.169	0.316	0.429	0.005	0.100	0.092	0.069	0.015

* p< 0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p < 0.01. OLS estimates. The unit of observation is a town each year from 1865 to 1964. The sample is restricted to states in the former Confederacy. In columns (1) to (3) the outcome is measured at the town level using a combination of self-collected data and information from the Monroe Work Today (MWT) collection, which takes value 100 when a lynching occurred in that in that town-year and zero otherwise. In column (4) we use the same data to calculate the IHS of the number of lynchings. In columns (5) to (7) the outcome is the number of lynchings per 100,000 people, measured at the county level using a combination of self-collected data and the Bailey-Tolnay-Beck (BTB) inventory. In column (8) we use the same data to calculate the IHS of the number of lynchings. All regressions control for town and year fixed effects. We also control for state fixed effects, and whether the town is within 10km of a battle, within 10km of the Sherman March, the share of soldiers who fought in the eastern theater, the average distance to a battle, and the share of volunteers, each interacted with year fixed effects. regressions in columns (1), (2), (5) and (6) are unweighted. All other regressions are weighted by the number of soldiers enlisted from each town. Standard errors clustered by town are reported in parentheses. In columns (3) and (7) BE is measured using only battles that happened after June 1862. *BE* is normalized to mean zero, standard deviation one.

Table B.8: Robustness Checks - Negative Weights Issues

	Democratic Party Vote Share	Vote in Favor of Segragation
	(1)	(2)
Post Civil War × BE	4.590***	0.027***
	(1.261)	(0.006)
Observations	91276	969370
Outcome Average	66.11	.6
Y($\overline{BE}$) - Y(0)	9.39	.06

* p< 0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p < 0.01. OLS estimates. In column (1) the outcome is the vote share for the Democratic presidential candidate. In column (2) the outcome is a binary variable equal to one if the representative voted in support of slavery / racial segregation and zero otherwise. We estimate a fully dynamic event study and calculate the difference between the average coefficient before and after the war. *BE* is normalized to mean zero, standard deviation one. The sample is restricted to states in the former Confederacy. All regressions control for town and year fixed effects. We also control for state fixed effects, and whether the town is within 10km of a battle, within 10km of the Sherman March, the share of soldiers who fought in the eastern theater, the average distance to a battle, and the share of volunteers, each interacted with year fixed effects. All regressions are weighted by the number of enlisted soldiers from each town. Standard errors clustered at the town level are reported in parentheses.

Table B.9: Robustness Checks - Spatial Autocorrelation of the Error Term

	Democratic Party Vote Share	Lynchings
	(1)	(2)
Post Civil War × BE	4.546	
	(1.258)	
	[1.339]	
	{1.405}	
BE		0.211
		(0.102)
		[0.076]
		{0.083}
Observations	91276	401039
Outcome Average	66.11	0.983

OLS estimates. For column (1) the unit of observation is a town-presidential election year. The sample starts with the 1840 and ends with the 1944 election. Radical Reconstruction years (1872 and 1876) are excluded. The outcome is the vote share for the Democratic presidential candidate. For column (2) the unit of observation is a town each year from 1865 to 1964. The outcome is measured at the town level using a combination of self-collected data and information from the Monroe Work Today (MWT) collection, which takes value 100 when a lynching occurred in that in that town-year and zero otherwise. Post Civil War is a dummy equal to one for years after 1865. *BE* is normalized to mean zero, standard deviation one. The sample is restricted to states in the former Confederacy. All regressions control for state fixed effects, and whether the town is within 10km of a battle, within 10km of the Sherman March, the share of soldiers who fought in the eastern theater, the average distance to a battle, and the share of volunteers, each interacted with year fixed effects. All regressions are weighted by the number of enlisted soldiers from each town. All estimates are weighted by the number of enlisted soldiers from each town. Standard errors clustered at the town level are reported in round parentheses. Standard errors corrected for spatial autocorrelation with a 50km bandwidth are reported in square parentheses. Standard errors corrected for spatial autocorrelation with a 200km bandwidth are reported in curly parentheses.

Table B.10: Effect of Battle Exposure on Dead and Wounded Soldiers

	Share of Casualties Among Soldiers	Share of Dead Among Soldiers
	(1)	(2)
BE	0.047***	0.023***
	(0.010)	(0.005)
Observations	4051	4051
Outcome Geography	Town	Town
Outcome Average	0.260	0.130
Y($\overline{BE}$) - Y(0)	0.096	0.047

* p< 0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p < 0.01. OLS estimates. The unit of observation is a town and the outcomes are measured at the town level. In column (1), the outcome is the share of wounded soldiers. In column (2) the outcome is the share of dead soldiers. *BE* is normalized to mean zero, standard deviation one. The sample is restricted to states in the former Confederacy. All estimates control for whether the town is within 10km of a battle, within 10km of the Sherman March, the share of soldiers who fought in the eastern theater, the average distance to battles, state fixed effects and the share of volunteers. Standard errors are corrected for spatial autocorrelation with a 100km bandwidth and reported in parentheses. All regressions are weighted by the number of enlisted soldiers from each town.

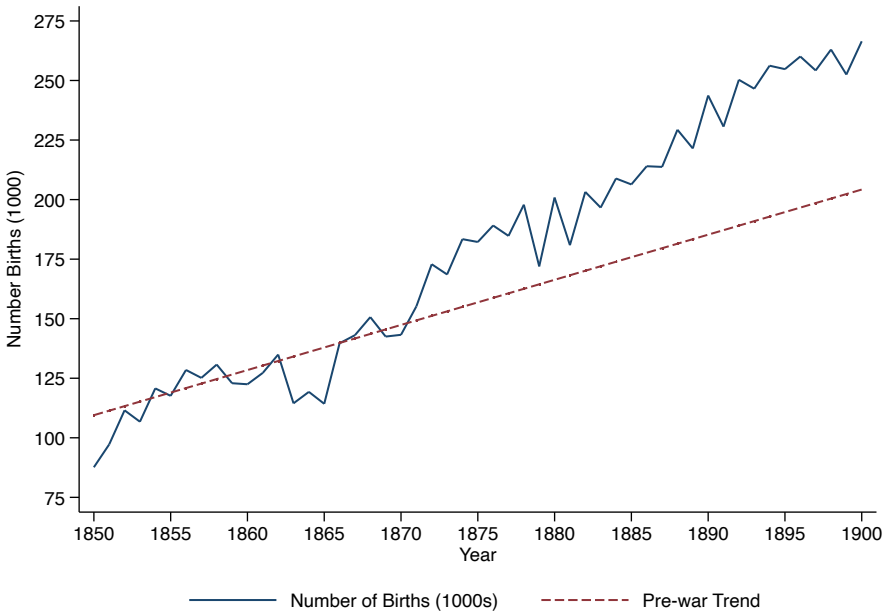
Table B.11: Estimated Change in Demographics (1850-1870) by Battle Exposure

	White Male (15-44) Over Female (15-44)	White Male (15-44) Over Total Males	White Male (15-44) Over Total Population
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Post Civil War × BE	-2.700***	-0.594***	-0.637***
	(0.554)	(0.132)	(0.134)
Observations	12143	12143	12142
Outcome Geography	County	County	County
Outcome Average (1860)	105.2	23.05	14.36
Y($\overline{BE}$) - Y(0)	-5.596	-1.231	-1.321

* p< 0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p < 0.01. OLS estimates. The unit of observation is a town in each decade from 1850 to 1870. The sample is restricted to states in the former Confederacy. Outcomes measured at the county level and are the ratio of white males to females between 15 and 44 years in column (1), the ratio of white males between 15 and 44 to the total white males in column (2) and the ratio of white males between 15 and 44 to the total population in column (3). Post Civil War is a dummy equal to one if the year is 1870. *BE* is normalized to mean zero, standard deviation one. All regressions include town and decade fixed effects. They also include whether the town is within 10km of a battle, whether the town is within 10km of the Sherman March, the share of soldiers who fought in the eastern theater, the average distance to a battle, state fixed effects and the share of volunteers, each interacted with decade fixed effects. All regressions are weighted by the number of enlisted soldiers from each town. Standard errors clustered at the town level are reported in parentheses.

C Additional Results

Figure C.13: Birth



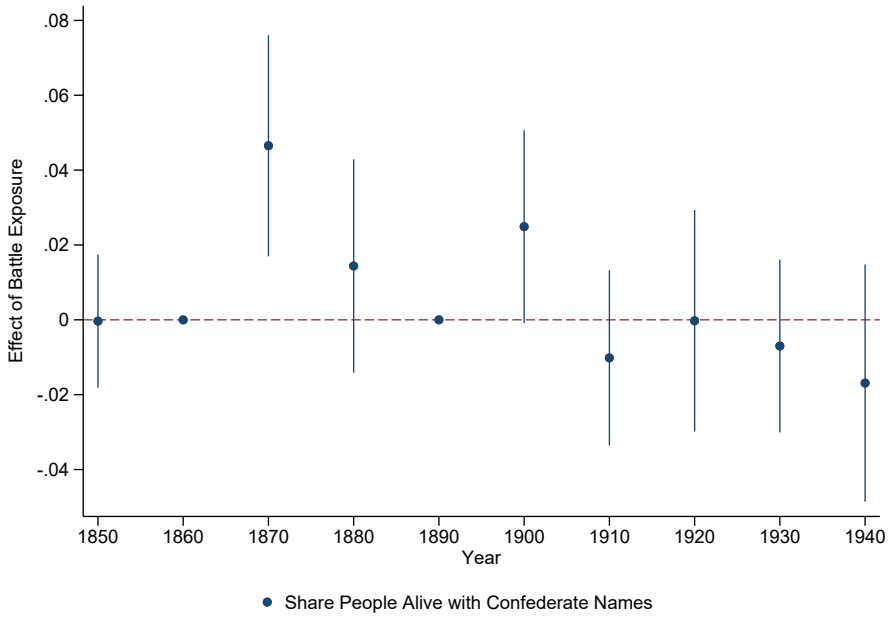
Notes: The figure shows the number of white males born per year.

Table C.12: Effect of Battle Exposure on Confederate Cemeteries

	Confederate Cemetery
	(1)
BE	0.067**
	(0.032)
Observations	4051
Outcome Geography	Town
Outcome Average	0.150

* p< 0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p < 0.01. OLS estimates. The unit of observation is a town. The outcome is equal to one if the town has a Confederate cemetery within 25 km. *BE* is normalized to mean zero, standard deviation one. The sample is restricted to states in the former Confederacy. All estimates control for whether the town is within 10km of the Sherman March, the distance to the closest battle, the share of soldiers who fought in the eastern theater, the average distance to a battle, state fixed effects and the share of volunteers. Standard errors are corrected for spatial autocorrelation with a 100km bandwidth. The regression is weighted by the number of enlisted soldiers from each town.

Figure C.14: Effect of Battle Exposure on the Share of People with Confederate Names



Notes: The figure shows the effect of battle exposure on the share of men with Confederate names found in the census. Full count census data missing for 1890.

D Alternative Mechanisms

Table D.13: Alternative Mechanisms

	Racial Composition			Economic Implications				Military Implications	
	Share Black	White Male In Migration	Black Male In Migration	Occscore	Black to White Occscore	Manufacturing Capital	Value Farm	Refugee Camps	Military Occupation
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
1870-1880 × BE	0.014***	-2.155	-0.620***	0.055	0.047**	0.150***	0.052**		
	(0.004)	(3.134)	(0.223)	(0.057)	(0.020)	(0.058)	(0.023)		
1890-1940 × BE	0.018***	4.047***	0.351	0.346***	0.036*	0.219**	-0.186**		
	(0.005)	(1.362)	(0.389)	(0.080)	(0.021)	(0.099)	(0.089)		
BE								0.050*	0.052*
								(0.030)	(0.028)
Observations	40498	26232	26232	36448	36452	23808	32384	4051	4051
Outcome Average	0.360	31.770	6.050	5.500	0.850	4.850	7.630	0.230	0.740

* p< 0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p < 0.01. OLS estimates. In columns (1) to (7) the unit of observation is a town-decade. In column (1) the outcome is the Black population share, in column (2) is the share of white men in-migration (missing in 1850, 1890 and 1900), in column (3) is the share of Black men in-migration (missing in 1850, 1890 and 1900), in column (4) is the ln value of capital in manufacturing (missing after 1900), in column (5) is the mean occupational score (missing in 1890), in column (6) is the ratio of the occupational scores for Black men to White men (missing in 1890), in column (7) is the ln farm value (missing in 1910 and 1930). The unit of observation in columns (8) and (9) is the town. The outcome in column (8) is a dummy equal to 1 if a post Civil War refugee camp was located less than 25km from the town, in column (9) is a dummy equal to 1 if a post Civil War federal military occupation outpost was located at less than 25km from the town. *EB* is normalized to mean zero, standard deviation one. The sample is restricted to states in the former Confederacy. All regressions control for whether the town is within 10km of a battle, within 10km of the Sherman March, the share of soldiers who fought in the eastern theater, the share of volunteers, the average distance to a battle and state fixed effects. In columns (1) to (7) we interact these controls with decade fixed effects and also include town fixed effects. All regressions are weighted by the number of enlisted soldiers from each town. In columns (1) to (7) standard errors are clustered at the town level. In columns (8) and (9) we correct standard errors for spatial autocorrelation with a 100km bandwidth.

Table D.14: Controlling for Alternative Mechanisms

	Democratic Vote Share in Presidential Elections								
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Panel A: *Baseline Effect*									
1868-1884 × BE	3.443***	3.427***	3.462***	3.453***	3.377***	2.733**	3.231***	3.361***	3.585***
	(1.198)	(1.196)	(1.199)	(1.205)	(1.198)	(1.229)	(1.206)	(1.196)	(1.178)
1888-1944 × BE	4.514***	4.375***	4.475***	4.980***	4.458***	4.153***	3.955***	4.129***	4.269***
	(1.265)	(1.341)	(1.340)	(1.286)	(1.295)	(1.226)	(1.191)	(1.242)	(1.238)
Panel B: *Effect Conditional on Potential Mechanisms*									
1868-1884 × BE	3.308***	3.427***	3.427***	3.321***	3.320***	2.736**	3.230***	3.309***	3.309***
	(1.198)	(1.196)	(1.196)	(1.198)	(1.198)	(1.229)	(1.198)	(1.198)	(1.198)
1888-1944 × BE	4.351***	4.571***	4.571***	4.417***	4.416***	4.158***	4.377***	4.352***	4.352***
	(1.263)	(1.345)	(1.345)	(1.305)	(1.305)	(1.224)	(1.238)	(1.263)	(1.263)
Observations	182384	141148	141148	167526	167536	101410	150550	182398	182398
Pval difference 1868-1884 × EBB	0.937	1.000	0.984	0.938	0.973	0.999	1.000	0.975	0.869
Pval difference 1888-1944 × EBB	0.927	0.918	0.960	0.758	0.982	0.998	0.806	0.900	0.963
Control Variable	Share Black	White Male In Migration	Black Male In Migration	Occscore	Black to White Occscore	Manufacturing Capital	Value Farm	Refugee Camp	Military Occupation
Outcome Average	66.570	68.130	68.130	66.860	66.860	60.260	65.460	66.570	66.570

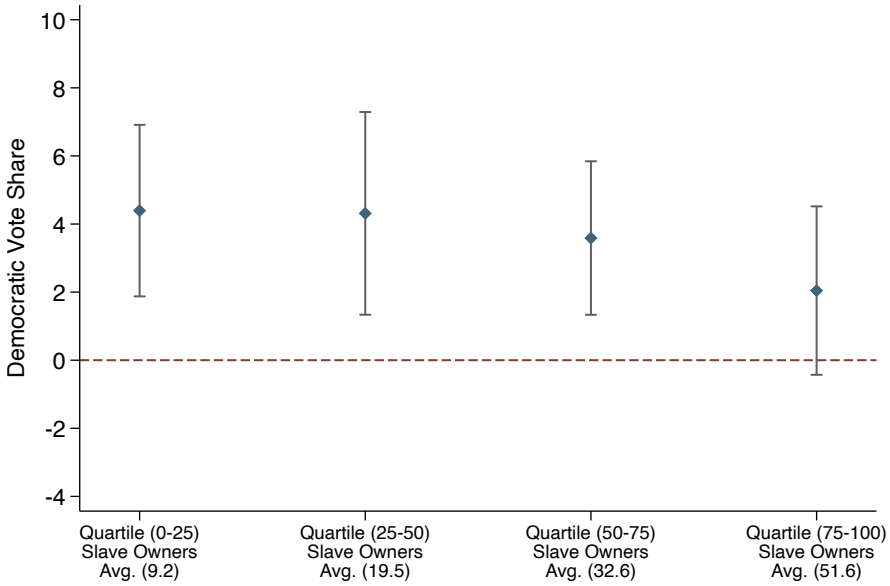
* p< 0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p < 0.01. OLS estimates. The unit of observation is a town-presidential election year. The baseline sample starts with the 1840 and ends with the 1944 election. Radical Reconstruction years (1872 and 1876) are excluded. The outcome is the share of the Democratic party in the presidential elections. Columns differ by their controls. Because some controls are not available every year columns also may differ by their samples. The control in column (1) is the Black population share, in column (2) is the share of white men in-migration (missing in 1890 and 1900 decade), in column (3) is the share of Black men in-migration (missing in 1890 and 1900 decade), in column (4) is the mean occupational score (missing in 1890 decade), in column (5) is the ratio of the occupational scores for Black men to White men (missing in the 1890 decade), in column (6) is the ln value of capital in manufacturing (missing after 1900), in column (7) is the ln farm value (missing in the 1890 decade), in column (8) is a dummy equal to 1 if a post Civil War refugee camp was located at less than 25km from the town multiplied by year fixed effects, in column (9) is a dummy equal to 1 if a post Civil War federal military occupation outpost was located at less than 25km from the town multiplied by year fixed effects. Panel A shows the estimates without control while Panel B with the control. *EB* is normalized to mean zero, standard deviation one. The sample is restricted to states in the former Confederacy. All regressions control for town and year fixed effects. We also control for state fixed effects, and whether the town is within 10km of a battle, within 10km of the Sherman March, the share of soldiers who fought in the eastern theater, the average distance to a battle, and the share of volunteers, each interacted with year fixed effects. All regressions are weighted by the number of enlisted soldiers from each town. Standard errors clustered at the town level are reported in parentheses.

Table D.15: Effect in Non-Slave Counties

	Democratic Vote Share in Presidential Elections		
	Bottom 25% in 1860 Share of Slaves (1)	Bottom 25% in 1860 Share of Slaveowners (2)	Bottom 25% in 1860 Share of Planters (3)
Post Civil War × BE	4.29**	4.29**	5.27***
Observations	91276	91276	91276
Mean Outcome	64.88	64.88	64.88

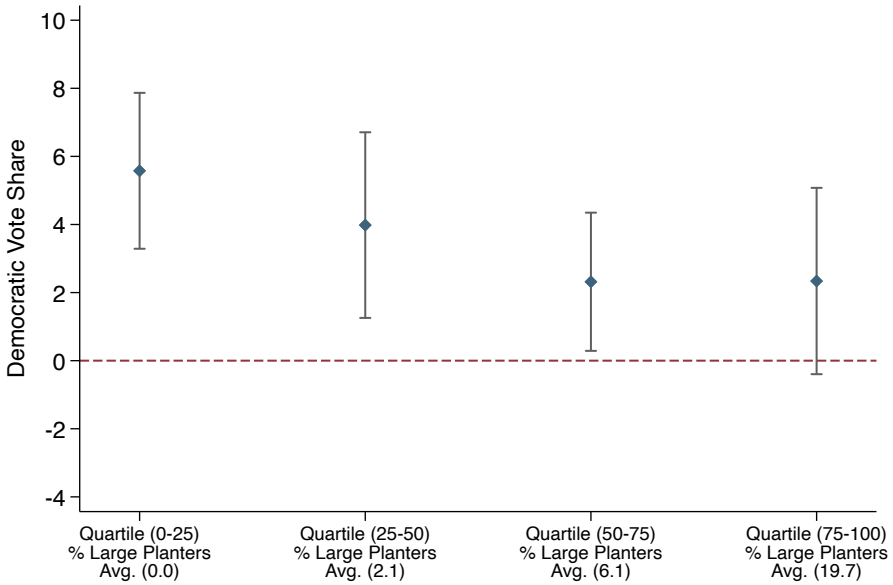
* p< 0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p < 0.01. OLS estimates. The unit of observation is a town-presidential election year. The baseline sample starts with the 1840 and ends with the 1944 election. Radical Reconstruction years (1872 and 1876) are excluded. Post Civil War is a dummy equal to one for years after 1865. *BE* is normalized to mean zero, standard deviation one. The outcome is the vote share for the Democratic presidential candidate. The sample is restricted to states in the former Confederacy. All regressions control for town and year fixed effects. We also control for state fixed effects, and whether the town is within 10km of a battle, within 10km of the Sherman March, the share of soldiers who fought in the eastern theater, the average distance to a battle, and the share of volunteers, each interacted with year fixed effects. All regressions are weighted by the number of enlisted soldiers from each town. Standard errors clustered at the town level are reported in parentheses. Column (1) interacts *BE* with a dummy variable indicating the quartile of the share of slaves among the total population. The estimate is the effect for towns within the bottom quartile. Column (2) interacts *BE* with a dummy variable indicating the quartile of the share of slaveowners among the white population before the war. The estimate is the effect for towns within the bottom quartile. Column (3) interacts *BE* with a dummy variable indicating the quartile of the share of large planters among the slaveowners (slaveowners with at least 50 slaves). The estimate is the effect for towns within the bottom quartile.

Figure D.15: Effect on Democratic Vote Share by Quartiles of Slave Owners in 1860



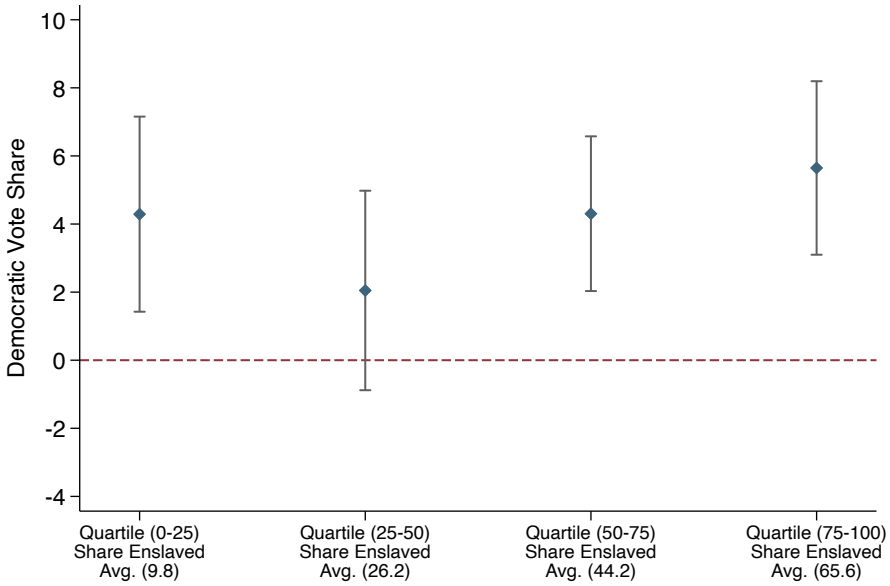
Notes: The figure shows the heterogeneous effect of battle exposure by quartile of the share of slaveowners. In parenthesis is reported the average share of slaveowners among the total white population in 1860 per quartile.

Figure D.16: Effect on Democratic Vote Share by Quartiles of Large Planters in 1860



Notes: The figure shows the heterogeneous effect of battle exposure by quartile of the share of planters with at least 50 slaves among the number of slaveowners (large planters). Regressions include the baseline controls and the interaction between the share of the enslaved population in 1860 and year fixed effects. In parenthesis is reported the average share of large planters in 1860 per quartile.

Figure D.17: Effect on Democratic Vote Share by Quartiles of the Share of Enslaved in 1860



Notes: The figure shows the heterogeneous effect by quartiles of the share of enslaved in 1860. Regressions include the baseline controls and the interaction between the share of the enslaved population in 1860 and year fixed effects. In parenthesis is reported the average share of enslaved in 1860 per quartile.