The Confederate Diaspora*

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Abstract

This paper presents a new framework to understand when and how migrants shape culture. We apply this framework to analyze the outsized influence of the Confederate diaspora. Despite their small numbers, Southern White individuals that migrated after the Civil War played a pivotal role in spreading Confederate symbols and racial norms across the United States by the early 20th century. Their far-reaching influence stemmed from two key conditions: an ideological intensity rooted in their experiences of slavery, secession, and military defeat, and access to malleable power structures during westward expansion and postwar reconciliation. These conditions enabled them to transmit Confederate culture to both kin and non-Southern neighbors and to expand their reach by mobilizing civil society organizations. By leveraging positions of authority, they shaped institutions and policies that entrenched racial norms and inequalities in labor markets, housing, and the criminal justice system. Our findings provide empirical foundations for understanding how migrants can transform local culture, rather than merely assimilate.

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1 Introduction

Migrants carry their culture with them. While they often assimilate into local norms and practices—a process extensively studied in the social sciences (see, e.g., Abramitzky and Boustan, 2024)—migrants sometimes preserve cultural traditions across generations and influence their new communities. Debates about immigration, past and present, often hinge on the balance between cultural assimilation and influence. This paper introduces a new approach to understanding when and how migrants transmit culture and reshape the social equilibrium of their destination, which we use to study a particularly consequential wave of migration in early United States history.

We develop a generalizable framework and provide systematic evidence on the *conditions* under which migrants can shape local culture, as well as the *channels* through which such influence is exerted. We identify two key conditions for influence: the ideological intensity of migrants and the power structure at destination. We then describe three channels through which influence occurs: cultural spillovers, organizational mobilization, and institutional leverage. The historical experience of the Confederate diaspora vividly illustrates all elements of our framework. This group of Southern White migrants who left the South after the Civil War (1861–65) played a central role in spreading and entrenching Confederate culture in communities beyond the South. Using linked Census records and new archival data, we demonstrate how, under favorable conditions and by activating all three channels, this small diaspora gained outsized influence during the critical juncture of postwar reconciliation and nation building.

The influence of Confederate migrants plays a key role in explaining the enduring and widespread monuments and symbols honoring the Confederacy across the United States. In the wake of the Confederacy's defeat, the cultural configuration associated with slavery did not vanish; rather, it was reconstituted through a new "Lost Cause" ideology. This revisionist narrative, which was propagated by organizations such as the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), downplayed the centrality of slavery and reframed the Confederacy's actions as noble, focusing on states' rights and Northern aggression (Cox, 2003, 2021; Domby, 2020; Waite, 2020). At the heart of this myth were White supremacist ideas that portrayed enslaved people as content, justifying slavery through claims of Black inferiority (Blight, 2001; Cowa, 2013). These ideological efforts—coupled with the violent resurgence of groups like the Ku Klux Klan (KKK)—helped solidify a "Confederate culture" that not only reshaped the South but also spread nationwide, transforming collective memory of the Confederacy well into the 20th century.[1]

A relatively small group of migrants fueled this country-wide process of cultural diffusion. Using linked records from the Census Tree Project (Buckles et al., 2023), we estimate that half a million White individuals, including over 100,000 thousand former slaveholders and their families, migrated from the former Confederate states to other parts of the U.S. in the three decades following the war. While some settled in the Midwest and Northeast, many moved west, joining nascent communities across the expanding frontier (see Figure 1). Tracking both migrants and stayers, we find that Confederate migrants were positively selected, coming from higher-status occupations and public authority roles in their home counties. This contrasts with the later and much larger migration of Southern Whites in the mid-20th century, which involved more neutral or negative selection, a distinction we revisit below. We also show that economic upheaval, wartime destruction, and grievances with Union-led Reconstruction

[1]Historian Karen L. Cox (2003, p. 1) defines "Confederate culture" as "those ideas and symbols that Lost Cause devotees associated with the former Confederacy." Historian Kevin Waite (2020), meanwhile, uses "Confederate culture" to describe an affinity for Confederate memorialization in many places outside of the South during the 20th century.

efforts drove many of these initial migrants to seek new opportunities outside the South.

We identify a causal impact of these migrants on both symbolic and material expressions of Confederate culture outside the South by the early 20th century. We focus on four outcomes: (i) Confederate memorialization (e.g., monuments, place names), (ii) UDC chapters, (iii) KKK chapters, and (iv) lynchings of Black people. These measures capture a process, described by historians of the postbellum U.S., in which White populations mobilized grievances and engaged in racial terror to recreate antebellum socioeconomic hierarchies. To isolate the diaspora's unique role in this process, we develop a shift-share instrumental variable (SSIV) framework, combining historical migrant networks across counties outside the South in 1870 (shares), at the dawn of the postbellum period, with predicted migration flows from 1870 to 1900 (shifts). Conditional on the 1870 population share of Southern-born Whites, our SSIV identifies the distinct influence of the Confederate diaspora forged between 1870 and 1900.

Our IV estimates show that the diaspora not only built infrastructure (e.g., memorials) and organizations (e.g., UDC) to promote Confederate memory but also accelerated the spread of the KKK and Black lynchings, entrenching racial inequity in public life. By 1900, Confederate migrants made up 2.2% of the population in destination counties, but their influence was outsized. For example, increasing the Confederate diaspora from zero to the mean raises the likelihood of KKK activity by 8 percentage points (p.p.), relative to a mean of 35% prevalence across counties. The impact on post-1900 lynching events is even larger, increasing by 4 p.p. relative to a mean of 5%. Our findings hold across the non-South, including newly-incorporated counties with little or no population in 1860. This, together with other robustness checks, suggests minimal bias from migrant sorting into ideologically-aligned regions.

Despite their small numbers, Confederate migrants found favorable conditions for cultural influence in their new communities, shaped by both their ideological intensity and the power structures of their destinations. Consistent with the former, we uncover significant heterogeneity within the diaspora. Migrants from the Deep South, the epicenter of slavery and secessionist mobilization, were more influential than those from the Upper South or border states. Likewise, migrants with deeper exposure to slavery, Civil War violence, and postwar Union Army occupation and Reconstruction played a more prominent role in entrenching Confederate culture. Former slaveholders, while a small minority of the diaspora, were especially pivotal in this process.

We identify larger effects in places with malleable power structures. Migrants were more influential in areas with lower population density, weaker Union presence, fewer transport connections, more extractive industry, and less cohesive local populations. These factors created amenable conditions for the diffusion of Confederate culture through public institutions and civil society. Indeed, Confederate migrants, especially former slaveholders, disproportionately held positions of authority in their new communities, such as law enforcement, the judiciary, religion, education, and media. Consistent with a taste for and comparative advantage in public authority, such sorting went beyond a mere continuation of prior occupations in the South and was disproportionate even compared to other out-of-state migrants.

Migrants may encounter favorable conditions for influence, but achieving it requires activating several channels for cultural transmission. We examine the three channels in the conceptual framework: organizational mobilization, cultural spillovers between individuals, and institutional leverage. Using newly digitized data on KKK membership, we illustrate how Confederate culture spread through organizations. The second KKK, established in 1915, played a central role in mainstreaming Confederate culture. We show that in Denver, Colorado—a major hub for Klan activity in the 1920s—White men

born in the South were significantly more likely to join the KKK than those born elsewhere, even after accounting for labor market competition from minorities or immigrants. We find even stronger KKK representation among migrants from areas with deeper grievances tied to the war and the end of slavery. Thus, Klan membership was likely driven by culture and ideology, not simply economic grievance.

Confederate migrants not only joined the KKK in disproportionate numbers but also passed on this cultural affinity to their descendants and non-Southern neighbors. Second-generation migrants born in the diaspora had similarly high KKK membership rates, indicating that vertical cultural transmission within families helped sustain Confederate influence over time. Additionally, White men living next door to first- or second-generation Southern migrants were more likely to join the Klan, consistent with cultural spillovers from the diaspora. Similar findings on Klan activity hold across multiple states, including Colorado, Indiana, and Arizona. These results highlight the crucial role of civil society organizations like the KKK in perpetuating migrant culture beyond the first generation.

Migrants can also grow their influence through institutions. Drawing on Bisin and Verdier (2024), who theorize that elites shape outcomes through the interaction of culture and institutions, we show empirically that Confederate migrants used public authority to amplify Confederate culture. Their outsized presence in law enforcement, the legal system, and public administration facilitated greater memorialization of the Confederacy and the spread of racial terror in public life. Our findings suggest that individuals in positions of power can facilitate cultural change. These positions also played a key role in sustaining the diaspora's influence across generations: like their parents, second-generation migrants were more likely to occupy leadership roles in governance, civil society, local politics, and media, thus plausibly helping to perpetuate Confederate norms.

We conclude by demonstrating the consequences of diaspora influence for the socioeconomic standing of Black populations. Using our SSIV strategy, we show that the Confederate diaspora increased racial wage gaps, residential segregation, and Black incarceration in the early 1900s. While racial inequity has complex, multidimensional roots, our findings highlight the connection between the entrenchment of Confederate culture and limited opportunities for minorities. Discrimination restricted access, and more extreme tools, such as "sundown towns," furthered exclusion. Distinct from de jure exclusionary practices in the Confederacy and later under Jim Crow, sundown towns emerged and proliferated outside the South beginning in the late 1800s as a means of forcible exclusion from all-White towns (Loewen, 2005). We link the prevalence of sundown towns to Confederate migrants and show that a 1 p.p. increase in the size of the Confederate diaspora in 1900 led to a 2.4 p.p. increase in the likelihood of complete Black depopulation. This racial cleansing reshaped Black settlement patterns and likely reinforced the persistence of Confederate culture by limiting interracial contact.

This paper introduces a new framework for understanding when and how migrants reshape the cultural landscape of their destinations. While much of the literature focuses on assimilation, some migrants do more than adapt—they actively transform prevailing norms and institutions. Our framework identifies the conditions and channels through which this influence occurs, providing a tool for both historical and contemporary research on migration and cultural change. The findings from other studies on influential migrants (e.g., Calderon et al., 2023; Dippel and Heblich, 2021; Grosjean, 2014; Ochsner and Roesel, 2020; Bazzi et al., 2020; Giuliano and Tabellini, 2020) can be viewed through our framework, revealing various combinations of relevant conditions and channels. The case of the Confederate diaspora aligns most closely with other ideologically-intense migrants that successfully activated multiple chan-

nels, such as spillovers and organizations,[2] with the added factor of elite status in malleable destinations, resulting in a "perfect storm" of active channels for cultural influence.

We contribute to a growing body of work on the interaction between culture and institutions. A large literature explores the origins and consequences of institutions (e.g., Acemoglu et al., 2005; North et al., 2009) and culture (e.g., Tabellini, 2010), and while theory offers rich insights into their interactions, empirical evidence is more limited (Alesina and Giuliano, 2015; Bisin and Verdier, 2024; Tabellini, 2008). Using fine-grained data on migration, occupational status, and governance, we show how Confederate cultural elites gained authority in new regions and used institutional levers to transmit ideology. This dynamic aligns with prestige-biased cultural transmission, whereby non-elites emulate elites in power (Henrich and Gil-White, 2001), in this case perhaps linking Confederate ideology to socioeconomic success.[3] Our findings thus bridge theories of cultural diffusion with institutional persistence.

Our analysis sheds new light on an understudied feature of nation building in early 20th-century America. While historians have emphasized reconciliation between North and South (Blight, 2001), we show that the Confederate diaspora played a critical—yet often overlooked—role in this process. These elite migrants imported a slaveholding heritage and reshaped civic culture in the places they settled, laying the groundwork for racial chauvinism that resurfaced most visibly with the 1915 film *The Birth of a Nation* and spread of the KKK (Ang, 2023; Esposito et al., 2023).

We provide new empirical evidence on the cultural foundations of institutionalized animus.[4] A large literature documents the consequences of racial bias and discrimination in labor markets (e.g., Bayer and Charles, 2018), media (e.g., Moreno-Medina et al., 2022), credit (e.g., Bayer et al., 2018), education (e.g., Billings et al., 2014), housing (e.g., Logan and Parman, 2017), public accommodations (e.g., Cook et al., 2022), policing (e.g., Knox et al., 2020), and criminal justice (e.g., Arnold et al., 2022). Our work traces part of this widespread legacy of inequity to the postbellum migration of Southern Whites. These migrants, and especially the elites among them, helped entrench racial hierarchies beyond the South, showing how slavery's cultural residue spread across the U.S. and endured. These early foundations help explain persistence: laws reducing discrimination may be less effective where racial animus is ingrained in formal or informal institutions.[5]

Finally, we advance the historical study of internal migration and its role in shaping political and cultural change. In a complementary study, we show how mass Southern White migration in the 20th century shifted the trajectory of partisan politics by fostering a national coalition of religious, racial, and economic conservatives (Bazzi et al., 2023). In contrast, this study focuses on a smaller, more elite wave of Confederate migrants in the 19th century, examining how they shaped local norms, particularly through the spread of Lost Cause ideology. These early migrants mobilized postwar grievances, captured

[2]Two salient cases illustrate how migrants can reshape culture. Dippel and Heblich (2021) show that a small but politically active German immigrant group used civic organizations to mobilize participation in the Union Army during the Civil War, forming a vanguard of anti-slavery efforts. Ochsner and Roesel (2020) show that ideologically committed Nazi elites settling in Upper Austria after WWII changed the trajectory of the right-wing movement by capturing local political party branches.

[3]Our findings on the sociopolitical influence of slaveholders outside the South resonate with research on the recovery of slaveholder power within the postbellum South; see, among others, Foner (2002) on the undermining of racial progress during the Reconstruction era and Ager et al. (2021) on intergenerational mobility within former slaveholding families.

[4]Research on the roots of animus spans economics (e.g., Aaronson et al., 2021; Fryer Jr. and Levitt, 2012; Shertzer and Walsh, 2019), history (e.g., Campney, 2019), political science (e.g., Acharya et al., 2016), and sociology (e.g., O'Connell, 2019).

[5]Our study thus complements and extends research linking post-Confederate institutions to enduring harms for Black Americans *within* the South, e.g., O'Connell (2020) and Williams (2021) on memorialization and wage inequality, Henderson et al. (2021) on memorialization and lynching, Rahnama (2022) on de-memorialization and attitude change, Jones et al. (2017) and Williams (forthcoming) on lynching and voting, and Cook (2014) on lynching and patenting. Other work tackles various legacies of slavery in the U.S. (see, e.g., Althoff and Reichardt, 2022; Cook et al., 2018; Suryanarayan and White, 2021).

local institutions, and established networks that influenced the Great Migration decades later. While the influence of later migrants was largely driven by their scale and their role in the reconfiguration of national electoral coalitions, the Confederate diaspora's impact stemmed from their elite and aggrieved backgrounds, which propelled them to wield power in public life. Together, these two studies offer a new foundation for understanding the history and legacy of Southern migration (Berry, 2000; Dippel, 2005; Dochuk, 2010; Gregory, 2005; Waite, 2021), offering insights on the different pathways of far-reaching impacts. Our findings on the Confederate diaspora shed new light on how relatively small groups of migrants can exert outsized influence in early stages of development, a fundamental theme in the historiography of the U.S. (Fischer, 1989; Turner, 1893; Zelinsky, 1973).

The paper proceeds as follows. In Section 2, we first develop a framework for understanding migrant cultural influence and then describe the historical context of the Confederate diaspora as a testing ground. Section 3 provides new evidence on the selection and sorting of Confederate migrants. Section 4 establishes the average cultural impacts of the diaspora. We then explore mechanisms guided by the conceptual framework, offering evidence on the conditions (Section 5) and channels (Section 6) through which these migrants shape destination culture. Section 7 then traces out the consequences for racial inequity and exclusion. Section 8 concludes with a discussion of broader lessons.

2 Conceptual and Historical Background

This section provides the conceptual and historical foundations for our empirical analysis. We begin by developing a general framework for understanding the *conditions* under which migrants influence the culture of destination communities, as well as the *channels* through which such influence operates. We then describe the history of the Confederate diaspora through the lens of this framework, underscoring the ripe conditions and broad scope for activating channels of influence in the postbellum United States.

2.1 Conceptual Framework

Migrant influence on culture depends on the characteristics of migrants and their destinations. When people move, they bring elements of their culture with them. Over time, migrants often assimilate, adopting local norms and shedding their distinctive traits. Yet, culture can also persist, and sometimes, rather than assimilating, migrants shape culture in their new communities. We propose that such influence arises under certain *conditions* and through the activation of various transmission *channels*.

We consider two core conditions for migrant influence. The first is *ideological intensity*, which captures how strongly migrants hold and express their cultural identities and norms. Individuals differ in the extent to which they identify with social categories (e.g., based on race, ethnicity, gender) and uphold social norms prescribing group-specific behaviors, differential access to resources, and out-group discrimination (see Akerlof and Kranton, 2010; Darity Jr. et al., 2006). Intensity may be related to the level of group cohesion (i.e., strong norms and low tolerance for deviation, Gelfand et al., 2006) and strength of intergenerational cultural transmission (Bisin and Verdier, 2001). Meanwhile, cultural entrepreneurs can bolster ideological intensity by introducing ideas or cultural narratives that resonate within their communities (Acemoglu and Robinson, 2021).

The second condition is the local *power structure*. A group's ability to influence culture is both a driver and a byproduct of its economic, social, and political power (see, e.g., Acemoglu and Johnson,

2023; Mann, 2012). This power structure depends on the characteristics of a migrant group's destination (e.g., fundamentals, native characteristics) and the group's interactions between those group- and place-level factors. Migrants' socioeconomic and political status, in turn, is shaped by the compatibility of their skills and cultural traits with the local environment. Such status confers cultural power, which may be further amplified by prestige bias (Henrich and Gil-White, 2001) and through coordination in social networks (Acemoglu and Jackson, 2015).

While group size can be an important foundation of cultural power, small groups can have outsized effects under certain conditions. One key factor is the malleability of the destination environment, which depends on the size, cohesiveness, and status of the native population, its openness to influence, and the strength of local norms and institutions shaped by history. In areas with few entrenched norms, particularly those remote from other influences, migrants can shape long-term cultural trajectories through early dominance, echoing Zelinsky's (1973) "doctrine of first effective settlement."

These conditions for influence are partly a result of the forces driving migration, which impact the size, composition, and traits of migrant groups. Selection on cultural traits affects ideological intensity, while sorting across destinations affects relative power. Migrants may be negatively selected from origin cultures (e.g., individualists leaving collectivist societies or religious minorities fleeing persecution). Although those most attached to the dominant culture at home are less likely to migrate, economic shocks can "push out" culturally representative migrants, consistent with the epidemiological approach in cultural economics (Fernández, 2007; Giuliano, 2007). Migrants often sort into destinations that match their skills (Bazzi et al., 2016; Obolensky et al., 2024; Steckel, 1983), which enables income gains and, in turn, increased power and prestige. Sorting also reflects preferences: migrants may have greater influence where cultural proximity fosters affinity, though this limits the scope for cultural change. Ideologically intense migrants may seek malleable destinations with minimal cultural resistance, such as frontier areas with few residents or formal institutions.

Under the favorable conditions outlined above, migrants can exert cultural influence through three key channels. The first channel is cultural spillovers, which occur through vertical, horizontal, and oblique transmission at the *individual-to-individual* level. Migrants influence the social norms of their offspring, their neighbors, and others' children through direct interactions (Bisin and Verdier, 2001). These spillovers create pathways for cultural traits to diffuse across generations and social networks.

The second channel involves civil society organizations as an infrastructure for cultural transmission. By building and operationalizing organizations like churches, schools, and community groups, migrants can shape social norms (Carvalho, 2016). This *group-to-individual* channel complements and amplifies individual-level cultural spillovers, i.e., through horizontal and oblique transmission.

The third channel emerges when migrants hold positions of public authority within favorable power structures. In such cases, they can influence institutions and policies to entrench their ideological positions (Acemoglu et al., 2005). This can shape both formal rules and informal norms, creating a multiplier effect: groups with political power can amplify their cultural influence through policies that reinforce their initial impact. As Bisin and Verdier (2024) illustrate in a formal theoretical model, an "institutional multiplier" can emerge when political dominance aligns policies with cultural traits, intensifying their spread across society (see also Acemoglu and Robinson, 2021).

2.2 Historical Background

Confederate culture emerged as a powerful and galvanizing ideological force for those who lived through the Confederacy, its military defeat, and postbellum Union occupation during the 1860s. This firsthand experience set Confederate migrants apart from both their antebellum predecessors and those of the Great Migration in the 1900s. Their experiences with slavery, nostalgia for the antebellum South, and strong resentment of federal intervention were central to the Confederate diaspora as it spread across America, at the critical juncture of post-war reconciliation and nation building.

Grievances ran especially deep among Southern slaveholding families, who were overrepresented in the Confederate Army (Hall et al., 2019) and suffered relatively larger losses in wealth and status after the war (Ager et al., 2021). Former slaveholders, in particular, embodied an intense ideology tied to their elite backgrounds and ambitions for power. This intensity likely compelled them to seek out malleable destinations, in which they could ascend to positions of authority and prestige. From such positions, migrants would be well-placed to entrench their ideology in public life.

Confederate migrants often moved westward, settling in frontier areas or newly-established regions within states. In these malleable settings, they could readily access positions of power to further transmit Confederate culture, leveraging prestige bias to influence upwardly mobile populations in a rapidly growing post-war economy. This sorting pattern highlights the complementarity between the two key conditions for migrant influence. Together, their ideological intensity and the malleability of their destinations served as a catalyst for their influence, with elite migrants leading the way.

Ideological Intensity: A Budding "Confederate Culture." Since America's early history, a cultural divide has separated the North and South. The South's agroclimatic advantage in crops suited to large-scale plantations, reliant on slave labor, fostered distinct economic and political institutions (Engerman and Sokoloff, 2002). Settlement patterns also played a role, with Scots-Irish migrants bringing a "culture of honor" to the South, contributing to higher levels of violence (Grosjean, 2014). Unlike the North, the South did not experience a large influx of ethnically diverse European immigrants in the 19th century, allowing "whiteness" as an identity to solidify earlier (Roediger, 2006).

The fault lines deepened around the Civil War. After the South's military defeat, many Southern Whites sought to redeem the South's image and rationalize their loss, coalescing racial identity norms into a new ideological configuration. The "Lost Cause of the Confederacy" combined narratives, symbols, and myths that glorified Confederate leaders, defended secession, and reframed the war as a struggle for "states' rights" rather than slavery. This ideology merged racist tropes of Black inferiority and White supremacy (e.g., romanticizing slaveholders as benevolent paternalists, Blight, 2001; Cowa, 2013; Cox, 2003) with other cultural and political elements that reinforced Southern White identity and values. First articulated by Edward Pollard (Pollard, 1866), a staunch Confederate and newspaper editor from Virginia, the Lost Cause emerged as a significant example of cultural entrepreneurship.

Civil society organizations, particularly the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), played a central role in spreading Lost Cause ideology. The UDC spearheaded Confederate memorialization, erecting monuments and renaming places to honor Confederate heroes. They often targeted younger generations, placing Confederate flags and portraits of military leaders in schools (Cox, 2003, p. 2).

The spread of Lost Cause narratives also precipitated violent manifestations of racial animus, such as public lynchings (Nolan, 2000). This violence was often propagated by the Ku Klux Klan, a White supremacist insurgent group founded after the Civil War. Although initially suppressed during Recon-

struction, the Klan was revived in Georgia in 1915 and quickly spread nationwide, peaking in membership during the early 1920s (McVeigh, 2009).

The national diffusion of Confederate symbols and Lost Cause myths in the early 20th century contributed to White reconciliation across the North–South divide (Cox, 2003; Nolan, 2000; Richardson, 2004). Shared battles against external enemies—the Indian Wars, the Spanish-American War, and World War I—further united Whites, as did racial backlash in the North during the first Black Great Migration (Fouka et al., 2022). Popular culture bolstered these narratives, with films like *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), *Gone with the Wind* (1939), and *Song of the South* (1946) embedding Confederate mythology into the national consciousness (Esposito et al., 2023).

Figure 2 illustrates the ideological intensity of Confederate migrants by tracking the frequency of children named after Confederate leaders across birth cohorts from 1850-–1940.[6] Using complete-count Census data, we examine three White population groups: (i) Southerners in the South, (ii) Southerners outside the South, and (iii) non-Southerners outside the South. Names are conservatively defined to include full distinctive components, such as "Robert Lee," or unique identifiers like "Stonewall" and "Beauregard," which together provide a rare but clear signal of Confederate cultural attachment.

During the Civil War, these names surged among Southern-heritage Whites both inside and outside the South. We see an even stronger uptick among children of slaveholders (Appendix Figure C.1). In contrast, they were less common among Whites without Southern heritage, reflecting broader opposition to the Confederacy outside the South. After the war, Confederate leader names declined universally but rose again in the early 20th century among both Southern and non-Southern Whites. Notably, the resurgence extended to non-Southerners without second-generation Southern heritage (Appendix Figure D.2), consistent with cultural spillovers beyond the diaspora.

Power Structure: The South Settles the West. Confederate migrants often settled in malleable areas where they could access positions of power and prestige, leveraging their ambition for and comparative advantage in authority. As public administrators, lawyers, judges, police, religious leaders, politicians, and newspaper owners, they gained control of local institutions, shaping policies, promoting Confederate memorialization, and embedding racial inequity in destination communities.

The first wave of Southern White outmigration occurred during the mid-19th century Gold Rush. Poor Southerners moved westward in search of cheap land, particularly in areas where slavery had not yet been established. Meanwhile, wealthy slaveholders sought to expand plantation agriculture and bring slavery to the fertile lands of the West (Waite, 2021). Despite their economic differences, both poor and rich Southern migrants shared a common interest in preserving racial hierarchies (Dippel, 2005).

After the Civil War, the collapse of plantation agriculture, along with wartime destruction and the loss of labor, capital, and credit, devastated the South's economy, including the slaveholding elite (Aldrich, 1973; Baker and Hahn, 2016; Dochuk, 2010). The emancipation and enfranchisement of Black Americans threatened the White monopoly on economic and political power (Acharya et al., 2016). Frustration with Union occupation and Reconstruction further fueled outmigration. Of the 5 million Whites born and living in the South as of 1870, nearly 10% had moved out by 1900 (see Appendix C).

Migrants often settled where they could recreate Old South hierarchies. Some chose all-White destinations with little Black competition, while others formed racially homogeneous enclaves in the sparsely populated West (Dippel, 2005). For former-slaveholding elites, the West provided a chance to replicate

[6]Confederate leaders are defined as those linked to multiple monuments by the Southern Poverty Law Center (see Section 4.1).

the "oligarchic principles" of the Confederacy, re-establishing antebellum hierarchies in new locations and industries (Richardson, 2020, p. 85). Many sought regions with political and climatic similarities to the South, as noted in Section 3. By the late 19th century, the West—dominated by large-scale farming—was ideologically closer to the South than to the industrial North (Richardson, 2020).

In the post-Reconstruction South (i.e., after 1877), political power was critical to re-establishing and institutionalizing racial hierarchies. This was achieved through both *de jure mechanisms*, such as Jim Crow laws, and *de facto* control of political and economic institutions. Acemoglu et al. (2008) characterize the Southern post-emancipation regime as "one of the best examples of the persistence of economic institutions as a consequence of persistent *de facto power*." Beyond the South, racial segregation in the "Jim Crow North" operated largely through *de facto* systems, partly supported by the elite capture of local institutions by Confederate migrants. For example, Northern school boards implemented segregation despite state laws prohibiting it (Douglas, 2005), while judges, police, real estate developers, and urban policymakers upheld broader racial discrimination (Woodard and Theoharis, 2019).

The story of Cameron E. Thom, retold by Waite (2021), illustrates the reach of elite Confederate migrants. Born in Virginia, Thom moved to California during the Gold Rush, bringing slaves with him, and soon became a lawyer. During the Civil War, he returned to the South and was a Confederate captain, before returning to California. As district attorney in Los Angeles, he oversaw a sham trial that freed White perpetrators of the 1871 Chinatown massacre, and in 1882 became mayor. In 1889, he co-founded the town of Glendale, which became a hub of White supremacy. Glendale, one of the nation's first "sundown towns," hosted an early chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (co-founded by Thom's wife, Belle), and later incubated a significant KKK presence with regional leadership roles.

Thom's life highlights how the Confederate diaspora activated multiple channels of influence. Though especially prominent, he was not unique: many former Confederate soldiers entered public administration after the war (Hood, 2020). The diaspora even reached the highest office: Woodrow Wilson, born in Virginia in 1856 and later a New England transplant, became president of the United States in 1913. Wilson's tenure advanced Lost Cause narratives, including a White House screening of *The Birth of a Nation* and the segregation of the federal bureaucracy (Ambrosius, 2007; Aneja and Xu, 2022).

The influence of the diaspora spread with its second generation. One striking example is Benjamin Stapleton, mayor of Denver from 1923–31 and 1935–47. A second-generation Southern migrant and grandson of a Confederate soldier, Stapleton relied on decisive support from the KKK to secure his position in the then young and malleable city. Once in office, he granted the Klan control over the local police force (Goldberg, 1981). Stapleton's case and numerous others—both prominent and less well-known—illustrate mechanisms of influence that we explore empirically in Sections 5 and 6.

3 The Confederate Diaspora: Push and Pull Factors

This section uses Census microdata to characterize the systematic push and pull factors that shaped Confederate migrant selection and sorting. Our descriptive analysis here substantiates the accounts by historians detailed in Section 2.2 and also sets the stage for developing our core empirical strategy.

We track Confederate migrants using the U.S. Censuses of Population from 1870–1900 and make extensive use of linked records. As a baseline, we define Confederate migrants as Whites born in the eleven former Confederate states plus Oklahoma who lived outside the South in the decades following

the Civil War.[7] In addition to the complete-count Census data, we also use linked records from the Census Tree (CT) Project (Buckles et al., 2023; Price et al., 2021) to track individuals over time. The CT puts together the largest available set of linked Census records by combining links from the Census Linking Project (Abramitzky et al., 2020) and the IPUMS Multigenerational Longitudinal Panel alongside 317 million links created by users of the online geoneology platform `FamilySearch.org`.

Selection of Confederate Migrants. To describe migrant selection, we stack the linked records from 1870–1880 and 1880–1900 and estimate the following for individuals in the South in the initial period:[8]

$$y_{i\tau} = \theta_{o\tau(i)} + \beta \cdot migrant_{i,\tau+1} + \mathbf{x}'_{i\tau}\boldsymbol{\delta} + \varepsilon_{i\tau}, \tag{1}$$

where $y_{i\tau}$ is a characteristic of individual i in the initial period τ, and $migrant_{i,\tau+1}$ is an indicator equal to one if the individual was living outside the South in the post-period. With initial origin county$\times$period fixed effects, $\theta_{o\tau(i)}$, β identifies the average migrant-versus-stayer differential in y. Panel (a) of Table 1 explores demographics and shows that migrants were slightly younger, more likely to be men, more literate, slightly less likely to be married, and had fewer children on average relative to stayers.

Panel (b) shows selection patterns across initial labor market outcomes, after controlling, in $\mathbf{x}_{i\tau}$, for a cubic in age, marital status, and number of children. While migrants were no more likely to be employed in the initial period, they were less likely to work in agriculture and much more likely to work in public-facing authority occupations, which include lawyers and judges, law enforcement, public administrators, religious workers, and educators. Overall, they worked in higher-earning and -status positions, proxied by the occupational income score and socioeconomic index. Together, these results suggest that Confederate migrants were positively selected and more likely to have had public influence in the South through positions in governance and civil society.

Origin Push Factors. Using the intercensal linked records, we track migrants from each Southern origin county o to any incorporated county in the conterminous non-Southern states. For each origin county o, we total the number of White out-migrants in a given Census period through $\tau \in \{1880, 1900\}$.[9] We then estimate the following equation to characterize county-level push factors:

$$\text{Southern White migrants}_{o\tau} = \theta_\tau + \mathbf{push}'_{o,\tau-1}\boldsymbol{\beta_\tau} + \phi_\tau \text{population}_{o,\tau-1} + \varepsilon_{o\tau}, \tag{2}$$

where $\mathbf{push}_{o,\tau-1}$ is a vector of predetermined economic and ideological factors. The former include measures of manufacturing wages and output from the Census as well as cotton, tobacco, and overall agricultural potential from the Global Agro-Ecological Zones (GAEZ) database. The latter include the enslaved population share, slaveholding population share, Confederate Army enlistment rate, Civil War battle locations, and the vote share for John C. Breckinridge, the pro-slavery Southern Democratic candidate for president in 1860 (see Appendix Table A.1 for summary statistics). Note that the τ index on the parameters allows the push factors to differ across periods.

[7] Most of Indian Territory (later Oklahoma) aligned with the Confederacy through formal "treaties of friendship and alliance."

[8] Note that 1890 Census microdata were lost in a fire.

[9] Concretely, we use the linked Census records together with the complete-count Census to estimate:

$$\text{Southern White migrants}_{o\tau} = \sum_{d=1}^{D} \left(\frac{\text{\# Whites in } o \text{ in } \tau-1 \text{ linked to } d \text{ in } \tau}{\text{\# Whites in } o \text{ in } \tau-1 \text{ linked to Census } \tau} \right) \times \text{Southern Whites}_{o,\tau-1},$$

using individuals linked to the South in 1860, where o indicates Southern origin counties, d indicates non-Southern destination counties, and $Southern\ Whites_{o,\tau-1}$ is based on the complete-count Census in the previous period. This allows us to approximate, for each Census period, total Southern White outmigration from o to all non-Southern counties, which we then put on the left-hand-side of equation (2). See Appendix Figure B.1 for validating evidence that the approximation works well.

Appendix Table A.2 highlights important economic and ideological drivers of postbellum migration. Counties with stronger pre-war support for slavery and secession saw less outmigration, as did agriculturally-suitable areas with more slaveholders and larger Black populations, where emancipated labor often stayed on at relatively low wages, thus keeping many White-owned farms viable (Prince, 2000). The Freedman's Bureaus, which are associated with less outmigration, may have reinforced this channel by providing resources that hastened economic recovery not only among freed Black workers but also destitute Whites.[10] In contrast, outmigration was higher in urban manufacturing centers, consistent with positive individual-level selection in Table 1, and from tobacco-suitable areas in the Carolinas and Virginia, long-standing origins of poorer White migrants (Dippel, 2005). Economic devastation from the war and the downturn in agriculture pushed out Whites with fewer options but enough means to leave. We find greater outmigration from counties with more Confederate Army veterans and wartime battles, with grievance-based push factors reinforced by Union Army occupation after the war.

Destination Pull Factors. To characterize migrant sorting, we measure, for each non-Southern county, the Southern-born White population share in 1900 using the complete-count Census (see Figure 1). This is our primary regressor in county-level analyses in later sections. We then estimate the following:

$$\%\ \text{Southern Whites}_{c,1900} = \alpha_s + \mathbf{pull}_c'\boldsymbol{\gamma} + \varepsilon_{c,1900}, \tag{3}$$

where $\mathbf{pull}_c$ is a vector of standardized time-invariant or pre-determined pull factors, and α_s are state fixed effects, which account for broad spatial confounders of Confederate migration and culture.

Appendix Figure A.1 shows mixed evidence of sorting. Confederate migrants generally moved westward (see Figure 1), and they further gravitated towards lower-density counties within states as well as those with a larger initial Confederate migrant population in 1870. While diaspora size in 1900 does not vary with overall agricultural potential, it is larger in counties with greater cotton suitability, consistent with skill- or preference-based sorting. Ideological forces appear more muted: some are positively (e.g., Breckinridge vote, Union Army enlistment) and others negatively associated (e.g., Union Army mortality rate), but most coefficients are small and none statistically significant.

4 Transmitting and Entrenching Confederate Culture

This section establishes the baseline effect of postbellum migrants in diffusing Confederate memory and norms outside the South. First, we describe key outcomes measuring Confederate culture. Second, we develop the identification strategy. Third, we present core results and robustness.

4.1 Measuring Confederate Culture

We view Confederate culture as a bundle of norms and actions with ideological roots in the antebellum and early postbellum South. We consider four measures of Confederate cultural expressions in non-Southern county c in the early 1900s: Confederate memorials, UDC chapters, 2nd KKK chapters, and lynchings of Blacks. We also create a composite Confederate Culture Index (CCI), summing these indicators. Figure 3 shows CCI scores (from 0 to 4) by county, and Appendix Figure D.1 shows maps for each outcome. These measures capture how women in the UDC advanced symbolic expressions of

[10] This aligns with the idea that effective dismantling of Reconstruction secured White supremacy in the postwar South, thus limiting outmigration pressure (see Chyn et al., 2024, on the backlash triggered by Freedman's Bureaus).

Confederate ideology, while men in the KKK enacted racial terror. Meanwhile, memorials and lynchings served as key mechanisms for transmitting Confederate memory and racial norms.

We draw on several primary and secondary sources to track Confederate culture across time and space. First, we build an omnibus measure of memorialization, which starts with monuments from the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC)'s "Whose Heritage?" database.[11] We also identify prominent Confederate leaders from these monuments and search for their names in (i) places in the U.S. Geographic Names Information System (GNIS), (ii) streets in the U.S. Census Bureau's TIGER/Line Shapefiles, and (iii) schools in the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) Public School Universe Survey Data. Second, we geolocate UDC chapters from 1900–1920 based on a novel digitization of the group's "Minutes of the Annual Meeting." Third, we use Second KKK chapter data (1915–40) from the Virginia Commonwealth Library's Klan Map Project. Fourth, we track lynchings (1882–1941) using data from Seguin and Rigby (2019) and the Historic American Lynching (HAL) Project.

4.2 Identification Strategy

We develop a shift-share instrumental variable (SSIV) framework for identifying causal effects of the Confederate diaspora. Our primary second-stage estimating equation is given by:

$$y_c = \alpha_s + \beta \cdot \%\text{ Southern Whites}_{c,1900} + \mathbf{x}_c'\boldsymbol{\gamma} + \varepsilon_c, \tag{4}$$

where y_c is a measure of Confederate culture. The key regressor, $\%\ Southern\ Whites_{c,1900}$, captures the postbellum Confederate diaspora.[12] Later, in Section 5.1, we distinguish slaveholder and non-slaveholder migrants. We cluster standard errors across counties within 60×60 mile grid cells following Bester et al. (2011) and show robustness to other spatial structures (Adao et al., 2019; Conley, 1999).

There are two interrelated threats to causal identification of β in equation (4). First, place-specific factors, such as factor endowments conducive to plantation labor, may confound interpretation. Second, endogenous location choices based on previous settlement patterns may bias OLS estimates. Depending on the relative importance of ideological and economic sorting, which we discussed in Section 3, the bias could go either way. Economic sorting could downward-bias OLS if economically vibrant areas attracted diverse, tolerant migrants who would otherwise dilute Confederate culture. In contrast, ideological sorting would favor culturally-similar destinations, implying an upward bias.

We address these concerns in three ways. First, equation (4) includes state FE, α_s, and many controls, $\mathbf{x}_c$, to absorb sorting confounders. Our baseline includes log population in 1870 and log county area, and we include all pull factors in equation (3) above, as well as additional ones in robustness checks. Continuous controls enter quadratically, and with additional, interactive nonlinearities for robustness.

Second, we adopt a shift-share IV strategy that combines two sources of variation. The shares are based on the cross-sectional distribution of White migrants from Southern origin state j living in non-Southern county c in 1870, which we denote $\pi_{jc,1870}$. The shifts are based on the change in the number of Whites from Southern state j living outside the South between 1870 and 1900, which we denote $\Delta M_{j,1870-1900}$. Following prior work on Southern migration (Boustan, 2010; Derenoncourt, 2022), we use predicted shifts, $\widehat{\Delta M}_{j,1870-1900}$, based on origin-county push factors over the 1870–1900 period. Together, these predict the stock of Southern White migrants in 1900 as:

[11] We limit to monuments standing after 1900, and the majority, especially outside the South, were built in the early 1900s.

[12] This time horizon focuses our analysis on the group of interest: those who experienced slavery, the Confederacy, and its loss and then moved in the years after the war.

$$Z_{c,1900} = \sum_{j=1}^{J} \pi_{jc,1870} \widehat{\Delta M}_{j,1870-1900}. \tag{5}$$

Scaling $Z_{c,1900}$ by the 1870 county population yields our SSIV for $\%\ Southern\ Whites_{c,1900}$ in equation (4). This IV isolates the effects of the Confederate diaspora due to changes in Southern White inflows during the postbellum period from 1870–1900. The SSIV is relevant to the extent that postbellum Whites tended to follow the migratory pathways introduced by their antebellum predecessors. The shares, $\pi_{jc,1870}$, reflect these historical networks in the nascent postbellum era for all counties c incorporated in the U.S. by 1870. We use 1870 as the base year because many Western counties were not yet incorporated in 1860; 18.4% of counties lack data in 1860, compared to only 5.9% in 1870. For robustness, we consider an 1860 base year with the restricted sample of incorporated counties.

Because the shares alone may be endogenous, our SSIV combines them with predicted shifts, based on origin-county push factors. This "push factor" version of the standard SSIV can satisfy the exclusion restriction even when the share component is endogenous, to the extent that the shift is based on exogenous shocks (see Borusyak et al., 2022). We construct our predicted shift, $\widehat{\Delta M}_{j,1870-1900}$, by summing predicted outmigration, $\widehat{\text{Southern White migrants}}_{o\tau}$, for each origin county o for Census periods 1870–1880 and 1880–1900 based on equation (2). Specifically, we use a flexible LASSO algorithm, which shrinks the set of origin-county predictors as well as their square and cross-term interactions into an optimal subset, to predict Southern outflows for each origin-county-period. These are then aggregated to the sending state j level to produce $\widehat{\Delta M}_{j,1870-1900}$ in equation (5):

$$\widehat{\Delta M}_{j,1870-1900} = \sum_{o \in j} \sum_{\tau \in \{1880,1900\}} \widehat{\text{Southern White migrants}}_{o\tau}, \tag{6}$$

Later, we adapt equation (2) to predict distinct shifts for former slaveholders and non-slaveholders.

Finally, several additional checks address residual concerns. We control for the Southern White population share in 1870, $\%\ Southern\ Whites_{c,1870}$, in equation (4) to render the IV specification equivalent to one with the *change* in Southern White shares between 1870–1900 as the key regressor, thus absorbing time-invariant heterogeneity. Alongside this control, we also implement the Adao et al. (2019) random-shifts placebo exercise to validate the shift-based identifying variation in the SSIV. Together, these checks help ensure that early migrant shares are not confounding our causal interpretation.

4.3 Results

Table 2 presents our baseline county-level findings on the cultural influence of the Confederate diaspora. We report OLS estimates of equation (4) in panel (a) and SSIV in panel (b). Appendix Table B.1 reports the strong first-stage estimates corresponding to panel (b). All specifications include state FE, the 1870 Southern White migrant share, and flexible controls for county area and population in 1870. Even-numbered columns further control for the sorting correlates elaborated above.

Beginning with the composite Confederate Culture Index (CCI), OLS estimates in column 2 suggest that a 1 percentage point (p.p.) increase in the Southern White population share in 1900 (relative to a mean of 2.2% and std. dev. of 3.7%) is associated with an increase in the CCI of 0.04. The corresponding IV estimate is nearly three times as large, implying a 15.4% increase relative to the mean CCI across non-Southern counties. Subsequent columns unbundle the CCI to understand how the diaspora propagated Confederate memory in public life and helped spread racial animus and White supremacy.

Confederate Memory and Lost Cause Advocacy. After the Civil War, memorialization efforts spread across the former Confederacy and, before long, into the former border states and large swathes of the "Old West," too. Columns 3–6 of Table 2 show that the postbellum diaspora hastened the diffusion of such nostalgia throughout the country. In columns 3–4, the IV estimates suggest that a 1 p.p. increase in the migrant share is followed by a 3 p.p. increase in the likelihood of memorialization (relative to a mean of 25%).[13] Estimates for UDC chapters, in columns 5–6, are similar, with larger effect sizes given the more limited organizational presence outside the South (only 10% of counties). These results corroborate the insights of historians who note an "outsized cultural influence" of migrants from the South, particularly in the West, amplified through organizations like the UDC (Waite, 2020, p. 34).

Expressions of White Supremacy. The late 19th and early 20th centuries also saw the spread of more overt expressions of racial animus that had historically been associated with the South. Most prominently, the KKK reemerged in 1915, following *The Birth of a Nation*'s commercial success in propagating Lost Cause narratives and a rosy image of the original KKK. Lynchings of Black people also spread after the war, often taking on a symbolic role in public life, signaling the locality's commitment to White supremacy (Henderson et al., 2021).

Columns 7–10 of Table 2 show that the Confederate diaspora hastened the spread of KKK chapters and lynchings after 1900. IV estimates suggest that a 1 p.p. increase in the migrant share is followed by a 3.5 p.p. increase in the likelihood of KKK presence, a 10 percent increase relative to the mean (column 8). IV estimates for lynching are also positive and significant, with a larger effect size given the rarity of lynchings outside the South (5% of counties, column 10). Lynching patterns are distinctive for Black targets: we find no diaspora effect on White lynchings and a smaller positive and insignificant effect on lynchings of non-Black minorities (see Appendix Table B.4). This helps distinguish racially targeted attacks from generalized violence associated with Southern honor culture (Grosjean, 2014).

Interpreting Magnitudes. The IV estimates in Table 2 are larger, and in most cases significantly different, than the OLS. Measurement error in historical data could attenuate OLS but is unlikely to fully explain the differences. Two additional factors seem relevant. First, economic sorting: Confederate migrants may have settled in more productive locales that attracted other culturally diverse migrants, thus diluting their impact and biasing OLS downward. Section 3 highlights economic sorting as well as ideological sorting, which would imply upward bias. Our SSIV accounts for both types of endogeneity.

Second, our SSIV identifies a particular local average treatment effect (LATE) in which counties with the strongest chain migration from the South, which underpin the SSIV, may have outmigrants most strongly attached to Confederate culture. As we saw in Appendix Table A.2, counties most exposed to the war and federal occupation thereafter experienced greater outmigration from 1870–1900. These flows play an important role in the shift component of the SSIV and may further contribute to a distinctive, and especially aggrieved, complier population. Following Goldsmith-Pinkham et al. (2020), this sort of LATE interpretation for SSIVs rests on positive "Rotemberg weights," which capture the relative contribution of different origin states to the second-stage identifying variation. In our case, the vast majority (83.3%) are positive; negative weights are driven by Virginia. To ensure that the latter is not

[13] We identify likely Confederate location names (i.e., place, street, school) using the more restrictive set of "distinguishing names" as in panel (b) of Figure 2, so as to minimize the potential for false positives in our county-level analysis. In Appendix Table B.2, we go even further by restricting to those names with at least two (columns 1–3) and at least three (columns 4–6) words. These reduce outcome variation but produce similar estimates. In Appendix Table B.3, we show that the IV estimates hold across distinct memorial types in (i) monuments, (ii) place names, and (iii) street names.

driving our effects nor undermining a LATE-based interpretation, Appendix Figure B.3 drops sending and receiving states one-by-one. While effect sizes for the summary CCI outcome vary in sensible ways (e.g., California is an important destination), all remain significant at the 95% level.

Additional Identification and Robustness Checks. In Appendix B.3, we conduct a wide array of additional exercises to support a causal interpretation. These include (i) alternative standard errors, (ii) varying control sets, (iii) alternative specifications to address possible sorting biases as well as other residual concerns, and (iv) different definitions of Southern origins and non-Southern destinations.

5 Conditions for Migrant Influence

This section begins to explore why the Confederate diaspora had such considerable influence. Despite their relatively small numbers in the fast-growing U.S., this group found favorable conditions for outsized impacts in many destinations outside the South. We provide evidence of these supportive conditions using the framework proposed in Section 2.1 for understanding how migrants influence rather than merely assimilate into destination culture. We show results underscoring the importance of migrants' *ideological intensity* and the malleability of the destination in terms of its prevailing *power structure*.

5.1 Ideological Intensity of Migrants

To examine the role of ideological intensity, we consider variation in migrants' attachment to Confederate culture and postwar grievances. Recall, from Figure 2, that Confederate leader names were pervasive in the diaspora in the early years after the war. Here, we rely on other, predetermined measures of Confederate ideology among migrants to explain heterogeneity in the effects of the diaspora.

Heterogeneity by Migrants' Origins. In Table 3, we compare the effects of migrants from regions with varying ideologies, distinguishing Confederate states from *border states* (Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, and West Virginia). While border states, where slavery was legal, had ties to the Confederacy, their ideological commitments and postbellum grievances were plausibly weaker. We also differentiate between Confederate migrants from the *upper South* (Arkansas, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Virginia, Tennessee, Texas) and the *deep South* (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina), where slavery was more central. Appendix Figure D.3 shows a gradient in ideological intensity across these regions: Confederate leader names were more common among children from the deep South, less common in the upper South, and rarest in border states. For each region, we construct an SSIV following the same procedure as for the overall Southern migrant share (see Section 4.2).[14]

Panel (a) of Table 3 shows greater transmission of Confederate culture by migrants from deeper Southern states. The sample includes 1,384 non-Southern, non-border-state counties. IV estimates indicate large positive effects of Confederate migrants on the CCI, while border-state migrants had small, insignificant effects (column 2). Deep South migrants had especially large effects compared to those from the upper South and border states (column 3). Similar, though somewhat noisier, patterns are observed across CCI components (columns 4–7). These results suggest heterogeneity within the diaspora, with more ideologically committed migrants driving greater diffusion of Confederate culture.

[14]This demanding multiple-SSIV specification generally provides sufficient identifying variation for strong individual first stages even if they are not always collectively strong (see the Sanderson and Windmeijer (2016) diagnostics in Table 3).

Panel (b) of Table 3 further illustrates the distinctive impact of Confederate migrants, focusing on Western destinations, where we distinguish among White migrants from the South and the "Union North"—defined here as non-Western, non-border former Union states. Using data from 815 counties in Western states, we construct separate SSIVs for Confederate and Union-origin migrants. Despite opposing the Confederacy, the Union North had varying histories of slavery in the antebellum era, and we thus categorize the latter migrants into those from states with and without substantial slavery. We find that Southern White migrants had a significant impact, while migrants from Union states had more limited influence with some amplification of Confederate culture by those from states with a history of slavery. IV estimates in column 2 suggest that a 1 p.p. increase in the Southern White population share raised the CCI by 0.11, while the same increase in the Northern White share only raised the CCI by 0.038. Column 3 shows that this effect is driven by migrants from Union states with a deeper antebellum history of slavery, mirroring the heterogeneity observed within the Southern diaspora in panel (a).

To further validate the role of ideology and grievances in shaping Confederate migrant influence, we unbundle the deep versus upper South comparison in Table 3 using several continuous measures of average origin county characteristics: (1) slaves per capita in 1860, (2) pro-secession in 1860–61 referendums, (3) Civil War battles per capita from 1861–65, (4) any federal occupation from 1865–77, (5) any Freedmen's Bureaus from 1865–72, (6) Confederate Army veterans in 1870, and (7) former slaveholders in 1870. For each, we construct an origin-county o-specific measure, het_{os}, aggregate to the origin state s, and weight by the 1870 migrant population from each state to destination county c: $het_c = \sum_s \frac{N_{cs}}{N_c} \left(\frac{1}{\mathcal{N}_s} \sum_{o \in s} het_{os} \right)$, where het_{os} is normalized by a measure $\mathcal{N}_s$ of total counties (for binary het_{os}) or persons (continuous) in origin state s, N_{cs} is the number of migrants in destination county c from s, and N_c is the number of migrants in c. We then augment equation (4) with $\%Southern\,White \times het_c$, instrumented by $SSIV_c \times het_c$, with het_c standardized and included in both stages.

Table 4 presents evidence consistent with Confederate migrants' ideological affinity and war-related grievances fueling memorialization and White supremacist activities in diaspora communities outside the South. Across all seven measures, we see an amplification of the general diaspora effect on the CCI. Deeper investment in the Confederate project (more slaves, slaveholders, veterans, pro-secession sentiment) and greater loss with its unraveling (Civil War battles, federal occupation, and Reconstruction programs) are associated with a significantly larger diaspora imprint. For example, the effect of Southern White migrants on the CCI is nearly 1.5-times greater in counties with a one-standard deviation larger share of migrants hailing from states with unanimous support for secession (e.g., South Carolina), compared to the average case (column 2). The analogous effect size is nearly double for counties with more pervasive federal occupation (column 4). Magnitudes are similarly large for the other measures.

Together, Tables 3 and 4 highlight a clear link between migrants' ideological origins and their influence in destination communities. While Southern Whites had the greatest impact overall, they did not act alone in contributing to the spread Confederate culture in the West. Meanwhile, even Southern White migrants varied in influence depending on their origins. Such variation may stem, in part, from greater outmigration among public-facing elites from regions most affected by the war. Appendix Table D.2 shows this differential selection on authority, which incorporates origin-county heterogeneity from Table 4 into the individual-level selection framework in Table 1, offering suggestive evidence on how migrant selection shapes influence. Later, we provide direct evidence on the role of migrant occupational choices *at destination*.

Former Slaveholder Migrants. Ideological intensity varied not only by place of origin but also across individuals from the same origin. A key source of individual-level variation is former-slaveholding experience. Of the half-million Whites who left the South after the Civil War, 5.3% had been enslavers in 1860, and a further 15.7% came from slaveholding households. Such migrants were more invested in Confederate ideology, as shown by greater transmission of Confederate leader names to children born during and after the war (see Appendix Figure C.1). Using a county-level regression framework, we demonstrate that slaveholding elite had a distinctive and outsized influence in destination communities.

To distinguish the effects of slaveholders and non-slaveholders within the diaspora, we first construct respective migrant shares based on linked samples and then develop separate SSIVs. Appendix B.4 provides complete details on both steps that we describe briefly here. First, we link White male slaveholders in the 1860 U.S. Census Slave Schedule to the 1860 U.S. Census of Population.[15] We then onward-link listed slaveholders in 1860 to future Censuses through 1900 using the CT links. We estimate the number of former-slaveholder migrants from origin county o and Census period τ:

$$\sum_{d=1}^{D} \left(\frac{\text{\# slaveholders in } o \text{ in } \tau-1 \text{ linked to } d \text{ in } \tau}{\text{\# slaveholders in } o \text{ in } \tau-1 \text{ linked to } \tau} \right) \cdot \left(\frac{\text{\# slaveholders in } o \text{ in } \tau-1 \text{ linked to 1860}}{\text{\# Whites in } o \text{ in } \tau-1 \text{ linked to 1860}} \right) \cdot \text{Southern Whites}_{o,\tau-1},$$

where d denotes non-Southern destination counties, and $Southern\ Whites_{o,\tau-1}$ is based on the complete-count Census. We follow an analogous procedure to measure non-former-slaveholder migration flows.

Second, we construct distinct SSIVs for the two subgroups within the linked-sample diaspora. Unlike SSIVs separately-defined by origin in Table 3, we must now distinguish individuals from the same origins, which are subject to correlated shocks. These shared origins result in high correlation between the two SSIVs, even when using distinct predicted shifts based on 1870–1900 push factors (see Appendix Table B.8).[16] To reduce this correlation, we also generate distinct predicted 1870 shares using a gravity framework. This framework, estimated by origin state, accounts for factors like distance and agricultural similarity to each non-Southern county. Combining predicted shifts and shares reduces the SSIV correlation to 0.66, compared to 0.98 when using predicted shifts alone.

In Table 5, we re-estimate equation (4) with separate terms for the shares of former-slaveholder (mean 0.2%, std. dev. 0.3%) and non-slaveholder migrants (mean 3.6%, std. dev. 5.1%) in 1900. OLS estimates show that former slaveholders had a larger effect on the diffusion of Confederate culture (columns 1—2), and IV estimates reveal an even stronger differential (columns 3—5). These results control for sorting and revealed-preference proxies to address confounding factors. All models control for Southern former-slaveholder migrants from 1860-–1870, and column 5 adds non-Southern former-slaveholders in 1870. Column 5 suggests that increasing the share of slaveholder migrants from zero to the mean raises the CCI by 0.63 points (relative to a mean of 0.78), while the non-slaveholder effect is near zero and insignificant. This pattern holds across all four CCI components (columns 6-–9).

The estimates suggest not only a significantly larger effect of slaveholder migrants (p-value < 0.01) but also a large difference between their OLS and IV estimates (Hausman test p-value = 0.01, column 5). Neither is an artifact of weak instruments: the two SSIVs have distinct and strong first stages (see Table

[15] Matching on first and last name as well as county, using the ABE algorithm (Abramitzky et al., 2021) with NYSIIS-standardized names, we link nearly 64% of name–county combinations to the 1860 Census, corresponding to over 250,000 former slaveholders in 1860, which compares favorably to linking rates in Ager et al. (2021) and Hall et al. (2019).

[16] We see similarly signed push factors across slaveholders and non-slaveholders, consistent with the political economy facing all Whites in the postbellum South. Note, however, the varying relative importance of factors across the two groups.

5 diagnostics and Appendix Table B.9). The large SSIV estimate reflects both a LATE mechanism *and* measurement error. On the LATE, former slaveholders induced to leave the South may have been especially aggrieved and keen to strike off "in search of land on which to begin rebuilding family estates lost during the Civil War" (Dochuk, 2010). Micro evidence in later sections shows they leveraged their elite backgrounds to exert disproportionate influence in destination communities. However, linked samples of slaveholder and non-slaveholder migrants also contain significantly more measurement error than the complete-count Southern migrant share in the baseline. Tracking slaveholder also requires linking to the 1860 Slave Schedule, compounding errors. We show in Appendix B.5 that this measurement error helps explain some of the large gap between the OLS and IV estimates for slaveholder migrants.

Overall, these findings highlight the instrumental role of former slaveholders in the spread of Confederate culture. While non-slaveholder migrants also contributed, former slaveholders appear to have played a critical leadership role, shaping local institutions and racial norms that persisted. Their influence may have created the conditions necessary for other, less-elite members of the diaspora to leave a cultural imprint. This resonates with historical accounts of slaveholder dominance. As Dippel (2005, p. 218) observes, although "they were a small minority, large slaveholders invariably came to control the political and economic systems" in the places they settled. We now turn to examining how such pervasive elite influence materialized. Later, in Section 6.2, we revisit non-slaveholders and provide suggestive evidence that elites among them may too have helped entrench Confederate culture.

5.2 Power Structure in Destination Communities

Building on the role of ideological intensity in the diaspora, we now explore how power structures in destination communities enabled migrants to channel intensity into influence. Guided by the framework in Section 2.1, we examine place-, group-, and individual-level factors underlying these structures.

Early Settlement in Malleable Places. We first examine how incumbent residents and institutions shaped diaspora influence. Migrants likely found it easier to instigate cultural change in counties with weaker institutions or residents sympathetic to Confederate ideology. In contrast, they probably faced more resistance in counties with strong, entrenched institutions and norms, especially those forged by individuals opposed to the Confederacy. To test this, we augment equation (4) by including predetermined destination-county-c characteristics (het_c) and their interaction with $\%\ Southern\ Whites_{c,1900}$, instrumented by $SSIV_c \times het_c$, with het_c standardized and included in both stages.[17]

Table 6 explores these heterogeneous effects on the composite CCI outcome. First, the diaspora had greater influence in counties with less *established* cultural and institutional foundations, as proxied by population density and frontier history measured by years since exiting the frontier as of 1850 (columns 1—2). Negative interaction terms suggest stronger transmission in areas with less entrenched norms. However, influence was still strong in more established communities, becoming negligible only in counties that exited the frontier before 1820. Second, diaspora influence was stronger in counties with weaker *oppositional* forces to the Confederacy, proxied by 48ers (exiled German leaders who mobilized opposition to slavery, Dippel and Heblich, 2021), Union Army enlistees, and proximity to Washington, D.C. (capturing federal oversight) (columns 3–5). Negative interaction terms suggest that these forces

[17] While some het_c measures are not included in our baseline controls in Table 2, Appendix Table B.7 shows that their collective inclusion yields similar estimates as the more parsimonious baseline. This coefficient stability alleviates concerns that the findings in Table 6 are an artifact of residual endogenous sorting not accounted for in the baseline SSIV.

constrained Confederate cultural transmission.

Furthermore, the diaspora exerted greater influence in areas marked by isolation, economic extraction, and social fragmentation. *Remoteness*, measured by distance to railroads and rivers, limited exposure to countervailing norms from other areas, with negative interaction terms suggesting that isolation enhanced cultural transmission (columns 6-–7). Similarly, the diaspora found fertile ground in counties with *extractive* economies, such as those with active mines in 1860, where coercive labor norms aligned with Confederate migrants' preferences and skills, which perhaps amplified their influence (column 8). Finally, less *cohesive* incumbent populations, proxied by the inverse of ethnic fractionalization in 1850, may have allowed greater diaspora influence, given less coordinated resistance (column 9).

Overall, the findings in Table 6 suggest that the Confederate diaspora left a deeper cultural imprint in regions still in the early stages of nation- and state-building, where social institutions were more contestable and cultural leaders had unique opportunities for influence on public life. We now turn to micro evidence on those pathways to public authority.

Power(ful) Occupations. We explore here another aspect of local power structures facilitating outsized cultural impacts of relatively small migrant populations: access to positions of public-facing authority. We use three sources to identify occupations with significant sway over public life. First, we observe the following occupations in the complete-count Census: lawyers and judges, law enforcement, public administrators, religious leaders, and educators. Second, we identify political leaders in the Political Graveyard online database, which includes biographical information on over 300,000 officeholders. Third, we identify media leaders in the U.S. Newspaper Panel, which names the editors and publishers of daily newspapers from 1869–2000 (Gentzkow et al., 2014). We match these non-Census data to men in the complete-count Census using the Abramitzky et al. (2021) algorithm.

To identify migrant over-representation in these positions, we estimate an occupational choice regression for all working-age, White men in destination counties c outside the South in 1900:

$$\text{position}_{ic} = \alpha_c + \beta \cdot \text{Southern migrant}_i + \mathbf{x}_i'\boldsymbol{\gamma} + \varepsilon_{ic}, \tag{7}$$

where $position_{ic}$ is an indicator equal to one if the individual held a given position, α_c are county FE, $Southern\ migrant_i$ is an indicator equal to one if the individual was born in the South, $\mathbf{x}_i$ is a vector of additional controls included in some specifications, and β identifies the differential sorting of Southern migrants relative to other White men in the same county. We cluster standard errors at the county level.

Figure 4 illustrates the outsized presence of the diaspora in powerful, public-facing positions. We report 95% confidence intervals on β, normalized by the mean outcome in the non-Southern migrant comparison group. The black bars (●) correspond to the full sample, and the red bars (♦) restrict the comparison to other out-of-state migrants from non-Southern origins, which helps disentangle a general occupational sorting tendency among migrants from one specific to Southern migrants. Confederate migrants are nearly 40% more likely to work in the *authority* occupations reported in the Census data. This sorting is stronger in *governance* (lawyers and judges, law enforcement, and public administrators) than in *civil society* (religion and education positions), with differentials of 46% and 34%, respectively.[18] The sorting differentials for *politician* and newspaper *editor or publisher* occupations are also meaningful albeit smaller in magnitude, 4% and 20%, respectively. Together, these patterns are consistent with the

[18]Throughout, we group occupations into four major categories for clarity and to increase power, as these elite occupations are relatively rare. Appendix Figure D.4 provides a detailed breakdown, showing stronger sorting into (i) religion over education, (ii) justice over public administration, (iii) local over non-local politics, and (iv) newspaper publishing over editing.

salient anecdotes in Section 2.2 as well as others in the historical record.[19]

Diaspora over-representation in authority cannot simply be explained by differential selection of migrants versus non-migrants or by general sorting of elites into high-paying occupations. First, the red bars in Figure 4 show that Confederate migrants were even more likely than other out-of-state migrants to sort into these public-facing occupations. Second, the estimates are mostly robust to demographic controls for age (cubic), marital status, and number of children (see Appendix Table C.3, which also reports the full estimates underlying Figure 4). Third, the patterns hold conditional on the earnings potential of a given Census occupation (see Appendix Table C.3, column 3, which includes fixed effects for the decile of occupational income score (*occscore*). Among occupations with a similar *occscore*, Southern migrants are overrepresented in ones with public authority; for example, they are more likely to be lawyers/judges (*occscore*=62) than doctors (*occscore*=80), and more likely to be religious officials (*occscore*=24) than weavers or machinists (*occscore*s=23-24).

Such pronounced sorting into public authority roles, alongside their intense ideological commitment, distinguishes the Confederate diaspora from typical migrant groups. This contrasts with the much larger wave of Southern White migration during the 20th-century Great Migration, which reshaped electoral politics through sheer scale but did not capture local institutions. As Appendix Figure D.6 shows, Southern migrants were overrepresented in authority roles through 1900, with this advantage disappearing by 1930 and reversing by 1940, the period analyzed in Bazzi et al. (2023). These trends mirror sharp changes in selection: Confederate migrants from 1870–1900 were positively selected on authority and status, while later flows show far weaker or neutral selection (Appendix Figure D.7).[20]

Together, these occupational sorting results suggest that Confederate migrants may have had a comparative advantage in or taste for authority. Regardless of the microfoundation, the diaspora's outsized presence in leadership roles likely helped facilitate wider diaspora influence over public life. In Section 6, we explore some of the channels through which migrants used these positions to shape local culture and institutions, often with adverse consequences for Black populations. Before proceeding, though, we illustrate the distinctive entry of former slaveholders into such positions of power.

Former-Slaveholder Migrants in Power. For slaveholders, ideology and economics were deeply entwined; they had benefited the most from slavery and thus lost the most from emancipation. The West presented opportunities for former slaveholders to replicate the antebellum power structures of the South in a new region rife with extractive potential. Many of these migrants likely fit the stereotype of the aggrieved Southern White "who hated that racial equality could be enforced by the government [and] saw the West as the only free place left in America" (Richardson, 2020, p. 9). We show here that indeed, relative to the broader Confederate diaspora, former slaveholders chose a distinctive set of destinations and occupations consistent with their quest to gain hold of these malleable spaces. Our analysis relies on the CT-linked-sample microdata described in Section 5.1, and we restrict attention to men living in the South in 1860 and outside the South in the decades thereafter (of which there are 241,925).

Former slaveholders tended to migrate to destinations with more favorable power structures. Ap-

[19] Prominent Southern-origin Whites who owned, edited, or published newspapers outside of the South in the postbellum era include Henry Watterson (*Courier-Journal*), John Temple Graves (*New York American*), and Walter Neale (*Neale's Monthly*).

[20] The weakening of selection in the 20th century likely reflects two dynamics. First, elite networks forged by early Confederate migrants may have lowered migration costs for lower-status Southerners in later waves (Carrington et al., 1996; McKenzie and Rapoport, 2010; Munshi, 2003). Second, declining selection on authority resonates with the postwar history: while White elites faced uncertainty about their status in the 1870s, this subsided after 1877 with the collapse of Reconstruction and the reassertion of White dominance across the South.

pendix Table C.1 shows differential sorting by slaveholders and non-slaveholders from the same Southern county during the same period. Former slaveholders were more likely to settle in the West (column 1), in counties with low population density (column 2), cotton suitability (column 3), strong Breckinridge support in 1860 (column 4), lower Union Army enlistment (column 5), and greater antebellum slavery (column 6). These patterns hold in both panel (a) for the original slaveholder and panel (b) for a broader group, including other members of slaveholding households (typically children of slaveholders).

At destination, former slaveholders also tended to enter public-facing leadership positions, further shaping local power structures. Figure 5 shows that, within the same destination county, former slaveholders were significantly more likely than non-slaveholders to work in authority occupations, serve as politicians, and become newspaper editors or publishers, particularly in the West. These patterns are not solely explained by demographic differences or earnings potential, nor by continuing pre-war occupations.[21] Although former slaveholders were less likely to leave the South than non-slaveholders, those who did leave were often working in authority occupations before migrating. And even after accounting for these prior authority roles in the South, former slaveholders often found new pathways to power in their destinations, and at higher rates than non-slaveholders.

In sum, former slaveholders were overrepresented in underdeveloped counties and leadership positions outside the South. Given the small number of authority positions, our occupational sorting estimates imply considerable scope for former slaveholders and their kin to shape public life.[22] Together with the findings in Table 5, it is clear that these erstwhile Southern elites played a critical role in maintaining and propagating Confederate culture. We turn now to investigating the channels through which migrants achieved such influence far beyond the South.

6 Channels for Migrant Influence

The early 20th century ushered in a wave of national reconciliation as organizations like the KKK bridged the North–South divide and Lost Cause ideology gained traction outside the South. This section digs deeper into this process to understand, at a micro level, how the relatively small Confederate diaspora changed the trajectory of postbellum nation building. Motivated by the conceptual framework in Section 2.1, we now provide empirical support for three channels through which migrants capitalized on the favorable conditions illustrated in Section 5. First, we explore *cultural spillovers*, tracing out vertical transmission within the diaspora over time as well as horizontal and oblique transmission from migrants to their non-migrant neighbors. Second, and related, we examine the role of *organizations* in providing the social infrastructure for cultural transmission. Third, we investigate how migrants use *institutional leverage* to shape formal and informal policies conducive to the spread of their culture.

6.1 Cultural Spillovers and Organizational Mobilization

Confederate migrants not only assumed key roles in formal governance but also mobilized through informal civic organizations like the UDC and the KKK. The UDC, composed by design of Southern

[21] Appendix Tables C.4 reports the full estimation results underlying Figure 5 as well as specifications with additional controls, including an indicator for holding the given occupation in the South before moving (column 4).

[22] For example, we estimate that, as of 1900, former slaveholders and their kin comprised 8.9% of governance occupations and 5.2% of civil society occupations in the Pacific or Mountain West Census divisions compared to 0.9% and 0.3%, respectively, in the New England or Middle Atlantic divisions. See Appendix Figure C.2 for maps with these estimates by county.

Whites and their descendants (Cox, 2003), highlights the importance of intergenerational transmission of Confederate culture. The 2nd KKK emerged slightly later, with a broader member base. Organized in Georgia in 1915, the 2nd KKK gained popularity across the Midwest and West, where "as many as six million Americans heeded its call to resist Catholics, Jews, lawbreakers, Blacks, and immigrants" at its peak in the 1920s (Goldberg, 1981, p. 8). It relied heavily on "rituals and symbols designed to memorialize the Confederacy, Southern-style chivalry, and White Protestant supremacy," helping to bring those ideals to new venues across the country (Gregory, 2005, p. 294). Table 2 reported a causal effect of the diaspora on KKK chapter formation at the county level. Here, we use individual-level data to show how the diaspora mobilized their kin and non-Southern neighbors to join the organization.

We explore this mobilization process using KKK membership data from the 1920s. We focus on Denver, Colorado, an organizational epicenter with tens of thousands of members—including the mayor, city attorney, and chief of police (Goldberg, 1981)—for which comprehensive data are available. We then extend to Indiana and Arizona, with additional microdata covering parts of each state.[23] The latter, which have lower membership rates, help generalize beyond Colorado, where supremacist activities targeted Catholic and Asian immigrants more than Blacks. We identify diaspora connections by matching all White men in the 1920 Census to the KKK membership records from the mid-1920s for each state.[24] Using matched-KKK-membership as an outcome, we then explore *vertical* transmission of KKK affinity within diaspora families as well as *horizontal* and *oblique* transmission to non-Southerners.

Vertical Transmission. Table 7 illustrates the over-representation of the Confederate diaspora in the Colorado KKK. In Denver county, 24% of White men without Southern heritage belong to the KKK. By contrast, Southern-born men are 3.2 p.p. more likely to be members, and second-generation men (i.e., with at least one Southern-born parent) are 3.7 p.p. more likely (column 1). This pattern holds across the entire metro area, including 14 county or 527 enumeration district fixed effects (columns 3 and 5). It also generalizes to Arizona and Indiana, with even larger diaspora differentials given the lower membership among non-Southerners (Appendix Table D.3). Moreover, it is robust to (i) alternative approaches to non-unique matches (Appendix Table D.4), (ii) restricting to U.S.-born Whites (Appendix Table D.5),[25] and (iii) including occupation FEs (Appendix Table D.5). The latter, which accounts for factors such as labor-market competition from minorities, suggests that the differential KKK membership among Southern Whites may not be fully explained by economic motivations or racial resentment shared among Whites in general.[26] Overall, these results suggest that first-generation migrants not only transplanted Confederate affinity for the KKK but also transmitted that affinity to the next generation.

To better understand this ideological persistence, we turn to a micro-level heterogeneity analysis, looking across migrants from different origins and slaveholding backgrounds within the South. Even-numbered columns in panel (a) of Table 7 consider heterogeneity across the Upper and Deep South (akin

[23] Data on KKK members from Colorado and Indiana was previously used by (Fryer Jr. and Levitt, 2012). We use the KKK ledgers of Denver made publicly available by the Colorado Historical Society, and data from Indiana collected and digitized (and generously shared with us) by Desmond Ang and Sahil Chinoy. The Arizona data, new to the literature, was shared through direct outreach by a family archivist, who also provided it to us and the Tempe Historical Society in late 2023.

[24] Using the ABE algorithm from Abramitzky et al. (2021) with NYSIIS standardized names, we find 21.3% of all White men (about 51,000 individuals) in these records, dropping to 12.8% when accounting for non-unique names matched to KKK records. Several robustness checks show that the results remain stable after reweighting for many-to-one matches.

[25] Nearly 16% of foreign-born White men in the Denver metro area belonged to the KKK compared to 26% native-born.

[26] Of course, economic grievances could still be important in shaping decisions to join the KKK. Appendix Table D.6 shows that U.S.-born White men working in the most popular (top 10) occupations for non-White and foreign-born men are significantly more likely to be KKK members. However, this differential is similar for Southern- and non-Southern-born Whites.

to Table 3). The latter importantly includes Georgia, the birthplace of the 2nd KKK. In panel (b), we consider a continuous measures of birth-state heterogeneity in experience before, during, and shortly after the Civil War (akin to Table 4). Across both panels, we see consistent evidence of even greater KKK membership among migrants hailing from origins with deeper ideological roots in the Confederacy. First- and second-generation migrants from the Deep South are more likely to join the KKK than those from the Upper South (panel a), and the same holds for first-generation migrants from states with deeper ties to slavery, greater wartime destruction, and more intense Reconstruction efforts by the federal government (panel b). For the second-generation, Appendix Table D.7 further uncovers disproportionate KKK activity among former-slaveholding families in the diaspora (akin to Table 5). Together, these findings illustrate how Confederate norms became entrenched within the diaspora, particularly among ideologically-intense migrants.

Transmission Beyond the Diaspora. Confederate migrants not only disproportionately joined the KKK but also likely influenced non-Southerners to join. This influence may have spread both indirectly, through Lost Cause narratives in public life, and directly, through intergroup contact in community spaces. Here, we present results highlighting the role of contact-based channels in this process.

Table 8 offers suggestive evidence of hyper-local exposure effects underlying diaspora influence. We restrict the analysis to White men born outside the South and whose parents were also born outside the South. We then regress these men's KKK membership indicator on measures of physical proximity to the Confederate diaspora. Non-Southern Whites with next-door neighbors from the diaspora are nearly 2 p.p., or 8%, more likely to be KKK members than those whose next-door neighbors have no Southern heritage (columns 1 and 3).[27] We find similar estimates for Denver county and the broader metro area (columns 1–2 and 3–4, respectively), and for neighbors from the first- and second-generation (columns 2 and 4). Finally, we see, in columns 5–6, that the transmission of KKK affinity extends to the broader neighborhood: a 1 p.p. increase in the diaspora size in the enumeration district is associated with a 0.5–0.8 p.p. increase in KKK membership among non-Southern-heritage Whites.[28]

Although the estimates in Table 8 are consistent with cultural transmission from the diaspora to their non-Southern neighbors, they are not dispositive of one-way transmission. It is possible that the two groups simultaneously joined the KKK for correlated reasons unrelated to cultural spillovers. It is also possible that transmission flowed from non-Southern to Southern Whites. The results in Table 7 perhaps go against the latter: diaspora Whites, and especially those with greater ideological intensity, are significantly more likely to be KKK members, implying that they may be the ones leading the early mobilization and diffusion efforts in their communities.[29]

Together with the county-level SSIV estimates in Table 2, these results suggest that migrants transmitted Confederate culture to non-Southern populations during a period of resurgent Lost Cause revisionism in the early 20th century. Our findings across three different states resonate with Gregory (2005, p. 294): "[t]he 1920s Klan had not been dominated by diaspora Southerners, but it had depended

[27] We identify next-door neighbors based on the zigzag enumeration procedure, following Logan and Parman (2017).

[28] These positive associations also generalize to Indiana and Arizona but are somewhat weaker there (Appendix Table D.8).

[29] Under the assumption that the estimates in Table 8 are causal, our findings imply that the Confederate diaspora explains as much as 30% of KKK membership identified in the 1920 Census for the Denver metro area. This goes well beyond the 9.2% share of the White male population comprised of first- and second-generation Southern migrants as of 1920 and is consistent with their overrepresentation in the KKK as well as sizable spillover effects on non-Southerners. The 30% estimate is based on the coefficients in column 5 of Tables 7 and 8, and it remains large at around 22% when using the coefficients in Appendix Table D.4 based on the alternative reweighting approach to dealing with multiple matches.

upon them for early expansion and some of its leadership." More broadly, our analysis above provides a granular perspective on the sort of localized, contact-based transmission of culture underlying our county-level findings. Such transmission was essential to the persistence of Confederate memory and norms. We turn now to other, institutional pathways to influence.

6.2 Institutional Leverage

This section explores how migrants use positions of authority to shape formal institutions and informal norms. Section 5.2 established the over-representation of the diaspora, including former slaveholders, in public-facing occupations. We show here that first-generation migrants' entry into power helped diffuse and entrench Confederate culture through early institutions. Two findings support this channel of influence. First, second-generation migrants, like their predecessors, disproportionately entered positions of power, ensuring sustained diaspora influence in local governance and civil society. Second, diaspora over-representation in powerful occupations is linked to increased transmission of Confederate culture.

Intergenerational Persistence in Authority. One pathway to sustained institutional leverage lies in the perpetuation of one's group in the halls of power. To illustrate such persistence for the Confederate diaspora, we revisit the occupational choice framework developed in Section 5.2, augmenting equation (7) to distinguish second-generation migrants, also observed in 1900.

Much like their parents who left the South, those born in the diaspora are overrepresented in public authority (Figure 6). Compared to those without Southern heritage, second-generation migrants are 47% more likely to be working in governance, 17% in civil society, 7% in political office, and 20% in newspaper leadership—similar differentials to the first-generation (54%, 37%, 5%, and 22%, respectively). And like the first-generation, second-generation over-representation is not merely explained by selection-on-demographics or by sorting into higher-earnings occupations.[30] This points to intergenerational persistence in the hypothesized taste for or comparative advantage in authority.

Through these positions of power, the diaspora could sustain and expand its influence over time. As first-generation migrants aged out of the workforce, their children stepped into some of their key roles in public life. With this institutional leverage, they could shape subsequent generations, ensuring that Confederate ideology remained deeply entrenched in many communities. We now turn to evidence consistent with such an occupational pathway to influence.

Building Confederate Culture with Occupational Authority. Table 9 examines heterogeneity in diaspora influence based on their representation in public-facing authority occupations. In particular, we augment the baseline SSIV specification with an interaction of $\%\ Southern\ Whites,\ 1900$ and the standardized *odds ratio* of Southern White employment in authority over non-Southern White employment in authority. This ratio effectively captures the occupational sorting differential reported in Figure 4 and discussed in Section 5.2. We instrument the interaction term with the interaction of the SSIV times the standardized ratio. We also include the ratio own term in both stages but otherwise use the same specifications as in Table 2 with the Confederate Culture Index outcome.[31]

Table 9 shows that diaspora over-representation in public-facing occupations is associated with

[30] See Appendix Table C.5, which also reports full estimation results underlying Figure 6.

[31] We further restrict the analysis to counties with at least 5 workers in authority occupations ($N = 1,557$ versus 1,701 in our baseline). Appendix Table D.9 shows robustness to alternative cutoffs of 2, 3, 6, and 8. We do not consider the newspaper and politician workers in this analysis as those are very rare and hence not feasible to explore in the ratio design here.

greater expression of Confederate culture. In counties with no Confederate migrants working in authority, a 1 p.p. increase in the diaspora share leads to a 0.14-point increase in the CCI (relative to a mean of 0.83). This magnitude jumps to 0.20 points in counties where Confederate migrants have a one-s.d. higher odds of working in authority relative to other county residents (column 1).[32] This amplification of Confederate culture is driven by those working in governance more than those in civil society (columns 3 and 5, respectively). Moreover, this occupational pathway to influence appears to be specific to public-facing positions. We consider sorting ratios for placebo occupations with similar employment levels and comparable pecuniary returns but more private-facing activities and limited leverage over public institutions (e.g., physicians for lawyers/judges, and weavers and machinists for religious officials; see the table notes). None of these placebo occupations prove to be important, with heterogeneous associations that are small and insignificant across specifications (columns 2, 4, and 6).

Together, the results in Table 9 should be viewed as descriptive evidence consistent with—but not dispositive of—individuals in authority occupations wielding their institutional leverage to transmit ideology in public domains. While the overall diaspora effect can still be interpreted through the causal lens of Table 2, the occupational representation patterns should not. Such representation is inherently confounded with migrants' destination choice and other, unobservable factors, which may be endogenous. Nevertheless, the findings resonate with the historical record on institutional support for Confederate culture and racial norms. For example, local administrators and civil society leaders facilitated memorialization, while police and other public officials often tacitly or overtly supported KKK mobilization.[33]

7 A Legacy of Inequity and Exclusion

Throughout the paper, we examine how Confederate migrants shaped culture in destination communities. In this brief and final section, we show that their cultural influence also impacted the economic and social structure, reinforcing inequity and exclusion across key areas of public life. Beyond directly affecting the well-being of Black Americans, these socioeconomic effects likely reinforced norms prescribing group-specific behaviors, unequal access to resources, and other forms of discrimination. Using our main SSIV framework (Section 4.3), we explore the causal impacts of the local Confederate migrant population in 1900 on core dimensions of racial inequity and exclusion emphasized in the literature: racial wage gaps, residential segregation and exclusion, and incarceration rates.

Table 10 begins with the diaspora impact on county-level wage gaps. We then examine the spatial dimension of inequity as measured by residential segregation, which confined Black families to under-resourced neighborhoods, restricting access to quality schools, public services, and intergenerational wealth accumulation. A 1 p.p. increase in the diaspora share is associated with a 2.6% decrease in relative Black earnings (column 1) and a 5% increase in Black segregation in 1940 (column 2).[34]

Next, we consider a more extreme form of spatial control, which rendered entire geographies racially homogeneous by force: "sundown towns." Named after bans on Black and other minority populations'

[32] To understand this effect size, note that the sorting ratio mean is 1.69 and s.d. is 1.97, which implies that the 0.2-point increase in the CCI holds in counties where Confederate migrants have a 1.97 higher odds of working in authority.

[33] We find suggestive evidence along these lines for some specific elements of the CCI: (i) over-representation in governance and civil society is associated with larger diaspora effects on Confederate memorials, with interaction term estimates of 0.043^{***} (0.012) and 0.031^{***} (0.011), respectively in the columns 3 and 5 specification of Table 9; and (ii) 0.022^{*} (0.013) for governance over-representation and the formation of KKK chapters.

[34] Black–White wage ratios are from the complete-count Census and the segregation index from Logan and Parman (2017). Wages are missing or zero-valued in a subset of counties in 1940, which explains the smaller sample size in column 1.

presence within town limits after sunset, this informal institution diffused widely from 1890 to 1960 (Crowe, 2012; Loewen, 2005; O'Connell, 2019). Distinct from the de jure exclusionary institutions associated with the antebellum South and later Jim Crow era, sundown towns' use of formal ordinances and informal violence to exclude Black residents proliferated mainly *outside* the South. Prior to the Civil War, states like Ohio and Oregon tried to preclude Blacks from settling there, but the federal government blocked such large-scale exclusion efforts. Sundown towns could be seen as a postbellum innovation that facilitated exclusion at a scale small enough to evade federal attention or control.

Columns 3–6 of Table 10 explore the influence of the Confederate diaspora on sundown towns using two proxies.[35] The first, from Loewen (2005) (via Taylor, 2020), is based on the centroids of documented sundown towns, aggregated to the county level. The second is based on town-level data from the Census Place Project (Berkes et al., 2022), with which we build a more localized measure of Black depopulation that captures sundown town creation as well as other forces. Together, these two measures provide a rich and more complete picture of what Loewen calls the "Great Retreat" of Blacks from localities across America (see Appendix Figure D.5 on the pervasive Black depopulation in the early 1900s).

We identify a significant diaspora imprint on the geography of sundown towns. A 1 p.p. increase in the diaspora share is associated with a 20% increase in the number of sundown towns in the county (column 3). This estimate is robust to additional controls for the number of towns in the county with more than 25 Blacks in 1870 and over 1,000 residents in 1870, respectively (column 4). We find similar results using our second, town-level regression. Relative to the sample mean, a 1 p.p. increase in the town-level diaspora in 1900 leads to a 2.6 p.p. increase in the likelihood that a non-Southern town with ≥ 25 Black residents as of 1870 had *zero* Black residents after 1900 (outcome mean 66%, column 5). Effects are smaller and insignificant among towns that already had few Black people as of 1870. These findings are robust to using a county-level measure of Confederate migrant shares, which captures potentially wider diaspora influence across towns (column 6). While some depopulation may have been voluntary rather than forced, these findings align with earlier evidence on KKK and lynching activity (Table 2), which were often used to establish sundown towns, as vividly documented by Loewen (2005).

Finally, we examine another extreme form of exclusion: incarceration. Bias in policing and judicial decisions may have been used to remove non-Whites from public life and maintain social control. Using county-level incarceration data from Derenoncourt (2022), we find that a 1 p.p. increase in the diaspora share is associated with a 45% increase in the Black incarceration rate in 1920 (column 7).

These findings reveal a deep impact of the Confederate diaspora on racial inequity and exclusion in the early-to-mid-20th century. The diaspora shaped labor market outcomes, residential segregation, incarceration, and the spread of sundown towns, reinforcing structural inequalities that limited Black Americans' access to resources and public life. These results emphasize how the Confederate diaspora contributed to both cultural norms and institutional systems that perpetuated racial discrimination.

8 Conclusion

Questions about the nature and extent of migrant influence are increasingly central to debates about the future of migration. This paper develops a new framework for understanding how migrants influence the destinations they settle. Migrants often assimilate, embracing native norms. Sometimes, however,

[35] These results build upon and extend initial findings in our *AEA Papers & Proceedings* article (Bazzi et al., 2022).

they directly change culture and institutions in their new communities. We elaborate key conditions under which migrant-to-native transmission could occur, along with a set of complementary channels for influence. While our framework can be applied widely across space and time, we focus on the important and understudied case of the Confederate diaspora in U.S. history, which provides a rich testing ground for systematically understanding trajectories of migrant influence.

Nearly half a million White individuals left the U.S. South in the few decades after the Civil War and transmitted Confederate culture within non-Southern communities and through local institutions. We trace their outsized influence to several favorable conditions that allowed an ideologically intense diaspora to embed its norms. Migrants from origins more deeply affected by the fallout from the war exerted greater influence, as did those from more elite, slaveholding backgrounds. Such influence took hold in communities with more malleable power structures, where migrants could play a role in shaping early institutions. Under these favorable conditions, Confederate migrants transmitted culture to their children and to their neighbors without Southern heritage. And from positions of power, more elite migrants exerted even greater cultural influence, and with adverse consequences for Black populations.

Our study highlights the role of culture in shaping economic and social structures, offering new insights into how a small diaspora helped ensure that "national reconciliation had been achieved on the South's terms," as noted by historians of the Confederate legacy (Cox, 2003). While the Civil War ended slavery and the 1960s civil rights movement dismantled most legal racial discrimination, significant disparities persist in education, housing, labor markets, and policing, with Confederate monuments still widespread. Our findings suggest a feedback loop between cultural, organizational, and institutional mechanisms. As Confederate norms deepened and migrants gained control of key institutions, Black populations fled or avoided many towns across the U.S. KKK mobilization, differential incarceration, and sundown towns reshaped the geography of race, limiting interracial contact that might have otherwise ameliorated biases and animus among White Americans over time.

The Confederate diaspora explored in this paper not only shaped cultural outcomes but also planted the "seeds" for the geographic patterns of the Great Migration, which evolved separately in response to later historical dynamics such as the New Deal, the civil rights movement, and other major migration waves. As Bazzi et al. (2023) show, that later, mass migration reshaped the trajectory of mainstream conservative politics in America. The framework developed here can be extended to understand other migrations, including the later wave of Southern white migrants. While these two migrant groups share some background and identity, they differ significantly in their paths of influence, the conditions and channels through which they impacted culture, and their underlying patterns of selection and sorting.

To fully understand how migration shaped cultural and political change in the U.S., it is crucial to examine the distinct and combined effects of the various interconnected migratory waves throughout the country's history. These include not only the postbellum Confederate migration in this paper but also the later Great Migrations of Whites and Blacks in the 20th century (Bazzi et al., 2023; Calderon et al., 2023; Fouka et al., 2022), as well as the earlier Scots-Irish migration that shaped the South (Grosjean, 2014), the waves of frontier settlement during the 19th century (Bazzi et al., 2020), and European migration across Northern states in the Age of Mass Migration (Giuliano and Tabellini, 2020). This grand story of migration has profoundly shaped and reshaped the country's cultural and political geography. Understanding these interlinked trajectories of migrant influence in the U.S. and generalizing that understanding to other settings are important tasks for future research.

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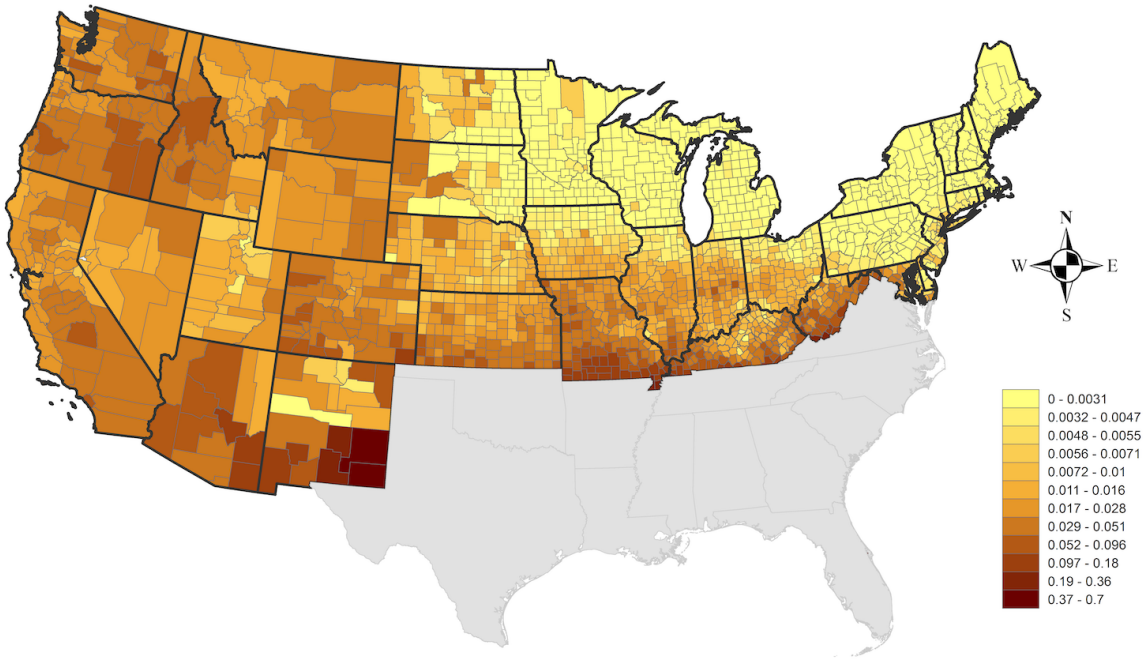
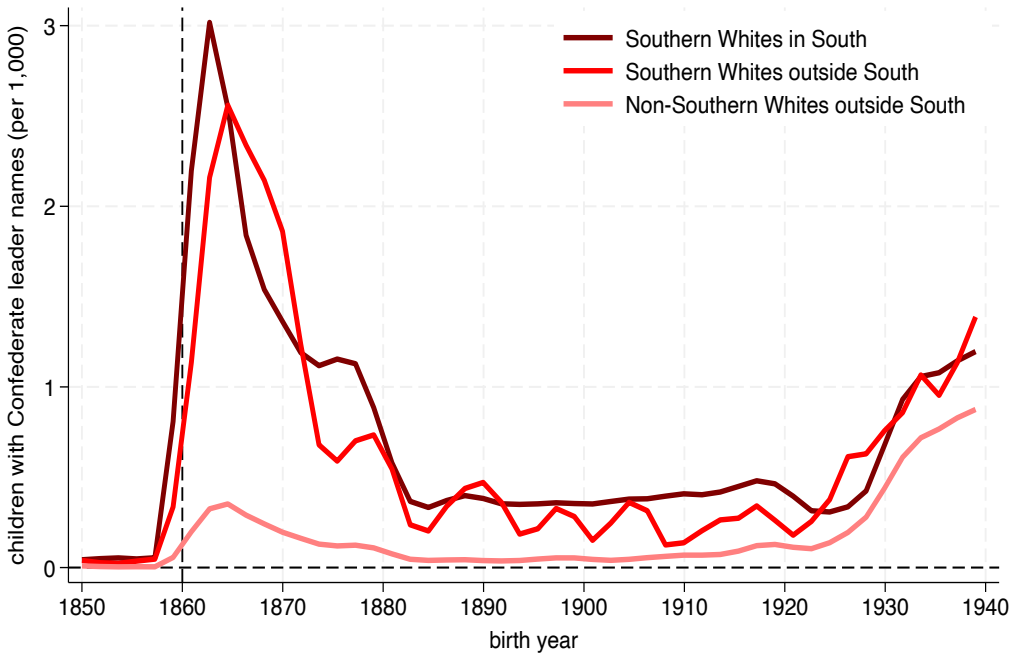
Figures

Figure 1: Mapping Southern-born Whites Outside the South in 1900



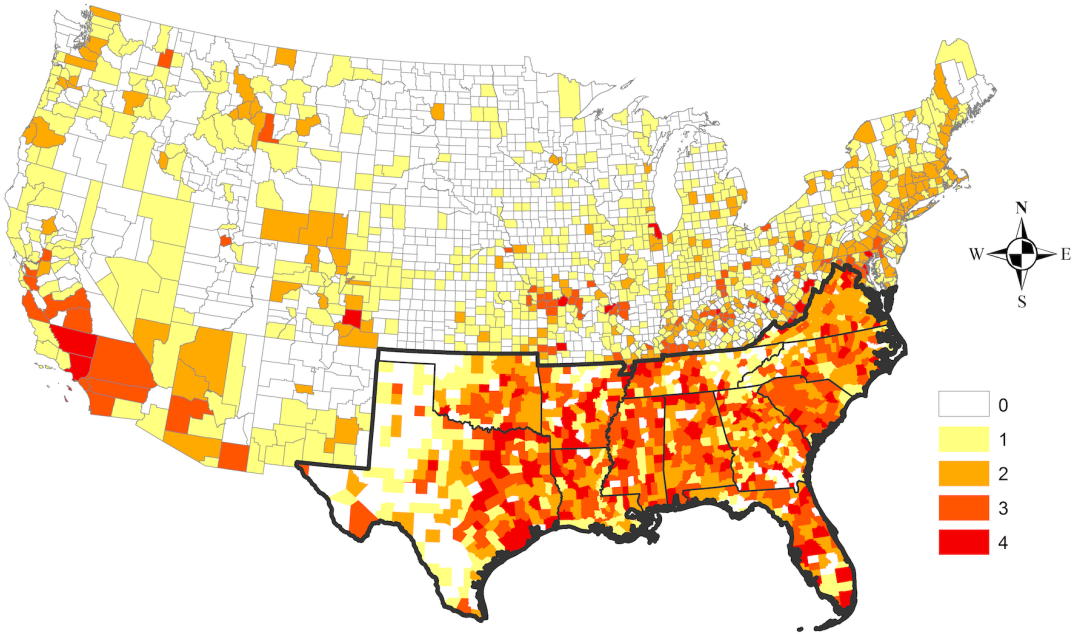
Notes: This map shows the county-level population share of White individuals born in the South and residing outside the South in 1900 according to the complete-count Census (see also Appendix Figure G.2 in Bazzi et al., 2023). See Appendix Figure A.2 for counts.

Figure 2: Confederate Leader Names among Children Born 1850–1940



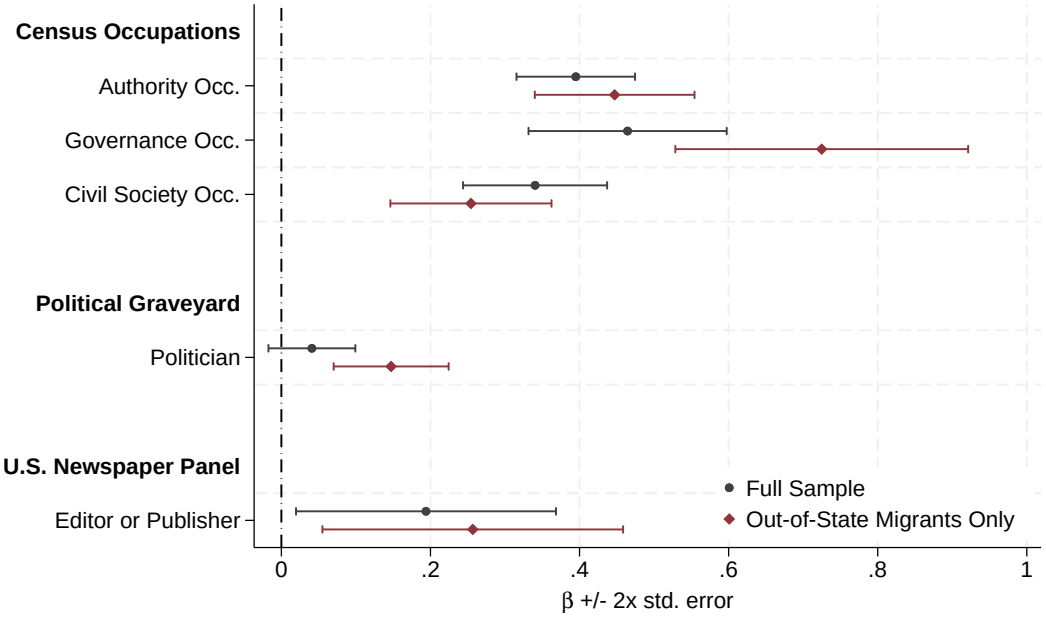
Notes: Three-year moving average in Confederate leader name frequencies across birth cohorts among different subsets of Southern and non-Southern White populations (ages 0–9) in the U.S. Census: those born in the South living in the South (dark red), those born in the South living outside the South (bright red), and those born outside the South living outside the South (light red). An individual's name match equals one if their given, first name is highly likely to have been given in reference to a Confederate leader. This includes individuals whose first name includes a leader's full name (e.g., "Robert Lee"), as well as distinctive nicknames like Stonewall and last names like Beauregard. The list of Confederate leader names includes those with multiple public symbols in the Confederacy in the Southern Poverty Law Center's (SPLC) "Whose Heritage?" Project.

Figure 3: Confederate Culture Index, Post-1900



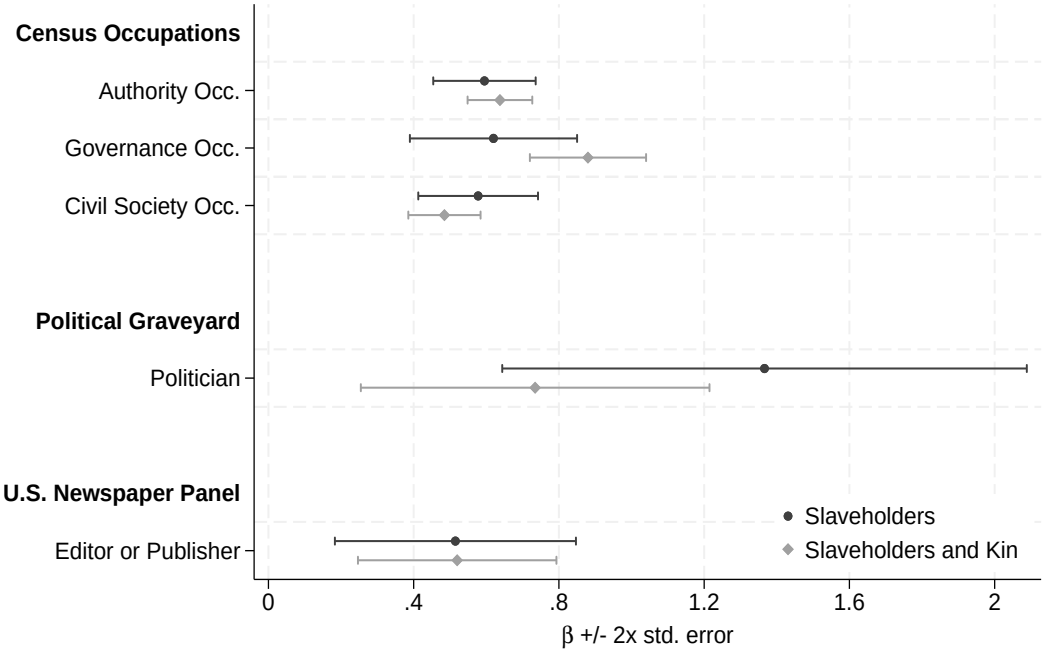
Notes: Map shows Confederate culture index (CCI) scores for counties across the conterminous United States. This score is based on the sum of county-level indicators for (i) any matched Confederate memorials (i.e., monuments, location names), (ii) any United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) chapters, (iii) any 2nd Ku Klux Klan (KKK) chapters, and (iv) any recorded lynchings of Black people. With the exception of memorials, for which data feature limited information on the time dimension, we restrict these outcomes to those observed after 1900, thus following the migratory period of study. Formerly Confederate-controlled states and territories are outlined in black.

Figure 4: Occupational Sorting by Southern White Migrants
Complete-Count: Southern-Born vs. Non-Southern-Born Differential



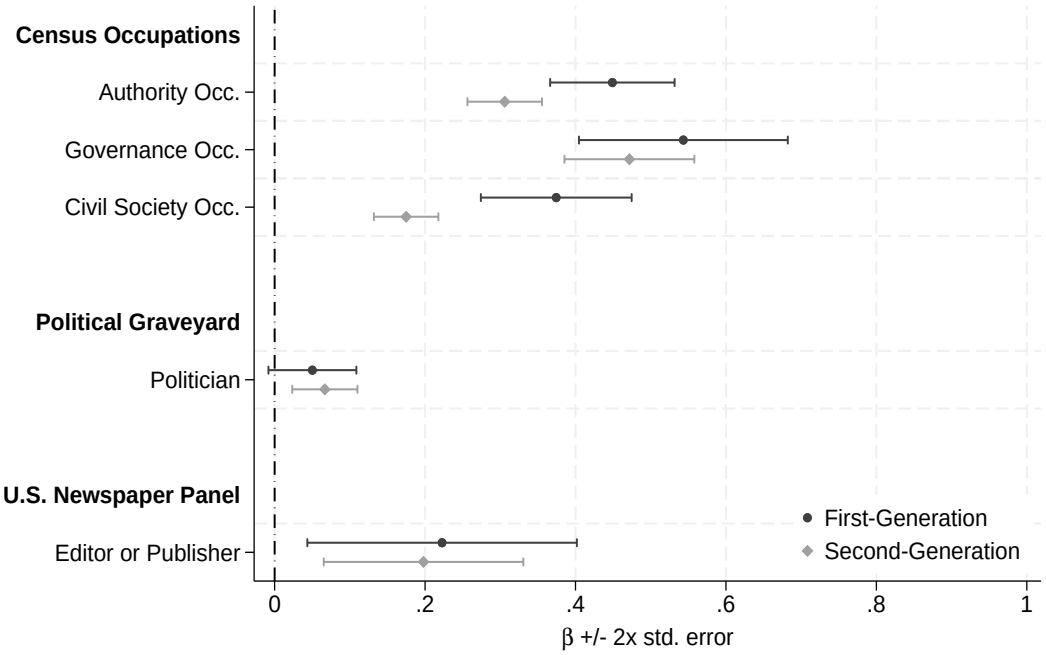
Notes: This figure shows estimates of the occupational choice differential across Southern-born and non-Southern-born men. We show the coefficients and 95% confidence intervals of β in equation (7) normalized by the mean outcome in the respective comparison groups of (i) all non-Southern-born White mean (black), and (ii) all non-Southern-born, out-of-state migrant men (marooon). The **Census Occupations** come from the complete-count population Census in 1900 and include a "governance" occupation indicator equal to one if the individual works as lawyers/judges, law enforcement, or public administrators and zero otherwise, and a "civil society" occupation indicator equal to one for religious officials or educators and zero otherwise. The "authority" occupation is a composite binary indicator across all five occupation groupings. The **Political Graveyard** outcome is based on an online database of U.S. officeholders at every level of government (https://politicalgraveyard.com/). Each officeholder is matched to the next census following their first year in office (e.g., someone serving in 1896 is matched to the 1900 census) based on their standardized first and last name and county of residence. The "politician" indicator equals one if the individual appears in the matched Political Graveyard data and zero otherwise. The **U.S. Newspaper Panel** (Gentzkow et al., 2014) includes information on daily newspapers in operation between 1869 and 2000. Editors and publishers of newspapers in each year are matched to the next census (e.g., an editor of a newspaper in 1886 is matched to the 1900 census) based on the initial of their first name, their last name, and the newspaper county. The "editor or publisher" indicator equals one if the individual is in the matched U.S. Newspaper Panel data and zero otherwise. The regressions include county fixed effects, and standard errors are clustered at the county level. See Appendix Table C.3 for the full estimation results, including dependent variable means.

Figure 5: Occupational Sorting by Former Slaveholder Migrants
Linked Sample: Slaveholder vs. Non-Slaveholder Differential | Southerners



Notes: This figure shows estimates from occupational choice regressions analogous to those in Figure 4, but here restricting the sample to Southern White men living outside the South between 1870 and 1900 and isolating the slaveholder versus non-slaveholder differential. The sample is constructed by linking individuals observed in non-Southern counties in the 1870, 1880, or 1900 Censuses back to their records in the 1860 Census and Slave Schedules in the South. Specifically, we create three sets of links—1860–1870, 1860–1880, and 1860–1900—and stack them to form a sample of men who left the South between 1860 and 1900. We show the coefficients and 95% confidence intervals of β for slaveholders (black) and slaveholders plus their kin (gray), normalized by the mean outcome for non-slaveholders. The regressions include destination county$\times$ year fixed effects, and standard errors are clustered at the destination county$\times$ year level. See the notes to Figure 4 for additional details and Appendix Table C.4 for the full estimation results, including dependent variable means.

Figure 6: Occupational Sorting by 1st and 2nd Generation Southern White Migrants



Notes: This figure shows estimates from extending the specification in Figure 4 to include an additional indicator for second-generation Southern Whites identified in the 1900 complete-count Census based on information about their parent's birthplace (regardless of whether they live with their parents or not). We show the coefficients and 95% confidence intervals from a single augmented regression (7) including indicators for both first-generation (black) and second-generation (gray) Southern White men, normalized by the mean outcome for non-those without any first- or second-generation Southern heritage. The regressions include county fixed effects, and standard errors are clustered at the county level. See the notes to Figure 4 for additional details and Appendix Table C.5 for the full estimation results, including dependent variable means.

Tables

Table 1: Individual Characteristics of Migrants Versus Stayers

	(a) Demographics				
Dependent Variable:	Age	Man	Literate	Married	# Children
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Migrant	-0.868***	0.095***	0.029***	-0.064***	-0.438***
	(0.167)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.011)
Origin County-Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	–	–	–	–	–
Observations	2,840,167	2,840,167	2,840,167	2,840,167	2,840,167
Non-Migrant Mean	30.3	0.559	0.752	0.575	2.06

	(b) Labor Market Outcomes				
	Employed	Working in Agriculture ($\times$100)	Working in Position of Authority ($\times$100)	Occupational Income Score	Occupational Socioeconomic Index
Migrant	0.002	-6.454***	0.650***	1.234***	2.122***
	(0.002)	(0.285)	(0.049)	(0.091)	(0.192)
Origin County-Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	2,840,167	2,840,167	2,840,167	1,433,683	1,445,787
Non-Migrant Mean	0.506	37.70	1.06	16.94	18.73

Notes: Regressions of selection equation (1) for various individual characteristics among White men living in the South in 1860 on whether they subsequently migrated to the non-South between 1870–1880 or 1880–1900. We use linked Census records to track which migrants moved from Southern to non-Southern counties across Census periods for decades following the Civil War from 1870–1900. For comparability, all individuals in the sample must be able to be matched to the 1860 Census. All regressions include origin-county$\times$year fixed effects. The employment outcome in column 1 of panel (b) is a binary indicator. The agriculture and authority occupation outcomes in columns 2 and 3 are binary indicators multiplied by 100. The authority occupations in column 3 of panel (b) include lawyers and judges, law enforcement, public administrators, religious workers, and educators. The Occupational Income Score (*occscore*) and the Occupational Socioeconomic Index in columns 4 and 5 of panel (b) measure the socioeconomic status of occupations based on factors like income, education, and prestige. These indices rank occupations to reflect their relative standing in society, with higher scores indicating greater social and economic status. Individual controls in the bottom panel include a cubic in age, marital status, gender, and number of children. Standard errors are clustered at the origin-county$\times$year level. Significance levels are denoted by * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table 2: Cultural Influence of the Confederate Diaspora in the Early 20th Century

Dependent Variable:	CCI Score (from 0–4)		Any Confederate Memorials		Any UDC Chapters		Any KKK Chapters		Any Lynchings of Blacks	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
					(a) OLS					
% Southern Whites, 1900	0.045***	0.044***	0.009*	0.008*	0.018***	0.018***	0.010***	0.012***	0.008**	0.007**
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.003)
Adjusted R^2	0.32	0.38	0.22	0.24	0.31	0.42	0.23	0.25	0.09	0.15
					(b) SSIV					
% Southern Whites, 1900	0.117***	0.122***	0.030***	0.031***	0.038***	0.039***	0.031**	0.035**	0.017**	0.017**
	(0.034)	(0.032)	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.008)	(0.009)
F-statistic	18.4	21.6	18.4	21.6	18.4	21.6	18.4	21.6	18.4	21.6
Anderson-Rubin, p-value	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.01
KP Underident., p-value	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Hausman, p-value	0.02	0.00	0.03	0.01	0.03	0.01	0.09	0.05	0.23	0.18
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
County size	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sorting confounds		Yes		Yes		Yes		Yes		Yes
% Southern Whites, 1870	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,701	1,701	1,701	1,701	1,701	1,701	1,701	1,701	1,701	1,701
Dep. Var. Mean	0.78	0.78	0.25	0.25	0.11	0.11	0.37	0.37	0.05	0.05

Notes: Regressions of Confederate culture index (CCI) scores ranging 0–4 (columns 1–2), based on the county-level sum of indicators for any (i) Confederate memorials (coded as any Confederacy leader-inspired monuments as well as matched place names, street names or school names) in county after 1900 (columns 3–4), (ii) any United Daughters of the Confederacy chapters recorded during 1900–20 (columns 4–6), (iii) any 2nd Ku Klux Klan chapters recorded during 1915–40 (columns 7–8), and (iv) any recorded lynchings of Black people after 1900 (columns 9–10), on the share of Southern Whites in 1900 in non-Southern counties (sample mean of 2.2%). Southern counties are those belonging to states of the former Confederacy and Oklahoma. Panel (b) instruments the share of Southern Whites using a shift-share instrument based on the 1870 cross-sectional distribution of Southern Whites and the predicted change in the Southern White population living outside the South from 1870 to 1900. The latter is generated via a set of flexible LASSO regressions (see equation 2). All regressions control for the share of Southern Whites in 1870 and state fixed effects. County size controls include log county population in 1860 and log county area (in square miles). Additional sorting controls include cotton, tobacco, and overall agricultural potential; foreign-born, Black, and Chinese shares in 1860; slave shares in 1860; Union Army enlistment and mortality rates; Breckinridge vote shares in 1860; and dummies for on the frontier in 1860 and never on the frontier, based on Bazzi et al. (2020). All continuous controls are entered flexibly using quadratic terms. The Anderson-Rubin p-value corresponds to the null hypothesis that the coefficient on $\%\ Southern\ Whites,\ 1900$ is zero and that the overidentifying restrictions are valid. The KP Underidentification test p-value corresponds to the Kleibergen and Paap (2006) Lagrange Multiplier (LM) test whose null hypothesis is that the equation is underidentified. The null of the Hausman test is that the regressor, $\%\ Southern\ Whites\ 1900$, is exogenous (i.e., that the OLS and the IV are statistically indistinguishable). Standard errors are clustered at the 60×60 square-mile grid cell level, following the approach of Bester et al. (2011). Significance levels are denoted by * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table 3: Group Influence by Region of Migrant Origin

Dependent Variable:	CCI Score (from 0–4)			Any Confederate Memorials	Any UDC Chapters	Any KKK Chapters	Any Lynchings of Blacks
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	(a) Border States, the Upper South, and the Deep South						
% Southern Whites, 1900	0.019***	0.154**					
	(0.006)	(0.061)					
% Whites from Border States, 1900	0.032**	0.056	0.090	-0.006	0.029	0.046	0.020
	(0.014)	(0.049)	(0.070)	(0.025)	(0.018)	(0.032)	(0.015)
% Whites from Upper South, 1900			-0.198	-0.069	-0.066*	-0.035	-0.028
			(0.149)	(0.057)	(0.037)	(0.069)	(0.029)
% Whites from Deep South, 1900			3.053**	0.991*	0.915***	0.764	0.383
			(1.360)	(0.503)	(0.327)	(0.606)	(0.315)
Observations	1,384	1,384	1,384	1,384	1,384	1,384	1,384
Dep. Var. Mean	0.65	0.65	0.65	0.20	0.04	0.39	0.02
KP Joint F-statistic		9.5	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.5
KP Underident., p-valuel		0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Southern White SW F-statistic		3.6		3.6	3.6	3.6	3.6
Southern White Underident., p-value		0.05		0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05
Upper South SW F-statistic			9.0				
Upper South Underident.,, p-value			0.00				
Deep South SW F-statistic			7.8				
Deep South Underident., p-value			0.00				
Border State SW F-statistic		2.7	2.3	2.7	2.7	2.7	2.7
Border State Underident., p-value		0.09	0.12	0.09	0.09	0.09	0.09
	(b) Southern Whites and Whites from the Union North						
% Southern Whites, 1900	0.040***	0.110***	0.106***	0.029***	0.033***	0.024*	0.020**
	(0.013)	(0.030)	(0.031)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.013)	(0.009)
% Northern Whites, 1900	0.026***	0.038***					
	(0.005)	(0.013)					
% Whites from "Slave North," 1900			0.050*	0.008	0.012	0.021	0.007
			(0.027)	(0.011)	(0.008)	(0.014)	(0.006)
% Whites from "Free North," 1900			-0.003	-0.013	0.001	0.028	-0.018*
			(0.058)	(0.021)	(0.020)	(0.029)	(0.011)
Observations	815	815	815	815	815	815	815
Dep. Var. Mean	0.88	0.88	0.88	0.29	0.20	0.30	0.08
KP Joint F-statistic		11.5	4.3	11.5	11.5	11.5	11.5
KP Underident., p-value		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Southern White SW F-statistic		28.2	19.8	28.2	28.2	28.2	28.2
Southern White Underident., p-value		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Northern White SW F-statistic		22.4		22.4	22.4	22.4	22.4
Northern White Underident., p-value		0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Slave North SW F-statistic			11.9				
Slave North Underident.,, p-value			0.00				
Free North SW F-statistic			17.9				
Free North Underident., p-value			0.00				
Estimator	OLS	IV	IV	IV	IV	IV	IV
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
County size	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sorting confounds	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
1870 shares	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Notes: This table makes two changes to the specification in column 2 from Table 2: (i) it adds the share of White migrants from the five border states of West Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Delaware, and Missouri (panel a) or Northern White migrants (panel b) as an additional endogenous variable, and (ii) it restricts the sample to states outside the border states and the South (panel a) or the North and South (panel b) where we define the "North" as the territories of the Union during the Civil War, excluding border and Western states (California, Oregon, Nevada). Column 3 of panel (a) further splits Southern Whites into those from the "deep South" states with more slavery prior to emancipation (Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina) and the remaining "upper South" states. Column 3 of panel (b) further splits Northern Whites into those from "free North" states with $< 1\%$ Blacks recorded as enslaved by the Census after 1800 (Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Ohio) and the remaining "slave North" states with larger slave shares. Migrant shares are each instrumented using a shift-share instrument based on the 1870 cross-sectional distribution of Whites of each group and the predicted change in the given migrant population from 1870 to 1900. The shift part is generated via a set of flexible LASSO regressions (see equation 2). The bottom part of the table reports the KP Underidentification test p-value (Kleibergen and Paap, 2006), as well as the SW first-stage F-statistics and Underidentification LM test p-values (Sanderson and Windmeijer, 2016) for the endogenous regressors. Standard errors are clustered at the 60×60 square-mile grid cell level based on Bester et al. (2011). Significance levels are denoted by * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table 4: Heterogeneous Effects by Origin: Confederate Experience and Grievance

Dependent Variable:	All Confederate Cultural Activity (CCI Score, from 0–4)						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
% Southern Whites, 1900	0.189***	0.115***	0.384***	0.161***	0.229***	0.115***	0.272***
	(0.049)	(0.026)	(0.115)	(0.041)	(0.061)	(0.028)	(0.069)
% Southern Whites, 1900 × *Average Migrant-Origin State [. . .]*							
Slaves per Capita (× 100), 1860	0.203***						
	(0.071)						
Exposure to Pro-Secession County, 1860–61		0.086*					
		(0.046)					
Civil War Battles (per 10,000), 1861–65			0.164***				
			(0.057)				
Exposure to Federal Occupation, 1865–77				0.085**			
				(0.034)			
Exposure to Freedmen's Bureau, 1865–72					0.100***		
					(0.034)		
% Confederate Veterans, 1870						0.118**	
						(0.047)	
% Former Slaveholders, 1870							0.202***
							(0.065)
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
County size	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sorting confounds	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
% Southern Whites, 1870	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,701	1,701	1,701	1,701	1,701	1,701	1,701
Dep. Var. Mean	0.78	0.78	0.78	0.78	0.78	0.78	0.78
KP Joint F-statistic	8.4	7.4	5.2	7.9	7.8	3.5	6.6
KP Underident., p-value	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00
Southern White SW F-statistic	24.3	13.0	11.7	28.4	20.4	10.9	17.4
Southern White Underident., p-value	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Interaction SW F-statistic	17.8	30.7	10.8	18.9	15.7	11.6	13.8
Interaction Underident., p-value	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

Notes: This table augments the specification in column 2 of Table 2, interacting the Southern White share in non-Southern counties with various characteristics of the cross-county average origin state of a given non-Southern county's Southern Whites, as weighted by the share of Southern Whites from each origin state as of 1870. The own-term in the interaction is also included as an additional regressor in both stages (omitted from table). See Appendix Table A.1 for the original data sources used to construct interaction variables. Excluded Southern counties are those belonging to states of the former Confederacy and Oklahoma. All columns instrument the share of Southern Whites using a shift-share instrument based on the 1870 cross-sectional distribution of Southern Whites and the predicted change in the Southern White population living outside the South from 1870 to 1900. The latter is generated via a set of flexible LASSO regressions (see equation 2). The interaction terms are instrumented separately by the interaction of the SSIV and the given variable. See the notes of Table 2 for all details on controls. The KP Underidentification test p-value corresponds to the Kleibergen and Paap (2006) LM test whose null hypothesis is that the equation is underidentified. The SW F-statistics and Underidentification test p-values are based on Sanderson and Windmeijer (2016) first-stage F statistics and LM tests, respectively, for the individual endogenous regressors. Standard errors are clustered at the 60×60 square-mile grid cell level, following the approach of Bester et al. (2011). Significance levels are denoted by * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table 5: Heterogeneous Effects by Migrant Type: Slaveholders and Non-Slaveholders

Dependent Variable:	All Confederate Cultural Activity (CCI Score, from 0–4)					Any Confederate Memorials	Any UDC Chapters	Any KKK Chapters	Any Lynchings of Blacks
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
% Former Slaveholder Migrants, 1870–1900	0.310**	0.136	2.678***	3.177***	3.148***	0.977***	0.816***	1.209***	0.146
	(0.150)	(0.126)	(0.745)	(0.961)	(0.908)	(0.374)	(0.276)	(0.407)	(0.156)
% Non-Slaveholder Migrants, 1870–1900	0.012	0.018**	-0.064	-0.022	-0.020	0.015	-0.019	-0.030	0.013
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.053)	(0.074)	(0.076)	(0.037)	(0.017)	(0.027)	(0.012)
Estimator	OLS	OLS	IV	IV	IV	IV	IV	IV	IV
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
County size	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sorting confounds		Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
% All Southern Whites, 1870	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
% Slaveholder Migrants, 1860–70	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
% Non-Southern Slaveholders, 1870		Yes			Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,680	1,680	1,680	1,680	1,680	1,680	1,680	1,680	1,680
Dep. Var. Mean	0.78	0.78	0.78	0.78	0.78	0.25	0.11	0.38	0.05
KP Joint F-statistic			3.8	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
KP Underident., p-value			0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Slaveholder SW F-statistic			21.1	18.6	21.1	21.1	21.1	21.1	21.1
Slaveholder Underident., p-value			0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Non-Slaveholder SW F-statistic			14.5	10.0	10.5	10.5	10.5	10.5	10.5
Non-Slaveholder Underident., p-value			0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

Notes: This table re-estimates Table 2 using alternative explanatory variation, based on former slaveholding and non-slaveholding Southern White migrant shares as of 1900, using a sample of individuals linked to the 1860 complete-count Census based on whether they (i) resided in the South and (ii) were linked to the 1860 Slave Schedule. Excluded Southern counties are those belonging to states of the former Confederacy and Oklahoma. All columns instrument the shares of former slaveholding and non-slaveholding Southern Whites using shift-share instruments based on their predicted 1870 cross-sectional distributions and the predicted changes in their populations living outside the South from 1870 to 1900, as elaborated in detail in Appendix B.4. All columns control for overall Southern White shares of 1870, while columns 5–10 separately account for the level of baseline slaveholder migration to a non-Southern county since the 1860 Slave Schedule. Column 6 also controls for the share of non-Southern former slaveholders in a county, defined as a share of all individual linked to non-Southern states as of the 1860 Slave Schedule. See the notes of Table 2 for other details on controls. The KP Underidentification test p-value corresponds to the Kleibergen and Paap (2006) LM test whose null hypothesis is that the equation is underidentified. The SW F-statistics and Underidentification test p-values are based on Sanderson and Windmeijer (2016) first-stage F statistics and LM tests, respectively, for the individual endogenous regressors. Standard errors are clustered at the 60×60 square-mile grid cell level, following the approach of Bester et al. (2011). Significance levels are denoted by * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table 6: Heterogeneous Effects by Destination: Power Structure and Malleability of Local Culture and Institutions

Dependent Variable:	All Confederate Cultural Activity (CCI Score, from 0–4)								
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
% Southern Whites, 1900	0.092***	0.082***	0.122***	0.107***	0.044	0.070*	0.117***	0.204***	0.205***
	(0.023)	(0.027)	(0.032)	(0.030)	(0.035)	(0.038)	(0.031)	(0.064)	(0.051)
County Culture and Institutions Were [. . .]	*Established*		*Oppositional*			*Remote*		*Extractive*	*Cohesive*
% Southern Whites, 1900									
× Log Population Density, 1850	-0.059*								
	(0.034)								
× Years Since Exited Frontier, 1850		-0.067***							
		(0.018)							
× Historical 48er Presence			-0.050						
			(0.076)						
× % Union Enlistment in County				-0.039***					
				(0.011)					
× Proximity to D.C.					-0.154***				
					(0.049)				
× Proximity to Railways, 1850						-0.152***			
						(0.048)			
× Proximity to Rivers							-0.076***		
							(0.027)		
× No Mines in County, 1860								-0.098*	
								(0.057)	
× Ancestral Homogeneity, 1850									-0.173**
									(0.068)
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
County size	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sorting confounds	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
% Southern Whites, 1870	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,701	1,537	1,701	1,701	1,701	1,701	1,701	1,700	1,701
Dep. Var. mean	0.78	0.70	0.78	0.78	0.78	0.78	0.78	0.78	0.78
KP Joint F-statistic	6.5	12.1	10.8	22.5	9.6	7.4	10.6	9.6	1.8
KP Underident., p-val	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.02
Southern White SW F-statistic	16.4	22.2	23.1	24.5	29.0	51.1	29.0	22.4	111.5
Southern White Underident., p-val	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Interaction SW F-statistic	73.5	60.8	67.8	49.1	35.1	33.3	18.9	60.4	25.1
Interaction Underident., p-val	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

Notes: This table augments the specification in column 2 of Table 2, interaction the Southern White share with pre-migration characteristics of the destination counties. The own-term in the interaction is also included as an additional regressor in both stages. Excluded Southern counties are those belonging to states of the former Confederacy and Oklahoma. All columns instrument the share of Southern Whites using a shift-share instrument based on the 1870 cross-sectional distribution of Southern Whites and the predicted change in the Southern White population living outside the South from 1870 to 1900. The latter is generated via a set of flexible LASSO regressions (see equation 2). The interaction terms are instrumented separately by the interaction of the SSIV and the given variable. Railway data are from Thomas (2017), Union enlistment data from Dupraz and Ferrara (2021), frontier data from Bazzi et al. (2020), and mines data from Mason and Arndt (1996). See the notes of Table 2 for all other details on controls. The KP Underidentification test p-value corresponds to the Kleibergen and Paap (2006) LM test whose null hypothesis is that the equation is underidentified. The SW F-statistics and Underidentification test p-values are based on Sanderson and Windmeijer (2016) first-stage F statistics and LM tests, respectively, for the individual endogenous regressors. Standard errors are clustered at the 60×60 square-mile grid cell level, following the approach of Bester et al. (2011). Significance levels are denoted by * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table 7: The Confederate Diaspora and Klan Membership in the Early 20th Century

Dependent Variable:	Matched to KKK Member Records						
	(a) 1st and 2nd Generation, Discrete Origin Region Heterogeneity						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
Southern-Born	0.032***		0.029***		0.024***		
	(0.007)		(0.005)		(0.004)		
Non-Southern-Born with Southern-Born Parent	0.037***		0.035***		0.026***		
	(0.007)		(0.005)		(0.004)		
Deep South-Born		0.043***		0.048***		0.042***	
		(0.012)		(0.010)		(0.010)	
Upper South-Born		0.028***		0.023***		0.019***	
		(0.007)		(0.005)		(0.005)	
Non-Southern-Born w/ Deep South-Born Parent		0.024*		0.037***		0.029***	
		(0.014)		(0.010)		(0.010)	
Non-Southern-Born w/ Upper South-Born Parent		0.039***		0.033***		0.025***	
		(0.008)		(0.005)		(0.005)	
Sample Counties	Denver Only		All Metro Area		All Metro Area		
Fixed Effects	—		County		Enumeration District		
Observations	129,248	129,248	241,298	241,298	241,297	241,297	
Dep. Var. Mean (Non-Southern Heritage)	0.238	0.238	0.213	0.213	0.213	0.213	

	(b) 1st and 2nd Generation, Continuous Origin State Heterogeneity						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Southern-Born	0.029***	0.029***	0.029***	0.029***	0.029***	0.029***	0.029***
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Non-Southern-Born w/ Southern-Born Parent	0.035***	0.035***	0.035***	0.035***	0.035***	0.035***	0.035***
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Southern-Born × *Average Origin State [. . .]*							
Slaves per Capita (x 100), 1860	0.023***						
	(0.004)						
Exposure to Pro-Secession County, 1860-61		0.021***					
		(0.004)					
Civil War Battles (per 10,000), 1861-65			0.016***				
			(0.004)				
Exposure to Federal Occupation, 1865-77				0.025***			
				(0.004)			
Exposure to Freedmen's Bureau, 1865-72					0.022***		
					(0.004)		
% Confederate Veterans, 1870						0.025***	
						(0.004)	
% Former Slaveholders, 1870							0.028***
							(0.004)
Sample Counties	All metro	All metro	All metro	All metro	All metro	All metro	All metro
Fixed Effects	County	County	County	County	County	County	County
Observations	241,298	241,298	241,298	241,298	241,298	241,298	241,298
Dep. Var. Mean (Non-Southern Heritage)	0.213	0.213	0.213	0.213	0.213	0.213	0.213

Notes: The dependent variable is a binary indicator for whether a White male in the Denver, CO metropolitan area as of the 1920 U.S. Census can be found in Denver KKK membership records from the 1920s. Linking based on first and last names, using the ABE algorithm from Abramitzky et al. (2021) with NYSIIS standardized names. In the odd-numbered columns in panel (a), the regressors include indicators for whether men were born in the South and whether they were born outside the South but their parents were born in the South. In the even-numbered columns, the regressors include indicators for whether men were born in the Deep or Upper South and whether they were born outside the South but their parents were born in the Deep or Upper South. In panel (b), the regressors include indicators for whether they were born in the South and whether they were born outside the South but their parents were born in the South along with interactions between the Southern-born indicator and various measures of origin-state Confederate experience and grievance. There are 313 enumeration districts in Denver county and 527 in the greater metro area, which spans 14 counties. Standard errors are clustered by enumeration district. Significance levels are denoted by * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table 8: The Confederate Diaspora and Klan Mobilization in the Early 20th Century

Dependent Variable:	Matched to KKK Member Records					
Sample:	White Men with No Southern Heritage					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1st or 2nd Gen. Southern White Neighbor	0.019***		0.018***		0.008**	
	(0.006)		(0.004)		(0.003)	
1st Gen. Southern White Neighbor		0.018**		0.015***		0.006
		(0.007)		(0.005)		(0.004)
2nd Gen. Southern White Neighbor		0.021***		0.021***		0.010**
		(0.008)		(0.005)		(0.004)
% 1st Gen. Southern Whites in District					0.005***	0.005***
					(0.001)	(0.001)
% 2nd Gen. Southern Whites in District					0.008***	0.008***
					(0.001)	(0.001)
Sample Counties	Denver Only		All Metro Area		All Metro Area	
Fixed Effects	—		County		Enumeration District	
Observations	93,654	93,654	189,263	189,263	189,263	189,263
Dep. Var. Mean	0.246	0.246	0.215	0.215	0.215	0.215

Notes: The dependent variable is a binary indicator for whether a White male in the Denver, CO metropolitan area as of the 1920 U.S. Census can be found in Denver KKK membership records from the 1920s. Linking based on first and last names, using the ABE algorithm from Abramitzky et al. (2021) with NYSIIS standardized names. The sample includes White men born outside the South to parents who were also born outside the South, and the regressors include an indicator for whether one's next-door neighbors have first- and/or second-generation Southern White migrants and the share of first- and/or- second-generation Southern White migrants in one's enumeration district. The latter is leave-out, excluding one's next-door neighbors from the district total. There are 527 enumeration districts in the greater metro area, which spans 14 counties. Standard errors are clustered by enumeration district. Significance levels are denoted by * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table 9: Institutional Leverage through Occupational Authority

	Confederate Cultural Activity (CCI Score, from 0–4)					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
% Southern Whites, 1900	0.142***	0.122***	0.135***	0.124***	0.133***	0.124***
	(0.030)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.029)	(0.030)
% Southern Whites, 1900 × *Sorting Ratio Among [. . .]*						
Authority Occupations	0.063**					
	(0.032)					
Authority Occupations, Placebo		-0.021				
		(0.026)				
Governance Occupations			0.076***			
			(0.028)			
Governance Occupations, Placebo				-0.010		
				(0.028)		
Civil Society Occupations					0.027	
					(0.024)	
Civil Society Occupations, Placebo						-0.009
						(0.009)
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
County size	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sorting confounds	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
% Southern Whites, 1900 (SSIV)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
% Southern Whites, 1870	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,557	1,557	1,557	1,557	1,557	1,557
Dep. Var. Mean	0.83	0.83	0.83	0.83	0.83	0.83
KP Joint F-statistic	13.4	15.4	12.5	15.3	13.7	12.6
KP Underident., p-value	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
Southern White SW F-statistic	40.2	37.4	29.3	37.3	42.6	32.2
Southern White Underident., p-value	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Interaction SW F-statistic	48.8	30.9	45.8	34.3	35.8	152.1
Interaction Underident., p-value	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

Notes: This table revisits the baseline regression in column 2 of Table 2 and augments the specification with an interaction of $\%\ Southern\ Whites,\ 1900$ and the standardized *odds ratio* of Southern White employment in a given occupation o category over non-Southern White employment in that category in county c: $\left(\frac{Southern\ employment\ in\ o}{total\ Southern\ employment}\right) / \left(\frac{non-Southern\ employment\ in\ o}{total\ non-Southern\ employment}\right)$. We instrument the interaction term with the interaction of the SSIV × the ratio. We also include the ratio own term in both stages but otherwise use the same specifications as in Table 2. We further restrict the analysis to counties with at least 5 workers in authority occupations ($N = 1,557$ versus 1,701 in our baseline). See Appendix Table D.9 for robustness to alternative cutoffs. We construct placebo occupations for each category meant to be of similar size and comparable occupational score (*occscore*) to their comparison category, while lacking the public-facing authority aspect of the job. For governance occupations, these include (i) mechanics and repairmen, (ii) funeral directors and embalmers, (iii) sports instructors and officials, (iv) physicians and surgeons, (v) railroad switchmen, and (vi) advertising agents and salesmen. For civil society occupations, these include (i) textile weavers, (ii) apprentice machinists and toolmakers, (iii) metalworking trades apprentices, (iv) metal molders, (v) glaziers, (vi) surveyors, and (vii) photographers.

Table 10: Consequences of Confederate Culture: Racial Discrimination and Exclusion Across Multiple Domains

	Economic	Residential	Municipal				Carceral
Dependent Variable:	Black to Non-Black Earnings Ratio, 1940	Black Residential Segregation, 1940	Number of Sundown Towns in County		No Blacks in Town Limits After 1900 = 1		Black Incarceration Rate, 1920
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
% Southern Whites, 1900	-0.020*	0.004*	0.094*	0.080*			0.249*
	(0.011)	(0.002)	(0.049)	(0.047)			(0.138)
$\beta_{<25}$: % Southern Whites, 1900 × < 25 Blacks, 1870					1.090	0.638	
					(1.583)	(0.961)	
$\beta_{\geq 25}$: % Southern Whites, 1900 × ≥ 25 Blacks, 1870					2.571**	2.294**	
					(1.019)	(0.973)	
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
County size	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sorting confounds	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
% Southern whites, 1870	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Town controls		Yes	Yes	Yes			
Unit of analysis	County	County	County	County	Town	Town	County
Diaspora regressor at ... level	County	County	County	County	Town	County	County
Observations	1,045	1,695	1,701	1,701	33,904	33,904	1,615
Outcome mean	0.77	0.08	0.47	0.47	65.57	65.57	0.55
F-statistic	18.3	22.7	21.4	17.9	8.9	9.7	20.0
KP Underident., p-val	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
$\beta_{<25}$, SW F-statistic					18.2	21.1	
$\beta_{<25}$, Underid. p -val					0.00	0.00	
$\beta_{\geq 25}$, SW F-statistic					65.9	79.6	
$\beta_{\geq 25}$, Underid. p -val					0.00	0.00	

Notes: SSIV regressions of various race-related socioeconomic outcomes between 1900 and 1940 on the share of Southern Whites in 1900 in non-Southern counties. Columns 5–6 further show SSIV regressions of an indicator (×100) of whether a given non-Southern town had no Black residents at some point after 1900 (through 1940) on the share of Southern Whites in 1900 in all non-Southern towns (columns 5) or counties (columns 6). Columns 5–6 also include an interaction term for whether a town had over 25 Blacks in 1870 and report the coefficient estimates for those two subsamples. Excluded Southern counties are those belonging to states of the former Confederacy and Oklahoma. All columns instrument the share of Southern Whites using a shift-share instrument based on the 1870 cross-sectional distribution of Southern Whites and the predicted change in the Southern White population living outside the South from 1870 to 1900. The latter is generated via a set of flexible LASSO regressions (see equation 2). Columns 5–6 control for town longitude, latitude, a dummy for whether it had over 25 Blacks in 1870, and a dummy for whether it had over 1,000 residents in 1870, while column 4 controls for the county-level aggregates for these factors. See the notes of Table 2 for other details on controls. The sample of confirmed sundown towns used to construct the numerator in columns 3–4 is originally from Loewen (2005) (who coined the term "Great Retreat" to capture the Black exodus from towns across America in the early 1900s) and taken from Taylor (2020) via its complementary GIS resource. The sample of towns used for columns 4–6 is based on Berkes et al. (2022). The KP Underidentification test p-value corresponds to the Kleibergen and Paap (2006) LM test whose null hypothesis is that the equation is underidentified. The SW F-statistics and Underidentification test p-values are based on Sanderson and Windmeijer (2016) first-stage F statistics and LM tests, respectively, for the individual endogenous regressors. Standard errors are clustered at the 60×60 square-mile grid cell level, following the approach of Bester et al. (2011). Significance levels are denoted by * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Online Appendix

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A The Geography of the Confederate Diaspora

In this Appendix, we document the economic and ideological factors underlying Southern White out-migration between 1870 and 1900, as well as the destination choices of these migrants. Together, these factors shaped the geography of the Confederate diaspora that we study in this paper.

A.1 Origin County Push Factors

Table A.1: Summary Statistics, Southern County-Level Push Factor Data

	Obs.	Mean	St. dev.	Min.	Max.
Push factors					
% Black population	2,795	24.84	20.89	0.00	88.03
Manufacturing output per capita	2,795	16.37	28.53	0.00	456.74
Manufacturing wage per capita	2,795	2.33	4.89	0.00	68.96
% Former slaveholders (1870)	2,795	7.18	4.26	0.00	25.72
% Confederate veterans (1870)	2,795	27.26	6.88	0.00	66.67
Any Civil War battles?	2,910	0.12	0.33	0.00	1.00
Tobacco county (above-median potential)	2,910	0.50	0.50	0.00	1.00
Cotton county (above-median potential)	2,910	0.50	0.50	0.00	1.00
Agricultural potential	2,910	0.65	0.18	0.00	0.90
% Votes for Breckindidge (1860)	2,910	42.77	28.45	0.00	100.00
% Slaves (1860)	2,910	26.39	22.49	0.00	92.43
Any Union occupation of county?	2,910	0.37	0.48	0.00	1.00
Any Freedmen's Bureaus?	2,910	0.28	0.45	0.00	1.00
Did county vote to secede?	2,286	0.64	0.48	0.00	1.00

Notes: Summary statistics for counties in the South in the period 1870–80 and 1880–1900 as used in the descriptive analysis of push factors and corresponding construction of the migration shifts in the SSIV. The variables in the first three rows are time-varying. The others are time-invariant, but we report the overall sample size allowing for the entry of new counties (in Texas and Oklahoma) in the later period. Data for Civil War battles are from Arnold (2015). Data for Union Army enlistment and mortality rates in the Civil War are from Dupraz and Ferrara (2021). Data on frontier status are from Bazzi et al. (2020). Information on Confederate Army veteran shares are based on Hall et al. (2019). Freedmen's Bureau locations are sourced from Carrier and Walton-Raji (2015). Federal occupation data are sourced from Downs (2015). Presidential vote share data for 1860 are from Clubb et al. (2006). All other data

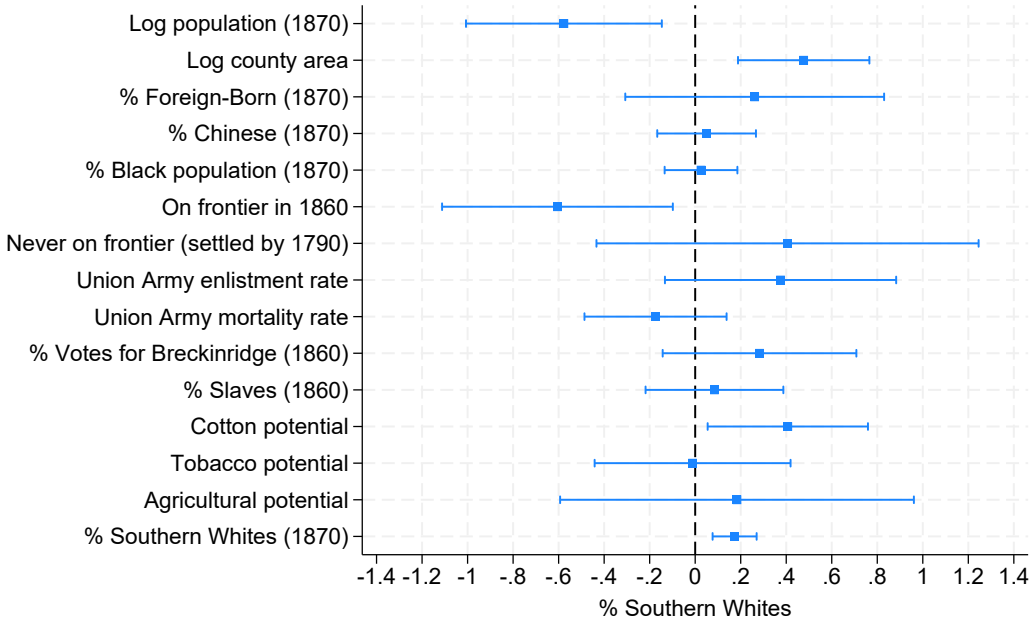
Table A.2: Push Factors for Postbellum Southern White Migrants, 1870–1900

Dependent Variable:	Southern White Migrants Outflows		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
% Black population	-4.649***	-9.376***	-7.697***
	(0.816)	(0.783)	(0.775)
Manufacturing output per capita	0.512	1.038	0.950**
	(0.380)	(0.758)	(0.484)
Average manufacturing wages	3.520	2.578	2.685
	(2.166)	(3.253)	(1.909)
% Former slaveholders (1870)	-7.686***	-5.226	-7.372***
	(2.363)	(3.265)	(2.132)
% Confederate veterans (1870)	2.253**	5.773***	4.312***
	(1.108)	(2.021)	(1.180)
Any Civil War battles in county?	115.120***	225.121***	167.325***
	(24.418)	(47.069)	(27.112)
Tobacco county	38.706***	89.742***	67.730***
	(14.531)	(26.395)	(15.834)
Cotton county	16.893	9.918	15.204
	(17.634)	(27.273)	(16.219)
Agricultural potential	-292.907***	-491.364***	-416.243***
	(51.384)	(73.599)	(46.688)
% Vote share for Breckinridge (1860)	-1.185***	-2.131***	-1.593***
	(0.323)	(0.569)	(0.331)
% Slaves (1860)	0.622		1.105
	(0.806)		(0.786)
Any Union occupation of county?	16.890	59.495**	36.253**
	(14.481)	(24.665)	(14.401)
Any Freedmen's Bureaus?	-33.365**	-49.281*	-42.449***
	(14.745)	(27.293)	(16.081)
Did county vote to secede?	-35.809***	-15.595	-26.308*
	(13.831)	(24.174)	(14.286)
Population size in sending counties	0.028***	0.032***	0.031***
	(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Period	1870–1880	1880–1900	1870–1900
Year FE			
Observations	1060	1118	2178
Outcome mean	156.9	295.2	227.9
Adj. R^2	0.665	0.610	0.618

Notes: Estimates of equation (2), which regresses a measure of Southern White migrant outflows from Southern counties on various observable origin county characteristics. These outflow measures from each origin county to non-Southern counties are based on linked Census records, which track (White male) migrants across Census periods for decades following the Civil War from 1870–1900. All columns use a linear LASSO specification to select optimal sets of covariates for each Census period. Column 3 pools data across years and estimates a version with year fixed effects. Sample counties include those in the twelve former Confederate states plus Oklahoma. Robust standard errors in parentheses. Significance levels are denoted by * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

A.2 Destination County Pull Factors

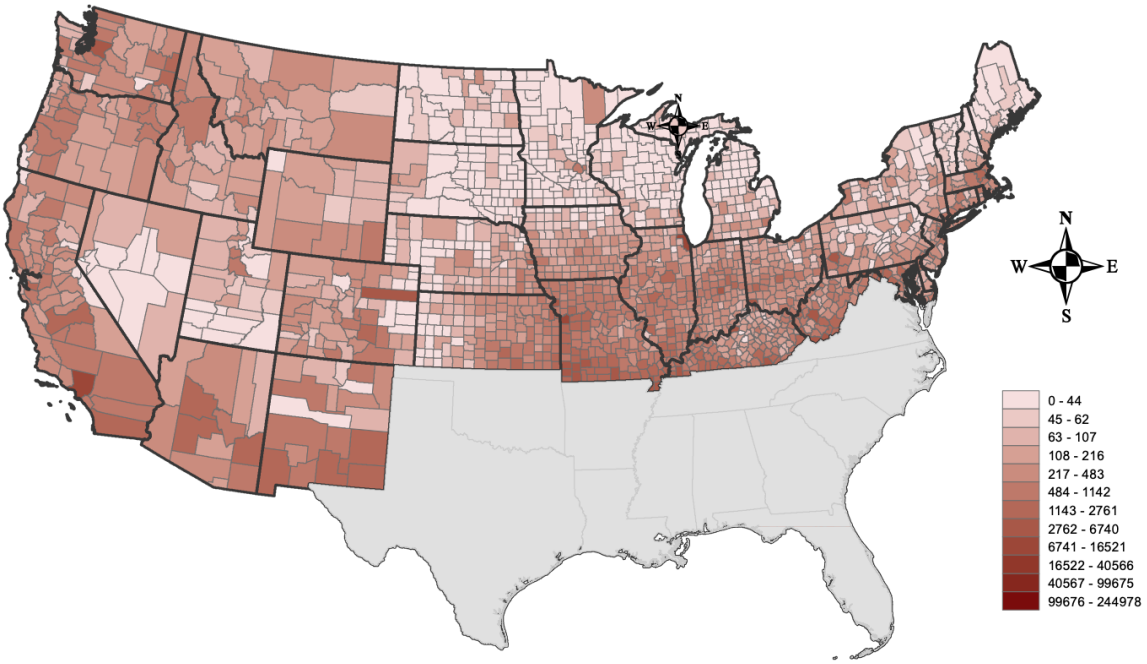
Figure A.1: Pull Factors for Southern White Migrants (1900)



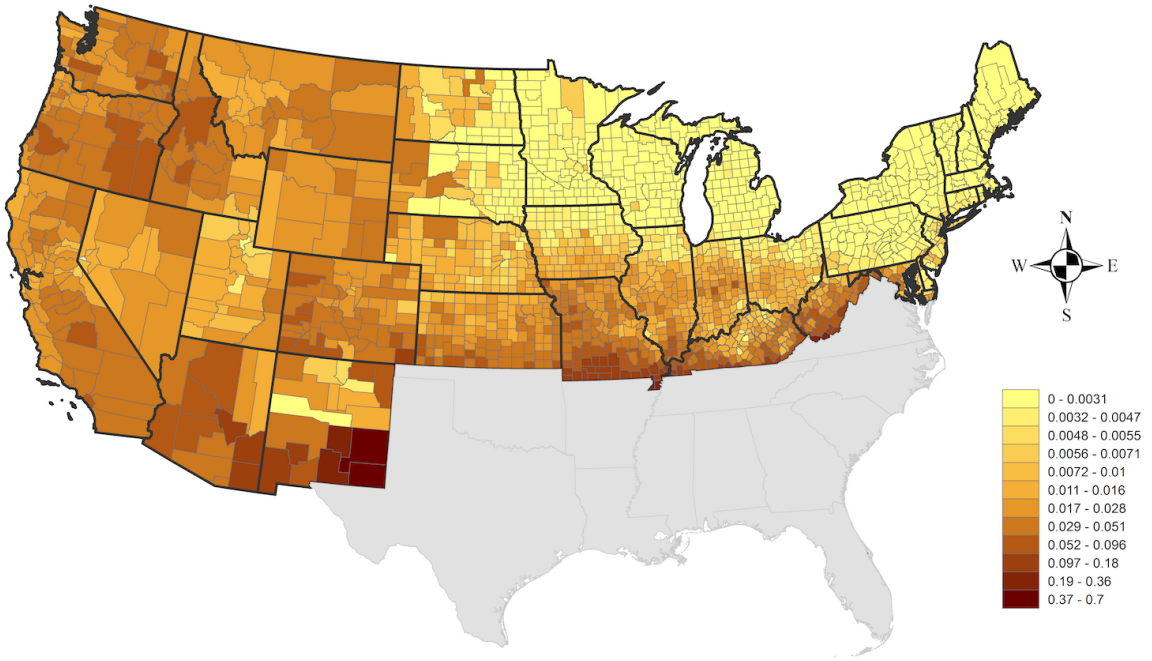
Notes: This figure shows point estimates and confidence intervals of coefficients from a regression of the Southern White population share in 1900 (in %) on a vector of time-invariant or predetermined destination county characteristics. These include: the log county population in 1870 and county area (in square miles); cotton, tobacco, and overall agricultural potential; foreign-born, Black, Chinese, and Southern White population shares in 1870; slave shares in 1860; Union Army enlistment and mortality rates; Breckinridge vote shares in 1860; and dummies for on the frontier in 1860 and never on the frontier, based on Bazzi et al. (2020). The continuous right-hand-side variables are normalized to have a standard deviation of one. Standard errors are clustered at the 60×60 square-mile grid cell level, following the approach of Bester et al. (2011).

Figure A.2: Mapping Southern White Migrants Outside the South in 1900

(a) Southern White Migrant Counts



(b) Southern White Migrant Shares



Notes: This figure maps county-level population (a) counts and (b) shares of White individuals born in the South and residing outside the South in 1900, according to the complete-count Census.

B SSIV Construction and Robustness Checks

B.1 Leveraging Push and Pull Factors for Identification

The sorting patterns in Appendix Figure A.1 highlight the importance of strategies for addressing threats to causal identification in our county-level analyses in Section 4 and elsewhere. To address residual sorting biases, we control directly for the potential confounders in that table. Insofar as these confounders are leading to bias, our estimates should be sensitive to their inclusion in Table B.5, and they are not. This suggests that our SSIV provides robust and excludable sources of identifying variation through the combination of push-factor-based shifts from Appendix Table A.2 with the predetermined shares underlying chain migration. This Appendix provides additional details on the SSIV specifications and further results supporting a causal interpretation of our findings on the CCI and its four elements.

Shift-Share IV with Push Factors. For our identification strategy, we construct a SSIV for Southern White migrants outside the South in the early postbellum era. To do this, we use linked records from the Census Tree (CT) Project (Buckles et al., 2023; Price et al., 2021) to approximate Southern White outmigration from Southern counties for Census periods 1870–1880 and 1880–1900. We then calculate for each Census period through $\tau \in \{1880, 1900\}$:

$$\text{Southern White migrants}_{o,\tau} = \sum_{d=1}^{D} \left(\frac{\text{\# Whites in } o \text{ in } \tau-1 \text{ linked to } d \text{ in } \tau}{\text{\# Whites in } o \text{ in } \tau-1 \text{ linked to Census } \tau} \right) \times \text{Southern Whites}_{o,\tau-1}, \tag{B.1}$$

where o indicates Southern origin county, d indicates non-Southern destination county, and where the rightmost term, $Southern\ Whites_{o,\tau-1}$, is based on the complete-count Census. In Bazzi et al. (2023), we validate the accuracy of this approach for the mass Southern outflows during the Great Migration of the 20th century. Taking a similar approach here for the late 19th century, we see, in Appendix Figure B.1, that the estimated stocks of Southern White migrants from the linked Census closely approximate those based on the complete-count Census.

We then predict decade-specific shifts using zero-stage regressions of equation (2) in the paper, which relates the outcome from equation (B.1) to origin-county push factors discussed in Appendix A:

$$\text{Southern White migrants}_{o\tau} = \alpha + \mathbf{push}'_{o,\tau-1}\boldsymbol{\beta_\tau} + \phi \text{population}_{o,\tau-1} + \varepsilon_{o\tau},$$

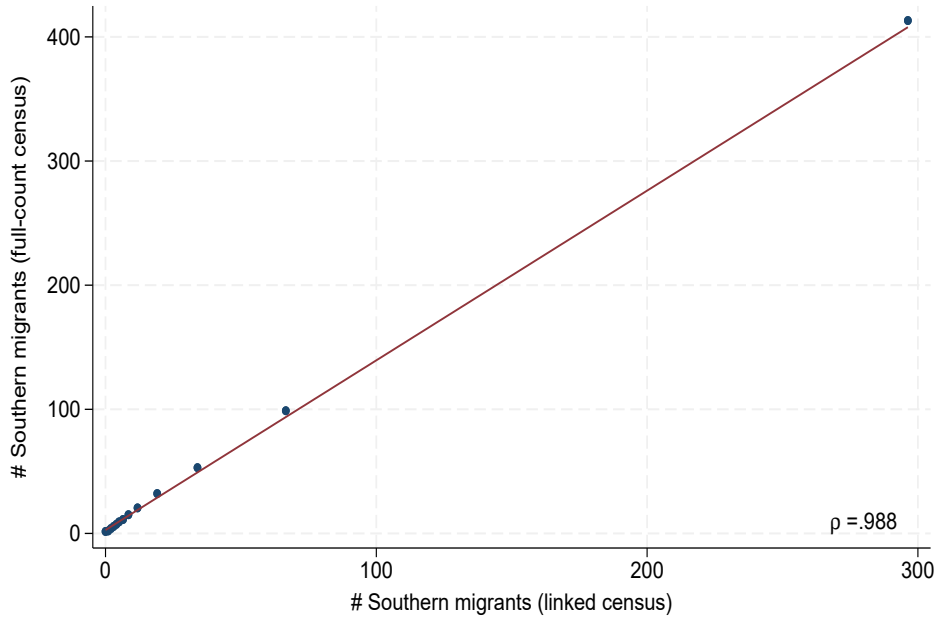
where $\mathbf{push}_{o,\tau-1}$ is the vector of Southern county push factors. Columns 1–2 of Appendix Table A.2 shows estimates for the set of push factors selected by a LASSO algorithm from a set of linear predictors. As in Bazzi et al. (2023), we also include square terms and cross-term interactions of each predictor for the purposes of constructing our predicted shifts.

We then sum these decade- and county-specific predictions, $\widehat{\text{Southern White migrants}}_{o\tau}$, within Southern sending states to construct the aggregate predicted shifts, $\widehat{\Delta M}_{j,1870-1900}$, which denote the predicted change in the number of Whites from Southern state j living outside the South between 1870 and 1900. These shifts are interacted with the cross-sectional shares of White migrants from Southern origin state j living in non-Southern county c in the 1870 complete-count Census, which we denote $\pi_{jc,1870}$. Appendix Figure B.2 maps the overall share of Southern-born Whites in each county

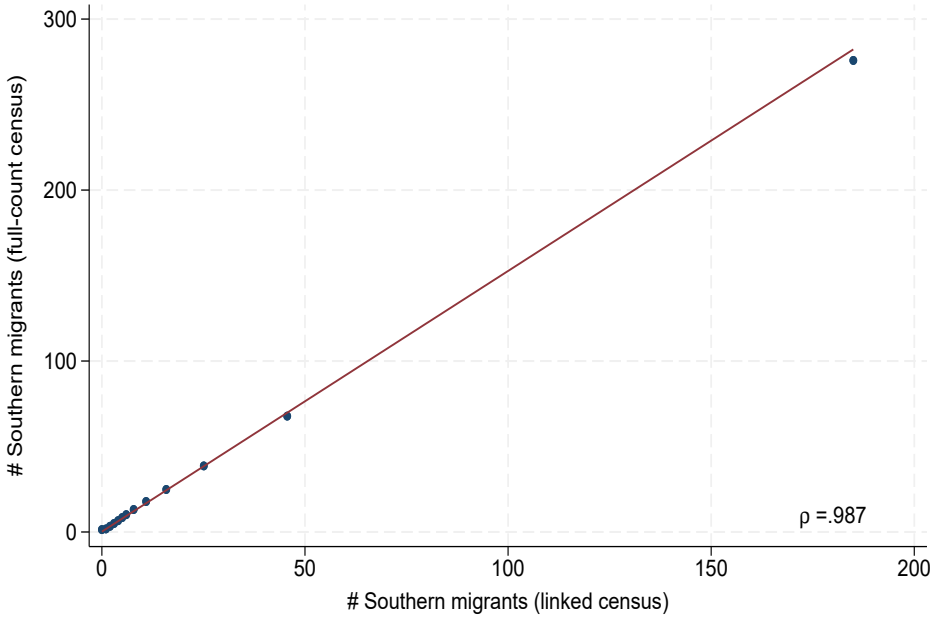
outside the South in 1870. Together, these predict the stock of Southern White migrants in 1900 as $Z_{c,1900} = \sum_{j=1}^{J} \pi_{jc,1870} \widehat{\Delta M}_{j,1870-1900}$, which we scale by the 1870 county population to generate the SSIV for $\%\ Southern\ Whites_{c,1900}$. This predicts the endogenous variable in Table 2 in the expected, positive direction and results in a strong first stage. See Appendix Table B.1 for first stage estimates.

Figure B.1: Validating the Linked-Sample Estimates of Southern White Migration

(a) Migration from 1870–80

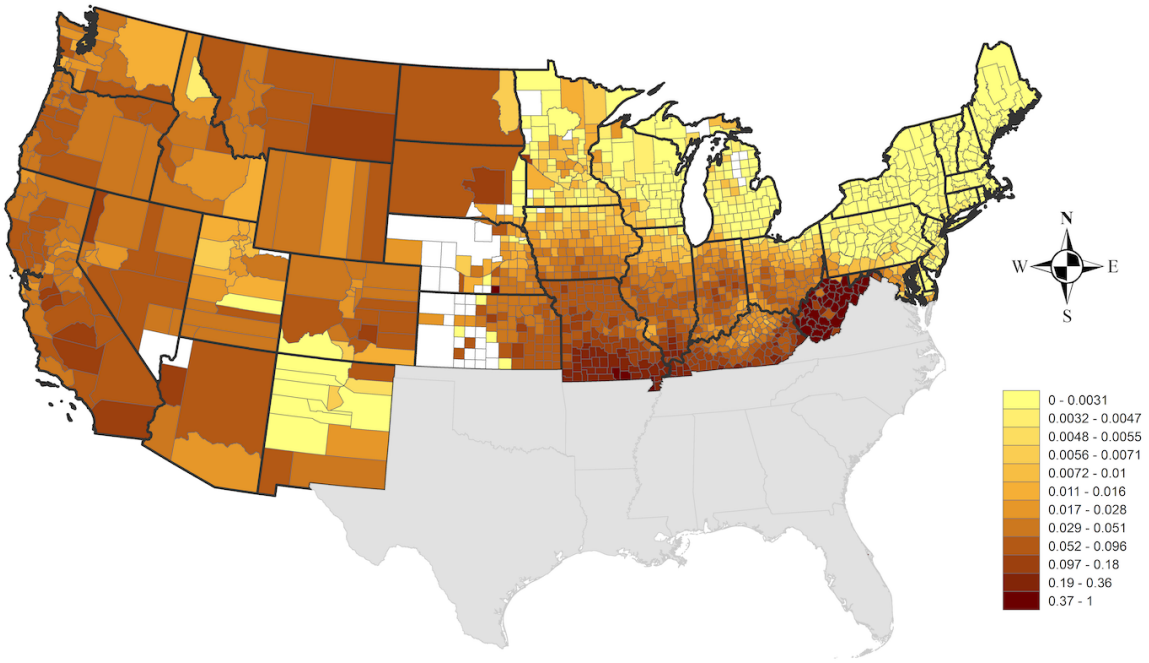


(b) Migration from 1880–1900



Notes: Panel (a) plots the number of White men ages 10 and older from a Southern state (based on the BPL variable) in a non-Southern county using the 1880 full count Census against the number of White men from the same Southern state in the same non-Southern county who were successfully linked from 1870 to 1880 using the linked Census. Panel (b) plots the number of White men ages 20 and older from a Southern state (based on the BPL variable) in a non-Southern county using the 1900 full count Census against the number of White men from the same Southern state in the same non-Southern county who were successfully linked from 1880 to 1900 using the linked Census.

Figure B.2: Mapping Southern White Migrants Outside the South in 1870



Notes: This figure maps county-level population shares of White individuals born in the South and residing outside the South in 1870, according to the complete-count Census.

Table B.1: First Stage Estimates for Table 2

Dependent Variable:	% Southern Whites, 1900			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Pred. % Southern Whites, 1900	0.319***	0.297***	0.323***	0.303***
	(0.054)	(0.069)	(0.054)	(0.066)
Controlling for...				
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
County size	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sorting confounds			Yes	Yes
% Southern Whites, 1870		Yes		Yes
Observations	1,701	1,701	1,701	1,701
Outcome mean	2.19	2.19	2.19	2.19
Adj. R^2	0.30	0.30	0.30	0.30

Notes: This table estimates the first stages underlying the IV estimates in columns 3 and 4 of Table 2 (columns 2 and 4), as well as versions that exclude the 1870 share control. Excluded Southern counties are those belonging to states of the former Confederacy and Oklahoma. See the notes of Table 2 for other details on controls. Standard errors are clustered at the 60×60 square-mile grid cell level, following the approach of Bester et al. (2011). Significance levels are denoted by * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

B.2 Robustness Checks: Outcome Variable Definitions

Table B.2: Further Restricting Confederate Leader Name Inputs in Table 2

Dependent Variable:	Any Confederate Memorials			
Leader Name Inputs:	$\geq$ 2 Word Name Inputs		$\geq$ 3 Word Name Inputs	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
% Southern Whites, 1900	0.023***	0.020***	0.025***	0.020***
	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.007)
Controlling for...				
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
County size	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sorting confounds		Yes		Yes
% Southern Whites, 1870	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,701	1,701	1,701	1,701
Outcome mean	0.15	0.15	0.10	0.10
F-statistic	18.2	21.4	18.2	21.4
Anderson-Rubin, p-val	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.01
KP Underident., p-val	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

Notes: Regressions of Confederate memorials (coded as any Confederacy leader-inspired monuments as well as matched place names, street names or school names) on the share of Southern Whites in 1900 in non-Southern counties (sample mean of 2.2%). Excluded Southern counties are those belonging to states of the former Confederacy and Oklahoma. Columns 1–2 identify Confederate location names using only the subset of Confederate leader name inputs with at least two words, while columns 3–4 restrict further to those with at least three words (including initials). All columns instrument the share of Southern Whites using a shift-share instrument based on the 1870 cross-sectional distribution of Southern Whites and the predicted change in the Southern White population living outside the South from 1870 to 1900. The latter is generated via a set of flexible LASSO regressions (see equation 2). See the notes of Table 2 for other details on controls. Standard errors are clustered at the 60×60 square-mile grid cell level, following the approach of Bester et al. (2011). Significance levels are denoted by * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table B.3: Breaking Out Confederate Memorialization in Table 2

Dependent Variable:	Any Confederate Monuments		Any Confederate Place Names		Any Confederate Street Names	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
% Southern Whites, 1900	0.021**	0.017**	0.013**	0.014**	0.022**	0.023**
	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Controlling for...						
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
County size	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sorting confounds		Yes		Yes		Yes
% Southern Whites, 1870	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,701	1,701	1,701	1,701	1,701	1,701
Outcome mean	0.07	0.07	0.09	0.09	0.16	0.16
F-statistic	18.2	21.4	18.2	21.4	18.2	21.4
Anderson-Rubin, p-val	0.01	0.02	0.10	0.06	0.01	0.01
KP Underident., p-val	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

Notes: Regressions of (i) Confederate monuments, (ii) Confederate leader-inspired place names, and (iii) Confederate leader-inspired street names on the share of Southern Whites in 1900 in non-Southern counties (sample mean of 2.2%). Excluded Southern counties are those belonging to states of the former Confederacy and Oklahoma. All columns instrument the share of Southern Whites using a shift-share instrument based on the 1870 cross-sectional distribution of Southern Whites and the predicted change in the Southern White population living outside the South from 1870 to 1900. The latter is generated via a set of flexible LASSO regressions (see equation 2). See the notes of Table 2 for other details on controls. Standard errors are clustered at the 60×60 square-mile grid cell level, following the approach of Bester et al. (2011). Significance levels are denoted by * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table B.4: Non-Black Lynchings in Table 2

Dependent Variable:	Any Lynchings of...							
	White People				Non-Black , Non-White Minority			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
% Southern Whites, 1900	0.0002	-0.0003	0.0012	-0.0001	0.0007	0.0004	0.0044	0.0048
	(0.0006)	(0.0007)	(0.0044)	(0.0045)	(0.0033)	(0.0031)	(0.0054)	(0.0055)
Estimator	OLS	OLS	IV	IV	OLS	OLS	IV	IV
Controlling for...								
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
County size	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sorting confounds		Yes		Yes		Yes		Yes
% Southern Whites, 1870	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,701	1,701	1,701	1,701	1,701	1,701	1,701	1,701
Outcome mean	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03
Adj. R^2	0.00	0.01			0.08	0.11		
F-statistic			18.2	21.4			18.2	21.4
Anderson-Rubin, p-val			0.79	0.99			0.39	0.36
KP Underident., p-val			0.00	0.00			0.00	0.00

Notes: Regressions of any recorded lynchings of Whites (columns 1–4) and non-Black individuals of color (columns 5–8) on the share of Southern Whites in 1900 in non-Southern counties (sample mean of 2.2%). Excluded Southern counties are those belonging to states of the former Confederacy and Oklahoma. Columns 3–4 and 7–8 instrument the share of Southern Whites using a shift-share instrument based on the 1870 cross-sectional distribution of Southern Whites and the predicted change in the Southern White population living outside the South from 1870 to 1900. The latter is generated via a set of flexible LASSO regressions (see equation 2). See the notes of Table 2 for other details on controls. Standard errors are clustered at the 60×60 square-mile grid cell level, following the approach of Bester et al. (2011). Significance levels are denoted by * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

B.3 Additional Identification and Robustness Checks

We present here several additional exercises in support of a causal interpretation.

Alternative Standard Errors. First, we show that inference is robust to alternative forms of spatial correlation, across geographically proximate counties (Conley, 1999) or counties with similar initial shares in the SSIV (Adao et al., 2019) (see row 1 of Appendix Table B.5).

Varying Controls. Estimates remain sizable and statistically significant when controlling for 1870 Southern White shares only (row 2), dropping that control (row 3), using a double-LASSO control variable selection (row 4), dropping state FE (row 5), and adding a polynomial in latitude and longitude (row 6).

Alternative Specifications. Next, we consider alternative specifications. Weighting by population in 1900 leads to larger estimates, thus clarifying that our results are not driven purely by small counties (row 7). Two additional checks suggest limited sorting biases. We create matched pairs of counties *within* states based on nearest neighbors in terms of 1850 population density (row 8) and the presidential vote share for John C. Breckinridge in 1860 (row 9). This stricter comparison across once-similar counties leaves the estimates largely unchanged. Finally, Table B.6 explores robustness to an SSIV specification with 1860 rather than 1870 as the base year for constructing the shares. The point estimates are similar albeit less precisely estimated.[1] These results show that our findings hinge neither on 1860–70 flows having comprised the share components in our baseline SSIV, nor on the limited time gap between the shifts and the shares therein. As a further check, we implement the Adao et al. (2019) procedure, replacing predicted shifts with randomly-generated ones. In equation (5), we interact the origin-state shares with shifts drawn from a random normal$(0, 5)$ distribution and then re-estimate the baseline 1,000 times. Doing so yields $< 5\%$ of coefficients statistically significant at that level (see Appendix Figure B.4). This ensures that the (potentially endogenous) shares are not the core identifying variation in our SSIV.

Alternative Diaspora Variation. Our estimates are robust to alternative demarcations of Southern origins and non-Southern destinations. Among the 12 origin states, only Oklahoma was not part of the Confederacy; it is included in our baseline due to its history of legal slavery and formal Civil War alliances with the Confederacy. Excluding Oklahoma has little impact on our estimates (row 10, Appendix Table B.5). The same holds when treating Missouri and Kentucky—states with strong, unofficial Confederate ties—as origins rather than destinations (row 11) or reclassifying all five border states (Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, and West Virginia) as origins (row 12). Although border states were popular destinations for Confederate migrants (see Figure 1), their exclusion from origins *and* destinations leads to uniformly larger estimates, suggesting sizable diaspora effects even in places with no ties to slavery and with significant cultural distance from the Confederacy (row 13). Finally, excluding destination counties with extreme 1870 Southern White migrant shares leaves results unchanged (row 14).

[1] This similarity holds when restricting Table 2 to the same, smaller set of counties incorporated by 1860 and used in Table B.6, e.g., the 0.122^{***} (0.032) baseline estimate for the CCI in column (2) becomes 0.117^{***} (0.030).

Table B.5: Identification and Robustness Checks on IV Estimates in Table 2

	Dependent Variable:				
	CCI Score (from 0–4) (1)	Any Confederate Memorials (2)	Any UDC Chapters (3)	Any KKK Chapters (4)	Any Lynchings of Blacks (5)
Alternative Standard Errors					
1. Baseline (even columns of Table 2)	0.123***	0.031***	0.039***	0.035**	0.017**
Bester et al. (2011) 60 mi^2 grid-cell	(0.032)	(0.008)	(0.010)	(0.014)	(0.009)
Conley (1999) 500 km spatial HAC	(0.055)	(0.013)	(0.016)	(0.021)	(0.008)
Conley (1999) 1,000 km spatial HAC	(0.063)	(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.024)	(0.006)
Adao et al. (2019) SSIV adjustment	(0.019)	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.004)
Varying Control Sets					
2. Initial 1870 Share Control Only	0.102***	0.026***	0.034***	0.024*	0.017**
	(0.035)	(0.009)	(0.011)	(0.014)	(0.009)
3. Omitting 1870 Share Control	0.096***	0.025***	0.030***	0.023**	0.018***
	(0.021)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.010)	(0.006)
4. Post-LASSO from Baseline Controls	0.110***	0.028***	0.039***	0.026*	0.015**
(column 2 of Table 2)	(0.029)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.014)	(0.007)
5. No Fixed Effects	0.103***	0.027***	0.036***	0.027	0.014*
	(0.038)	(0.009)	(0.012)	(0.017)	(0.008)
6. Quadratic Controls in Latitude and Longitude	0.114**	0.017	0.043***	0.037*	0.018
	(0.046)	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.020)	(0.014)
Other Alternative Specifications					
7. Weighting by 1900 Population	0.213***	0.041***	0.074***	0.044**	0.054***
	(0.056)	(0.016)	(0.018)	(0.019)	(0.020)
8. Baseline w/ Within-state County Pair FE	0.114***	0.030**	0.034***	0.032**	0.018*
Matched on 1850 Population Density	(0.038)	(0.014)	(0.012)	(0.015)	(0.011)
9. Baseline w/ Within-state County Pair FE	0.113***	0.033**	0.024*	0.038**	0.017
Matched on 1860 Breckinridge Vote Shares	(0.043)	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.020)	(0.011)
Alternative Diaspora Variation					
10. Excluding Oklahoma from Sending States	0.127***	0.032***	0.040***	0.036**	0.018**
	(0.034)	(0.009)	(0.011)	(0.015)	(0.009)
11. Including Missouri and Kentucky in Sending States	0.083***	0.017**	0.022***	0.030***	0.014**
	(0.024)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.011)	(0.007)
12. Including Border States in Sending States	0.107***	0.016*	0.029***	0.046***	0.016**
	(0.030)	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.015)	(0.008)
13. Excluding Border States from Receiving States	0.170**	0.040***	0.045**	0.064**	0.022
	(0.066)	(0.014)	(0.018)	(0.028)	(0.015)
14. Excluding Counties	0.126***	0.031***	0.041***	0.036**	0.018**
w/ Outlier 1870 Southern White Shares	(0.032)	(0.009)	(0.011)	(0.014)	(0.009)

Notes: This table re-estimates even columns from Table 2 using a variety of robustness specifications. See the notes to that tables for the list of baseline controls included in those columns. Row 4 chooses optimal controls from this set using the Belloni et al. (2014) double LASSO procedure. All regressions include state fixed effects, except for row 6. All rows instrument the share of Southern Whites using a shift-share instrument based on the 1870 cross-sectional distribution of Southern Whites and the predicted aggregate change in Southern White population living outside the South from 1870 to 1900. The latter is generated via a set of flexible LASSO regressions (see equation 2). Standard errors are clustered at the 60×60 square-mile grid cell level following the approach of Bester et al. (2011), with the first row also reporting standard errors based on the Conley (1999) spatial HAC with wide bandwidths of 200 km and 500 km as well as the Adao et al. (2019) adjustment for SSIV estimators. Row 7 weights regressions by county population in 1900. Rows 8 and 9 match counties based on historical characteristics within states. Rows 10–13 consider alternative sending and/or receiving state definitions for the endogenous and instrumental variables. Row 14 excludes counties with outlier Southern White shares as of 1870, namely those with zero Southern Whites and those with shares greater than 69.5%. Significance levels are denoted by * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table B.6: Using 1860 as Base Year for the SSIV Shares

Dependent Variable:	CCI Score (from 0–4)		Any Confederate Memorials		Any UDC Chapters		Any KKK Chapters		Any Lynchings of Blacks	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
	(a) OLS									
% Southern Whites, 1900	0.049***	0.045***	0.010*	0.008	0.019***	0.017***	0.013***	0.014***	0.007*	0.005
	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Adj. R^2	0.31	0.39	0.21	0.24	0.32	0.44	0.23	0.25	0.10	0.17
	(b) SSIV									
% Southern Whites, 1900	0.166*	0.122*	0.038*	0.029	0.053*	0.037*	0.070	0.054	0.005	0.001
	(0.088)	(0.071)	(0.022)	(0.020)	(0.029)	(0.020)	(0.056)	(0.051)	(0.014)	(0.015)
Controlling for...										
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
County size	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sorting confounds		Yes		Yes		Yes		Yes		Yes
% Southern Whites, 1860	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,493	1,493	1,493	1,493	1,493	1,493	1,493	1,493	1,493	1,493
Outcome mean	0.83	0.83	0.26	0.26	0.12	0.12	0.40	0.40	0.06	0.06
F-statistic	1.6	1.8	1.6	1.8	1.6	1.8	1.6	1.8	1.6	1.8
Anderson-Rubin, p-val	0.03	0.03	0.19	0.16	0.07	0.15	0.00	0.03	0.76	0.96
KP Underident., p-val	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.01

Notes: This table re-estimates Table 2 using the share of Southern Whites in county c in 1860 as control for the OLS regressions, which is then used as the year of the baseline share in the shift share IV (instead of 1870). Note that since many counties were not yet incorporated at this time, especially out West, the instrument cannot be defined for 18.4 percent of counties in 1860 compared to 5.9 percent in 1870. We construct the SSIV as before, now using the 1860 cross-sectional distribution of Southern Whites and the predicted change in the Southern White population living outside the South from 1860 to 1900. The latter is generated via a set of flexible LASSO regressions (see equation 2). All regressions control for the share of Southern Whites in 1860 and state fixed effects. County size controls include log county population in 1860 and log county area (in square miles). Additional sorting controls include cotton, tobacco, and overall agricultural potential; foreign-born, Black, and Chinese shares in 1860; slave shares in 1860; Union Army enlistment and mortality rates; Breckinridge vote shares in 1860; and dummies for on the frontier in 1860 and never on the frontier, based on Bazzi et al. (2020). All continuous controls are entered flexibly using quadratic terms. The Anderson-Rubin p-value corresponds to the null hypothesis that the coefficient on $\%\ Southern\ Whites,\ 1900$ is zero and that the overidentifying restrictions are valid. The KP Underidentification test p-value corresponds to the Kleibergen and Paap (2006) Lagrange Multiplier (LM) test whose null hypothesis is that the equation is underidentified. Standard errors are clustered at the 60×60 square-mile grid cell level, following the approach of Bester et al. (2011). Significance levels are denoted by * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

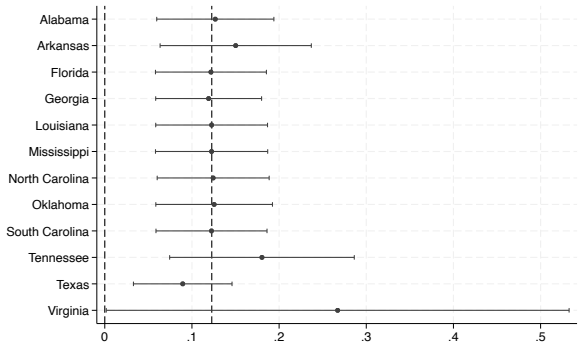
Table B.7: Introducing Further Controls in Table 2

Dependent Variable:	CCI Score (from 0–4)					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
% Southern Whites, 1900	0.123***	0.161**	0.200***	0.122***	0.132***	0.215***
	(0.032)	(0.067)	(0.061)	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.064)
Controlling for...						
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
County size	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sorting confounds	Yes		Yes		Yes	Yes
Table 4 interactions		Yes	Yes			Yes
Table 6 interactions				Yes	Yes	Yes
% Southern Whites, 1870	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,701	1,701	1,701	1,701	1,701	1,701
Outcome mean	0.78	0.78	0.78	0.78	0.78	0.78
F-statistic	21.4	10.4	12.7	19.5	21.4	13.0
Anderson-Rubin, p-val	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
KP Underident., p-val	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

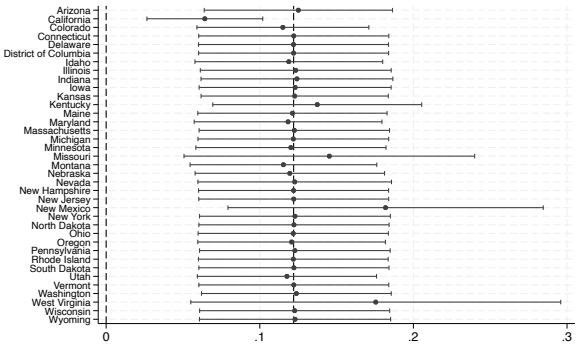
Notes: This table re-estimates Table 2 introducing additional sets of covariates from Tables 4 and 6 alongside our baseline controls. Excluded Southern counties are those belonging to states of the former Confederacy and Oklahoma. All columns instrument the share of Southern Whites using a shift-share instrument based on the 1870 cross-sectional distribution of Southern Whites and the predicted change in the Southern White population living outside the South from 1870 to 1900. The latter is generated via a set of flexible LASSO regressions (see equation 2). All regressions control for the share of Southern Whites in 1870 and state fixed effects. County size controls include log county population in 1860 and log county area (in square miles). Additional sorting controls include cotton, tobacco, and overall agricultural potential; foreign-born, Black, and Chinese shares in 1860; slave shares in 1860; Union Army enlistment and mortality rates; Breckinridge vote shares in 1860; and dummies for on the frontier in 1860 and never on the frontier, based on Bazzi et al. (2020). All continuous controls are entered flexibly using quadratic terms. The Anderson-Rubin p-value corresponds to the null hypothesis that the coefficient on $\%\ Southern\ Whites,\ 1900$ is zero and that the overidentifying restrictions are valid. The KP Underidentification test p-value corresponds to the Kleibergen and Paap (2006) Lagrange Multiplier (LM) test whose null hypothesis is that the equation is underidentified. Standard errors are clustered at the 60×60 square-mile grid cell level, following the approach of Bester et al. (2011). Significance levels are denoted by * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Figure B.3: Sensitivity to Sample Changes

(a) Dropping individual sending states

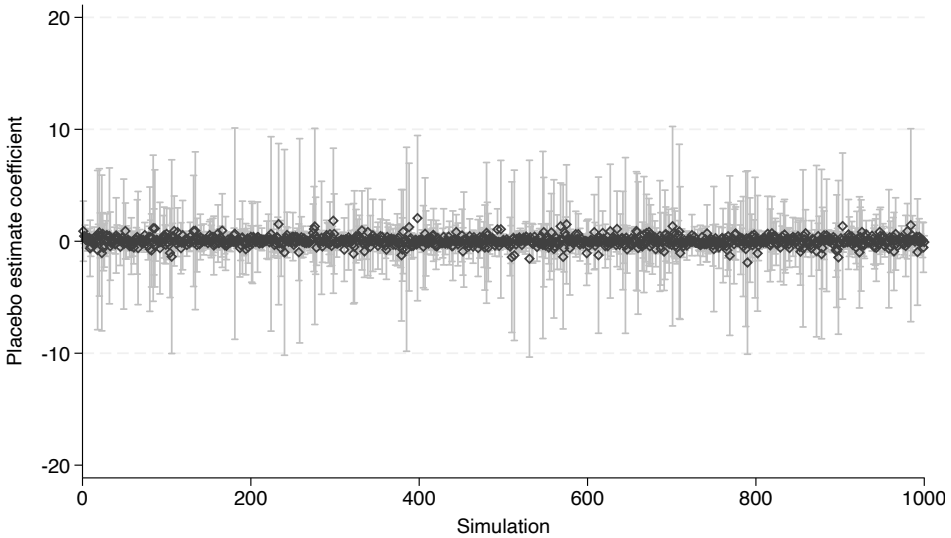


(b) Dropping individual receiving states



Notes: Coefficients from IV regressions of Confederate cultural activity after 1900 (score 0–4) on the share of Southern Whites in 1900 in non-Southern counties. All regressions include the full set of baseline controls from even columns in Table 2. Estimates are compared to one with all states included, which is reported in the solid vertical red line in the respective graphs. Panel a excludes Southern sending states one-by-one when constructing the 1900 share of Southern Whites living outside the South in a given non-Southern county c as well as the instrumental variable, with the excluded sending state reported on the vertical axis. The instrumental variables regressions instrument the share of Southern Whites using a shift-share instrument based on the 1870 cross-sectional distribution of Southern Whites and the predicted change in the Southern White population living outside the South from 1870 to 1900. Panel b excludes receiving states one-by-one where the excluded state is reported on the vertical axis. The dashed red line marks zero. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Standard errors are clustered at the 60×60 square-mile grid cell level, following the approach of Bester et al. (2011).

Figure B.4: SSIV Using Random Placebo Shifts



Notes: Coefficients from IV regressions of Confederate cultural activity after 1900 (score 0–4) on the share of Southern Whites in 1900 in all non-Southern counties. The share of Southern Whites in 1900 is instrumented using a shift-share instrument based on the 1870 cross-sectional distribution of Southern Whites and a **randomly generated shift**. The random shift was generated based on a normal distribution with mean zero and variance five as in Adao et al. (2019). The figure shows the coefficients and 95% confidence intervals from instrumental variables regressions where the instrument was generated with 1,000 random shifts. All regressions include the full set of baseline controls from even columns in Table 2. Standard errors are clustered at the 60×60 square-mile grid cell level, following the approach of Bester et al. (2011).

B.4 Constructing an SSIV for Former Slaveholders Migrants

Table B.8: Push Factors for Southern Former and Non-Slaveholder Migrants, 1870–1900

Dependent Variable:	Southern [...] Migrant Outflows					
	Former Slaveholder			Non-Slaveholder		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
% Black population	-0.320***	-0.514***	-0.509***	-4.296***	-8.744***	-7.136***
	(0.062)	(0.057)	(0.060)	(0.767)	(0.734)	(0.722)
Manufacturing output per capita	0.045*	0.139*	0.106**	0.461	0.921	0.842*
	(0.024)	(0.081)	(0.042)	(0.354)	(0.671)	(0.430)
Average manufacturing wages	0.112	0.216	0.116	3.152	2.019	2.303
	(0.111)	(0.352)	(0.136)	(2.003)	(2.981)	(1.756)
% Former slaveholders (1870)	0.738***	1.951***	1.225***	-8.474***	-7.558**	-8.818***
	(0.175)	(0.286)	(0.171)	(2.234)	(3.041)	(2.000)
% Confederate veterans (1870)	0.228***	0.229*	0.257***	1.988*	5.342***	3.934***
	(0.080)	(0.120)	(0.078)	(1.051)	(1.929)	(1.121)
Any Civil War battles in county?	5.478***	6.372***	5.754***	108.336***	211.435***	157.394***
	(1.377)	(2.446)	(1.426)	(23.292)	(44.857)	(25.837)
Tobacco county	1.997**	4.776***	3.901***	36.768***	83.412***	63.176***
	(0.907)	(1.510)	(0.943)	(13.805)	(25.038)	(15.014)
Cotton county	0.770		0.723	15.193	9.505	13.932
	(0.990)		(0.964)	(16.538)	(25.882)	(15.364)
Agricultural potential	-25.166***	-45.635***	-37.481***	-262.512***	-442.048***	-374.338***
	(3.450)	(5.293)	(3.509)	(48.127)	(69.581)	(43.867)
% Vote share for Breckinridge (1860)	-0.036*	-0.074**	-0.053**	-1.142***	-2.040***	-1.532***
	(0.020)	(0.037)	(0.021)	(0.304)	(0.537)	(0.312)
% Slaves (1860)	0.080		0.147**	0.535		0.978
	(0.061)		(0.060)	(0.755)		(0.731)
Any Union occupation of county?	0.734	4.492***	2.295***	15.772	53.983**	33.153**
	(0.844)	(1.410)	(0.829)	(13.738)	(23.373)	(13.667)
Any Freedmen's Bureaus?	-1.990**	-3.572*	-2.830**	-31.055**	-45.831*	-39.436***
	(0.971)	(1.919)	(1.128)	(13.870)	(25.465)	(15.011)
Did county vote to secede?	-2.290**	-1.826	-2.160**	-32.874**	-13.100	-23.390*
	(0.891)	(1.514)	(0.913)	(13.121)	(22.827)	(13.498)
Population size in sending counties	0.002***	0.002***	0.002***	0.026***	0.030***	0.029***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Period	1870–1880	1880–1900	1870–1900	1870–1880	1880–1900	1870–1900
Year FE			Yes			Yes
Observations	1034	1067	2101	1060	1118	2178
Outcome mean	8.821	16.33	12.64	146.5	275.8	212.9
Adj. R^2	0.643	0.589	0.598	0.658	0.603	0.611

Notes: Estimates of a version of equation (2), which regresses a measure of Southern White former (columns 1–3) and non-slaveholder (columns 4–6) migrant outflows from Southern counties on various observable origin county characteristics. These outflow measures from each origin county to non-Southern counties are based on linked Census records, which track (White male) migrants across Census periods for decades following the Civil War from 1870–1900. All columns use a linear LASSO specification to select optimal sets of covariates for each Census period. Column 3 pools data across years and estimates a version with year fixed effects. Sample counties include those in the twelve former Confederate states plus Oklahoma. Robust standard errors in parentheses. Significance levels are denoted by * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

To ensure sufficient orthogonal variation for identifying the distinct effects of (i) former slaveholder and (ii) non-slaveholder migrants (e.g., as in Table 5), we construct a pair of separate SSIVs for these subsets of the Confederate diaspora. These are constructed, in part, using an alternative version of equation (B.1) above based on linked Southern former slaveholders (non-slaveholders) in Southern counties, combined with linked outmigration flows of former slaveholders (non-slaveholders) from each Southern county o to all non-Southern counties. For former slaveholder migrants, defined as those individuals who are successfully linked to the South as of the 1860 Census and in turn to the 1860 Slave Schedule, these is

defined as the following:

$$\begin{aligned}\text{slaveholder migrants}_{o,\tau} = \sum_{d=1}^{D} \left(\frac{\text{\# slaveholders in } o \text{ in } \tau-1 \text{ linked to } d \text{ in } \tau}{\text{\# slaveholders in } o \text{ in } \tau-1 \text{ linked to } \tau} \right) \\ \times \left(\frac{\text{\# slaveholders in } o \text{ in } \tau-1 \text{ linked to 1860}}{\text{\# Whites in } o \text{ in } \tau-1 \text{ linked to 1860}} \right) \\ \times \text{ Southern Whites}_{o,\tau-1},\end{aligned} \tag{B.2}$$

where d indicates non-Southern destination counties and the last term, $Southern\ Whites_{o,\tau-1}$, is based on the complete-count Census in the previous Census period. As above, we predict decade-specific shifts using zeroth stage regressions, which relate the measure produced from equation (B.2) to the origin-county push factors discussed in Appendix A, again using a LASSO algorithm selecting from all linear, square, and cross-term interactions of those push factors (see columns 1–2 of Appendix Table B.8 for zeroth-stage estimates from a simple linear approach). The output from these flexible LASSO regressions are then summed within Southern sending states to construct aggregate predicted shifts for 1870–1900. This process for estimating shifts takes place analogously for non-slaveholder migrants.

Next, these shifts are interacted with cross-sectional shares of migrants from each Southern origin state j as of 1870. In the absence complete-count measures for Southern former slaveholder (non-slaveholder) living outside the South as of 1870,[2] and in the interest of ensuring orthogonal variation across slaveholders and non-slaveholders drawn from the same origin locations and subject to correlated shocks, we generate not only distinct predicted shifts but also distinct predicted shares for each non-Southern county c from each Southern state j as of 1870. The latter are based on a parsimonious gravity-style framework, which values the number of linked individuals of a given population subgroup (i.e., former slaveholders) in 1870 as a function of various origin-destination-specific factors:

$$\text{slaveholder migrants}_{c,1870} = \alpha + \mathbf{\Gamma}'_{cj}\boldsymbol{\beta_{c,1870}} + \phi\text{population}_{c,1870} + \varepsilon_{c,1870},$$

The factors included in $\mathbf{\Gamma}_{cj}$ include:

- County c distance in longitude and latitude to Southern state j (measured in absolute degrees).
- County agricultural similarity to Southern state j (measured in absolute average index differential), controlling for baseline county agricultural suitability.
- A set of network predictors, based on total Southern-born White population in non-Southern county c from each Southern state as of 1870.

Finally, the dot product of shifts and shares across origin states is scaled by 1870 non-Southern county population to yield the SSIV for Southern former slaveholder (non-slaveholder) migrants in 1900. The instrumental variables for these two migrant groups are relatively distinct spatially (corr$=0.66$) and each predict the endogenous variables in the expected directions, resulting in strong first stages (see Appendix Table B.9 for the first-stage estimates underlying the IV results in columns 4–5 of Table 5).

[2] Although we do have linked-based measures for these that could be used as a proxy for ground-truth complete counts, a large number of zero-valued observations hinders their use in the construction of initial shares across non-Southern counties.

Table B.9: First Stage Estimates for Table 5

Dependent Variable:	% Former Slaveholder Migrants, 1870–1900		% Non-Slaveholder Migrants, 1870–1900	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Pred. % Former Slaveholder Migrants, 1870–1900	0.123***	0.126***	1.052	1.086
	(0.046)	(0.044)	(0.815)	(0.798)
Pred. % Non-Slaveholder Migrants, 1870–1900	-0.001**	-0.001***	0.016*	0.014*
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Controlling for...				
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
County size	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sorting confounds	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
% All Southern Whites, 1870	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
% Slaveholder Migrants, 1860-70	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
% Non-Southern Slaveholders, 1870		Yes		Yes
Observations	1,680	1,680	1,680	1,680
Outcome mean	0.21	0.21	3.60	3.60
Adj. R^2	0.12	0.13	0.21	0.22

Notes: This table estimates the first stages underlying the IV estimates in columns 4 and 5 of Table 5. Excluded Southern counties are those belonging to states of the former Confederacy and Oklahoma. All columns control for overall Southern White shares in 1870 as well as the level of baseline slaveholder migration to a non-Southern county since the 1860 Slave Schedule, while columns 2 and 4 also control for the share of non-Southern former slaveholders in a county in 1870, defined as a share of all individual linked to non-Southern states as of the 1860 Slave Schedule. See the notes of Table 2 for other details on controls. Standard errors are clustered at the 60×60 square-mile grid cell level, following the approach of Bester et al. (2011). Significance levels are denoted by * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

B.5 Measurement Error Introduced by Migrant Linking

In addition to the LATE argument laid out in the text in relation to our main results, a potential explanation for the difference between the OLS and IV estimates, particularly in parts of our analysis that consider the subset of the Confederate diaspora that was made of former- and non-slaveholders, is measurement error introduced by linking these individuals across censuses. Bailey et al. (2020) argue that automated linking methods produce error rates in the range of 15 to 37 percent depending on the method used. If such linking errors constitute classical measurement error, conditional on controls, then one would expect an attenuation bias of OLS estimates and an inflation bias of IV estimates (see Bingley and Martinello, 2017; Ferrara et al., 2024). The Census Tree (CT) Project (Buckles et al., 2023), which incorporates its own links based on genealogical information from FamilySearch.org as well as those from the Census Linking Project (CLP) (Abramitzky et al., 2020) and the Multigenerational Longitudinal Panel (MLP) links provided by IPUMS, provides a way to test this hypothesis. Importantly, the vast majority of the links in the CT are distinct from the CLP, e.g., about 84% of the links across the 1860 and 1870 Censuses in the CT are not in the CLP.

Given this, if the generated county-level share of slaveholders and non-slaveholders based on linked census data contains classical measurement error due to linking errors, and if the CT links are more accurate than the CLP links, we would expect to see a smaller OLS and a larger IV coefficient when using the CLP links compared to a case where these county-level shares are produced using CT links. We test this idea in Appendix Table B.10, where we regress the CCI score on the share of Southern non-slaveholders as well as the share of Southern slaveholders as of 1900.

Comparing columns 1 and 2, where the treatment variable for the share of Southern non-slaveholders in 1900 is generated from the CLP and CT links, respectively, we see a smaller coefficient in column 1. In

column 3, we use the share of Southern non-slaveholders in 1900 generated from the CT data (excluding CLP links that were not also CT links) as instrument for the same variable generated from the CLP data. Chalfin and McCrary (2018) show that if two variables seek to measure the same quantity, where each variable is measured with error but the errors are uncorrelated, then one variable can serve as instrument for the other to remove measurement error.[3] Column 3 produces an estimate much closer to the CT estimate in column 2.[4] Turning to the IV estimates in columns 4 and 5, the treatment is again constructed from the CLP and CT, respectively. The results show the expected change in coefficient magnitudes, where the IV coefficient for the CLP-based measure is larger than the one in the IV regression using the CT-based measure. Importantly, the IV-OLS differential is about 3.3 for CT, versus about 4.8 for the CLP. This is consistent with the prediction that the CLP-based measure has slightly more classical measurement error resulting from weaker linking rates.

IV-OLS differentials are even larger using the slaveholder measure (columns 6–10), consistent with further measurement error introduced by the additional stage of linking the 1860 Census to the Slave Schedule. Once again, the IV-OLS differential is far larger for the CLP, at about 21.6, than for the CT, at just 6.5. Overall, the results from this exercise suggest that at least part of the difference in our main OLS and IV results can be explained by linking-induced measurement error, albeit not all of it.

[3]Note that this approach only deals with measurement error-based biases, not with endogeneity problems that may be present.
[4]One caveat is that the uncorrelated measurement error assumption is a strong assumption that cannot be tested.

Table B.10: Evaluating Measurement Error: Census Tree versus Census Linking Project

Dependent Variable:	All Confederate Cultural Activity (CCI Score, from 0–4)									
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
% Southern Non-Slaveholders, 1900	0.023***	0.028***	0.029***	0.110***	0.093***					
	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.035)	(0.026)					
% Southern Former Slaveholders, 1900						0.092*	0.343***	0.498***	1.983***	2.228***
						(0.048)	(0.125)	(0.183)	(0.658)	(0.668)
Sample	CLP	Census Tree	CLP	CLP	Census Tree	CLP	Census Tree	CLP	CLP	Census Tree
Estimator	OLS	OLS	IV	IV	IV	OLS	OLS	IV	IV	IV
IV			Census Tree	SSIV	SSIV			Census Tree	SSIV	SSIV
Controlling for...										
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
County size	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sorting confounds	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
% Southern Whites, 1870	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,701	1,701	1,701	1,701	1,701	1,701	1,701	1,701	1,701	1,701
Outcome mean	0.78	0.78	0.78	0.78	0.78	0.78	0.78	0.78	0.78	0.78
Share mean	4.319	3.609	4.319	4.319	3.609	0.264	0.205	0.264	0.264	0.205
Share st. dev.	6.430	5.138	6.430	6.430	5.138	0.523	0.325	0.523	0.523	0.325
Adj. R^2	0.21	0.21				0.20	0.21			
F-statistic			280.1	14.3	18.5			35.6	14.5	11.3
Anderson-Rubin, p-val			0.00	0.00	0.00			0.01	0.00	0.00
KP Underident., p-val			0.00	0.00	0.00			0.00	0.00	0.00

Notes: This table regresses county-level Confederate cultural activity on measures of Southern slaveholder and non-slaveholder migrants, as described in Table 5. The measure in columns 1, 3–4, 6, and 8–9 are derived using the Census Linking Project (CLP) from Abramitzky et al. (2020), while all others use the more expensive Census Tree (CT) Project from Buckles et al. (2023). Estimates in columns 3 and 8 are based on IV regressions with the CT measure serving as an instrument for the CLP measure. Estimates in columns 4–5 and 9–10 using versions of our standard SSIV, as described in Table 2. Excluded Southern counties are those belonging to states of the former Confederacy and Oklahoma. Standard errors are clustered at the 60×60 square-mile grid cell level, following the approach of Bester et al. (2011). Significance levels are denoted by * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

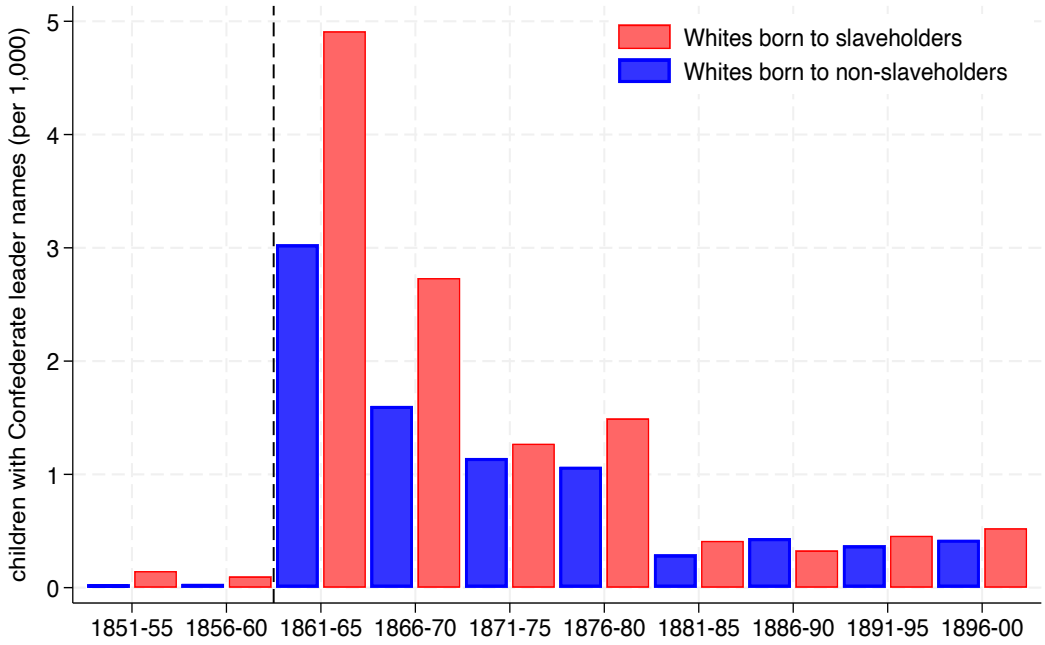
C Further Exploring the Southern Slaveholder Diaspora

In this Appendix, we further explore the subset of the Confederate diaspora that was made up of former slaveholders within the antebellum South, as well as their direct kin. We begin by comparing their spatial and occupational sorting patterns to others in the Confederate diaspora without such ties to the institution of slavery. We then consider how their occupation choices influenced the diffusion of Confederate culture and other outcomes, using several additional robustness exercises. We conclude this Appendix by contextualizing these sorting patterns, and the implications thereof, through several back-of-the-envelope estimates of the former slaveholder diaspora's size and geographic scope.

C.1 Characterizing the Southern Slaveholder Diaspora

Our analysis in Section 5.1 highlights the role of former slaveholders within the Confederate diaspora in driving its overall influence. Who were these slaveholder migrants? We begin by showing, in Appendix Figure C.1, that former slaveholders were more strongly attached to Confederate culture than were other Southern White migrants without slaveholding experience in the South as of 1860. The graph provides further validation of the hypothesis that former slaveholders maintained stronger affinity with the Confederacy even after they left its erstwhile border into the rest of the U.S. The remainder of this appendix then expands upon our sorting analyses in Section 3 and Appendix A in an effort to further characterize former slaveholder migrants within the diaspora.

Figure C.1: Confederate Leader Names among Children of Southern Former Slaveholders



Notes: Confederate leader name frequencies across five-year birth year intervals from 1801 to 1880 for children (ages 0–9) in the U.S. complete-count 1860, 1870, and 1880 Censuses among different subsets of Southern White fathers in the U.S. Census: those born to Southern White fathers who were matched to the 1860 Slave Schedule (i.e., former slaveholders) and those born to Southern White fathers who were not matched to the 1860 Slave Schedule and who were not matched to the same household as someone matched to the 1860 Slave Schedule (i.e., were not slaveholders or kin). An individual's Confederate name match equals one if their given, first name is highly likely to have been given in reference to a Confederate leader. This includes individuals whose first name includes a leader's full name (e.g., "Robert Lee"), as well as distinctive nicknames like Stonewall and last names like Beauregard. The list of Confederate leader names includes those with multiple public symbols in the Confederacy in the Southern Poverty Law Center's (SPLC) "Whose Heritage?" Project.

Destination Characteristics of Former Slaveholder Migrants. We examine former slaveholders' typical destination choices, relative to the average postbellum Southern White migrant. To do this, we use linked Census records from the Census Tree (CT) Project (Buckles et al., 2023), which allow us to study sorting behavior among a subsample of Southern White migrants that can be linked back to the 1860 Census—and therefore potentially to the 1860 Slave Schedule. These linked Census records provide information on migrants' county of origin and decade of migration. With this tracking ability, we can estimate the following equation, using a stacked sample of Southern White migrants across decade periods. To ensure a sufficiently large set of links, we use all Southern Whites linked to the South in 1860 and tracked thereafter from Southern to non-Southern counties through 1900:

$$y_{ido\tau} = \alpha \cdot \text{slaveholder}_{ido\tau} + \mathbf{x}'_{ido\tau}\boldsymbol{\beta} + \eta_{o\tau} + \varepsilon_{ido\tau}, \tag{C.1}$$

where $y_{ido\tau}$ denotes some characteristic of destination county d of Southern White migrant i from origin county o during the Census period through τ. Using our baseline definition of former slaveholders based on listed slaveholders (panel a) and another that also includes their direct kin (panel b), Appendix Table C.1 shows that Southern slaveholder migrants, relative to non-slaveholders, gravitated towards more remote Western counties that looked more economically, agroclimatically, and politically similar to the South. These patterns speak to the possibility, raised in historical accounts, that former slaveholder migrants may have sought out areas where the socioeconomic hierarchies of the South might be replicated. We discuss these estimates in Section 5.2.

Table C.1: Destination Characteristics of Former Slaveholder Migrants

Dependent Variable:	West	Log Population Density	Cotton County	% Vote Share for Breckinridge, 1860	% Union Army Enlistment	% Slaves, 1860
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	(a) Former Slaveholders					
Former Slaveholder	0.028***	-0.118***	0.057***	2.816***	-1.210**	1.462***
	(0.005)	(0.034)	(0.007)	(0.352)	(0.480)	(0.172)
Observations	106,727	104,295	106,726	85,796	96,052	99,958
Non-slaveholder mean	0.138	3.578	0.547	21.728	30.967	4.946
	(b) Former Slaveholders and Kin					
Former Slaveholder	0.038***	-0.048**	0.061***	3.161***	-0.835***	1.617***
	(0.003)	(0.023)	(0.005)	(0.241)	(0.323)	(0.103)
Observations	106,727	104,295	106,726	85,796	96,052	99,958
Non-slaveholder mean	0.134	3.527	0.536	21.256	30.838	4.587

Notes: Regressions of observable destination county characteristics among White male migrants in the South as of 1860 and tracked from Southern to non-Southern counties across Census periods through 1900 on a dummy for a migrant's former slaveholding status as of 1860 (equal to one for about 6% of sample individuals in row i). The set of destination counties excludes Southern counties belonging to states of the former Confederacy or Oklahoma. The sample of former slaveholders is constructed from the 1860 U.S. Census Slave Schedule, which we match to the 1860 U.S. Census of Population. We then use linked Census records to track White male migrants from Southern to non-Southern counties across Census periods for each decade through 1900. For comparability, all individuals in the sample must be able to be matched to the 1860 Census. All regressions include origin county×year fixed effects. Individual controls include a cubic in age, marital status, and number of children. Robust standard errors in parentheses. Significance levels are denoted by * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Former Slaveholder Sorting into Positions of Authority. Beyond showing that Southern White migrants and especially former slaveholder migrants sorted strongly into positions of authority, as we do in Section 5.2, we can also further comment on whether this reflects a comparative advantage and/or taste for working in positions of authority, or is simply a byproduct of migrants' elite socioeconomic

status that traveled with them as they left the South (see Appendix Table C.2). Of course, many of these positions of authority happen to be characterized by high income. Given former slaveholders' elite backgrounds in particular, it is possible that these sorting patterns simply reflect sorting into high-income occupations. We examine this possibility by directly accounting for differential earnings and status across all occupations. In columns 1–3 in Appendix Tables C.3, C.5, and C.4 group the five authority occupations into a single indicator. Columns 3 of each table additionally use information on occupational income scores to compare occupational sorting patterns *within* occupational income categories. These estimates show sorting by Southern White migrants, and even more so by former slaveholder migrants, into positions of authority—even after controlling for income.

Table C.2: Selection into Migration for Former Slaveholders and Their Kin

Dependent Variable:	Employed	Working in Agriculture	Working in Position of Authority	Occupational Income Score	Occupational Socioeconomic Index
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	(a) Former Slaveholders				
Migrant	0.000	-6.777***	1.209***	1.480***	2.687***
	(0.004)	(0.655)	(0.272)	(0.201)	(0.347)
Ori. County-Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	215,867	215,867	215,867	165,476	167,192
Non-Mig. Mean	0.774	59.399	2.398	18.162	20.683
	(b) Former Slaveholders and Kin				
Migrant	-0.004	-5.768***	1.008***	1.507***	2.774***
	(0.002)	(0.317)	(0.119)	(0.127)	(0.239)
Ori. County-Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	943,916	943,916	943,916	473,517	477,887
Non-Mig. Mean	0.505	36.857	1.527	18.012	21.070

Notes: Regressions of various individual characteristics among White men living in the South as of 1860 on whether they were subsequently tracked from Southern to non-Southern counties across Census periods between 1870–1880 or 1880–1900. We use linked Census records to track which migrants moved from Southern to non-Southern counties across Census periods for decades following the Civil War from 1870–1900. For comparability, all individuals in the sample must be able to be matched to the 1860 Census. All regressions include origin county×year fixed effects. Individual controls include a cubic in age, marital status, gender, and number of children. Standard errors are clustered at the origin county×year level. Significance levels are denoted by * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table C.3: Occupational Sorting by Southern White Migrants: Robustness

Dependent Variable:	Working in Position of Authority			Working in Governance		Working in Civil Society		Matched to Political Graveyard		Matched to Newspaper Panel	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
	(a) Full Sample of White Men										
Southern	0.657***	0.586***	0.375***	0.340***	0.262***	0.318***	0.318***	0.008	-0.002	0.012**	0.010*
	(0.068)	(0.064)	(0.047)	(0.050)	(0.051)	(0.046)	(0.046)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Observations	16,187,176	16,187,176	16,187,176	16,187,176	16,187,176	16,187,176	16,187,176	16,187,176	16,187,176	16,187,176	16,187,176
Non-Southern Mean	1.665	1.665	1.665	0.732	0.732	0.933	0.933	0.190	0.190	0.059	0.059
	(b) Out-of-State Migrant Men Only										
Southern	0.699***	0.712***	0.617***	0.464***	0.470***	0.235***	0.235***	0.026***	0.025***	0.015**	0.015**
	(0.085)	(0.083)	(0.057)	(0.064)	(0.065)	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Observations	8,207,851	8,207,851	8,207,851	8,207,851	8,207,851	8,207,851	8,207,851	8,207,851	8,207,851	8,207,851	8,207,851
Non-Southern Mean	1.564	1.564	1.564	0.640	0.640	0.923	0.923	0.174	0.174	0.058	0.058
County FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Demographic Controls		Yes	Yes		Yes		Yes		Yes		Yes
Occ. Income Score Decile FEs			Yes								

Notes: Regressions of occupation indicators ($\times 100$) on Southern origin among white male individuals outside of the South between the ages of 18 and 64 in the 1900 U.S. Census. See notes to Figure 4 for additional outcome details. The sample is drawn from the complete-count Census, with Southern origin defined by state of birth. Southern states include those of the former Confederacy and Oklahoma. Panel (b) restricts the sample to interstate migrants—individuals born in a different state from their county of residence. All regressions include destination county fixed effects. Demographic controls include a cubic in age, marital status, and number of children. Column 3 additionally includes occupational income score decile fixed effects, which capture the historical income score for the average worker in each occupation (e.g., occscore = 32 for law enforcement, 30 for mechanics). Standard errors are clustered by county. Significance levels are denoted by * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table C.4: Occupational Sorting by Former Slaveholders in the Confederate Diaspora

Dependent Variable:	Working in Position of Authority				Working in Governance		Working in Civil Society		Matched to Political Graveyard		Matched to Newspaper Panel	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
	(a) Based on Listed Slaveholders Only											
Former Slaveholder	1.379***	1.349***	0.889***	0.793***	0.592***	0.588***	0.787***	0.761***	0.109***	0.105***	0.081**	0.081**
	(0.167)	(0.165)	(0.148)	(0.146)	(0.112)	(0.111)	(0.115)	(0.113)	(0.029)	(0.030)	(0.032)	(0.032)
Observations	241,802	241,802	241,802	241,802	241,802	241,802	241,802	241,802	241,802	241,802	241,802	241,802
Non-slaveholder Mean	2.319	2.319	2.319	2.319	0.955	0.955	1.363	1.363	0.080	0.080	0.032	0.032
	(b) Also Based on Slaveholder Household Members											
Former Slaveholder	1.297***	1.263***	0.794***	0.732***	0.692***	0.676***	0.605***	0.587***	0.052***	0.052***	0.030**	0.030**
	(0.092)	(0.092)	(0.081)	(0.080)	(0.064)	(0.064)	(0.063)	(0.063)	(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.013)	(0.013)
Observations	241,802	241,802	241,802	241,802	241,802	241,802	241,802	241,802	241,802	241,802	241,802	241,802
Non-slaveholder mean	2.034	2.034	2.034	2.034	0.787	0.787	1.248	1.248	0.071	0.071	0.029	0.029
Destination County x Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Demographic Controls		Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes		Yes		Yes		Yes
Occ. Income Score Decile FE			Yes	Yes								
Authority Occupation at Origin				Yes								

Notes: Regressions of occupation indicators ($\times 100$) on a dummy for a migrant's former slaveholding status as of 1860 (equal to one for about 8% of the sample in row a and 26% of the sample in row b) among White men in the South as of 1860 and tracked to non-Southern counties in the 1870, 1880, or 1900 U.S. Censuses. The sample is restricted to individuals between the ages of 18 and 64 in the respective census year. See notes to Figure 4 for additional outcome details. All regressions include destination county$\times$year fixed effects. Demographic controls include a cubic in age, marital status, and number of children. Column 3 additionally includes occupational income score decile fixed effects, which capture the historical income score for the average worker in each occupation (e.g., occscore = 32 for law enforcement, 30 for mechanics). Standard errors are clustered at the destination county$\times$year level. Significance levels are denoted by * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table C.5: Occupational Sorting by 2nd Generation Southern White Migrants: Robustness

Dependent Variable:	Working in Position of Authority			Working in Governance		Working in Civil Society		Matched to Political Graveyard		Matched to Newspaper Panel	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
First-Generation	0.736***	0.660***	0.438***	0.393***	0.309***	0.343***	0.343***	0.010*	-0.001	0.013**	0.012**
	(0.069)	(0.065)	(0.047)	(0.051)	(0.053)	(0.047)	(0.047)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.005)
Second-Generation	0.501***	0.467***	0.398***	0.341***	0.297***	0.160***	0.160***	0.013***	0.007	0.012***	0.011***
	(0.041)	(0.040)	(0.028)	(0.032)	(0.033)	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Observations	16,187,176	16,187,176	16,187,176	16,187,176	16,187,176	16,187,176	16,187,176	16,187,176	16,187,176	16,187,176	16,187,176
Non-Southern Mean	1.639	1.639	1.639	0.723	0.723	0.915	0.915	0.196	0.196	0.060	0.060
County FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Demographic Controls		Yes	Yes		Yes		Yes		Yes		Yes
Occ. Income Score Decile FEs			Yes								

Notes: This table re-estimates the specifications in panel (a) of Table C.3 with an additional binary regressor indicating those individuals in the second-generation Confederate diaspora, i.e., men with at least one parent born in the South but who are themselves born outside the South. The dependent variables are binary indicators ($\times 100$) for the given occupational choice. See the notes to Table C.3 for details on the specification. Standard errors are clustered by county. Significance levels are denoted by * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

C.2 The Size and Scope of the Southern Slaveholder Diaspora

In this section, we use the linked Census data—in combination with complete-count Census data and estimates from this Appendix—to further characterize the size and geographic spread of the former slaveholder diaspora. We develop several back-of-the-envelope estimates, both of the number of former slaveholder migrants from the South between 1870 and 1900 and of their entry into key positions of authority outside the South. These estimates help clarify the magnitude of sorting among former slaveholders. They also illustrate just how pervasive former slaveholders were among the Confederate diaspora, and how overrepresented they were in positions of influence within their new communities. Together, these results provide useful context for the effects observed, for instance, in Table 5.

How Many Southern (Slaveholder) Migrants Were There? Although it is difficult to quantify precisely how many Southern Whites, and former slaveholders in particular, left the former Confederacy for the rest of the country in the three decades after the Civil War, we aim to impute these flows using data from the complete-count and linked Census records from the Census Tree Project (Buckles et al., 2023). Based on these, we estimate at least 496,282 Southern White migrants from 1870–1900, including 26,547 former slaveholders and an additional 77,930 of their household kin. These counts are constructed as follows: for each of these three groups, we calculate an outmigration rate between 0 and 1 for each Census period through $\tau \in \{1880, 1900\}$ from each Southern county. We then multiply these by a measure of the relevant origin county population from the previous Census period $\tau - 1$.

Concretely, to estimate total Southern White migrant flows, we first use the linked Census records together with the complete-count Census to approximate the number of Southern White migrants from each origin county to all non-Southern counties for each Census period, based on equation (B.1). Aggregating across all Southern origin county-years, this gives us an estimate of the *total Southern White migrant population* from all Southern counties to all non-Southern counties, of 496,282 individuals.

We repeat the same process for former slaveholder migrants, using the share of linked former slaveholders in a given Southern county in a given Census year to impute the initial former slaveholder population from which migrants were sourced. Concretely, we use the linked Census records together with the complete-count Census to approximate, for each Census period, total Southern former slaveholder outmigration flows from o to all non-Southern counties, based on equation (B.2). Aggregating across all Southern origin county-years, this gives us a count estimate of the *total former slaveholder migrant population* from all Southern counties to all non-Southern counties, of 26,547 individuals.

Note that while the first two terms in equation (B.2) are constructed using only the available data on linked men, our final approximation is gender inclusive. This is based on the fact that (i) some slaveholders in the 1860 Slave Schedule were women, and (ii) slaves were implicitly the property of both a listed slaveholder and their spouse. We also construct an even broader measure of former slaveholders that also includes direct household kin. In this measure, the first two terms in equation (B.2) further include male household members of a listed slaveholder, e.g., sons. This imputation produces a count estimate of the *total migrant population from former slaveholder households* from all Southern counties to all non-Southern counties, of an additional 77,930 individuals.

Note that because Census linking is imperfect, actual counts are likely to differ from these. At the same time, use of linked Census records for the purposes of constructing aggregate data is shown to be accurate, for a slightly later period, in the parallel work of Bazzi et al. (2023). Insofar as these estimates are accurate, it would imply that former slaveholders made up about 5.3% of the Confederate diaspora

formed over 1870–1900, with their household kin making up an additional 15.7% of the diaspora.

How Pervasive were Former Slaveholder Migrants in Positions of Authority? Although former slaveholders were somewhat rare within the Confederate diaspora—and even more so overall—our analyses throughout the paper and in this Appendix thus far suggest that former slaveholder migrants especially sorted into nascent communities in the West and, once there, sorted strongly into positions of authority and influence. As a result of their overrepresentation in positions of authority, especially where culture and institutions were incipient, former slaveholder migrants were able to play a distinct and outsized role in spreading Confederate culture and in entrenching it in local institutions.

We now put these occupational sorting patterns into more concrete perspective, in order to further illustrate how the slaveholder diaspora could have had such large effects despite its small scale. We construct an additional set of back-of-the-envelope estimates for the purposes of examining the extent of local entry into key occupations, relative to local occupational sector size.

We construct these estimates as follows. First, because use of the linked Census is limited when it comes to linking migrant individuals within narrow occupational categories across Censuses, we instead use our estimates from Appendix Table C.4 to back out shares of all former slaveholder migrants working in a given occupational grouping for which we find disportionate sorting by Southern former slaveholders therein.

Second, we calculate for each non-Southern county d the total number of former slaveholder migrants in a given occupation, using total White populations in 1900 from the complete-count Census, multiplied by former slaveholder migrant shares calculated from linked records:

$$\text{former slaveholder}_{d,1900} = \left(\frac{\text{\# slaveholders in } d \text{ in 1900 linked to South in 1860}}{\text{\# Whites in } d \text{ in 1900 linked to 1860}} \right) \times \text{Whites}_{d,1900},$$

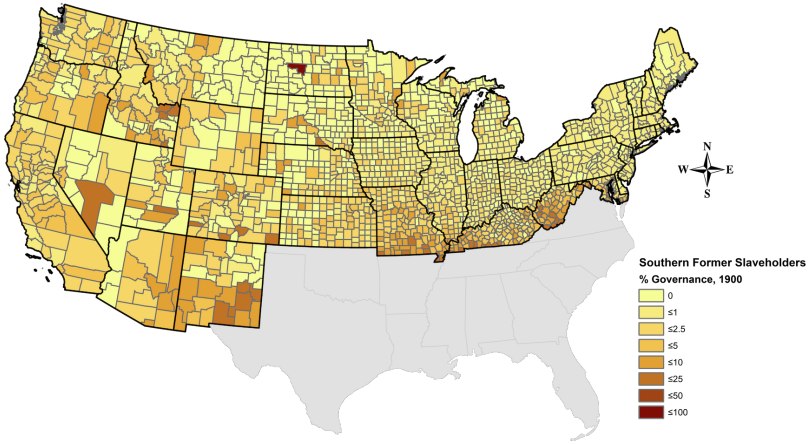
which we then multiply by the conditional means implied by the estimates in Appendix Table C.4 to generate counts for both governance occupations and religious occupations.

Lastly, we divide these counts by the total number of workers in a given sector in each non-Southern county d, again from the 1900 complete-count U.S. Census. These shares, calculated for all counties in the conterminous non-Southern U.S., are plotted across the four panels of Appendix Figure C.2, which illustrates the relative prevalence and spatial reach of these former slaveholder migrants.

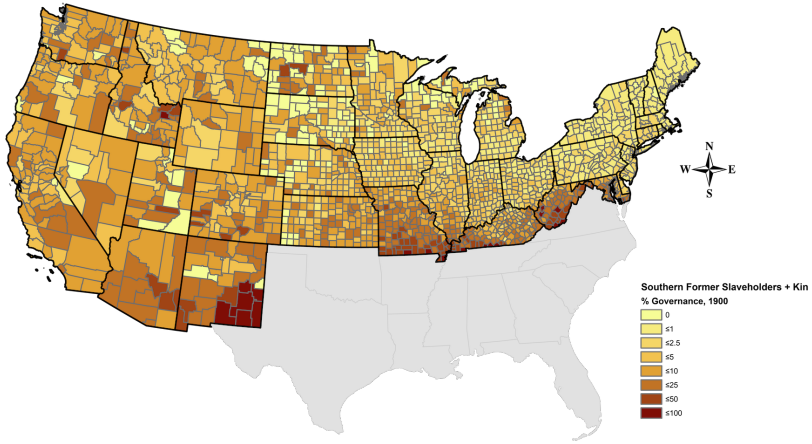
This visual clarifies why we observe such large effects associated with former slaveholder migrants throughout Table 5. Even in 1900, over three decades after the Civil War had ended, several non-Southern counties are estimated as having had over half of their governance sector staffed by those with personal slaveholding backgrounds in the antebellum South. When we also include household kin of said slaveholders (e.g., sons), a nontrivial share of counties throughout the West and former border states show a majority of their public employees as coming from slaveholding backgrounds. Although we do not use such imputations in our actual analysis, these back-of-the-envelope estimates nonetheless help to illustrate the likely reach of former slaveholders, given the sorting patterns we observe. Indeed, Southern White migrants are about 46% more likely to have worked in a position of authority as non-Southern White migrants in Table C.3, while former slaveholder migrants are an *additional* 62% more likely to have worked in a position of authority than a non-slaveholding Southern White migrant in Table C.4. Such extreme sorting into such small sectors has the potential to generate significant overrepresentation, as seen here.

Figure C.2: The Spatial Distribution of Southern Slaveholders in Positions of Authority, 1900

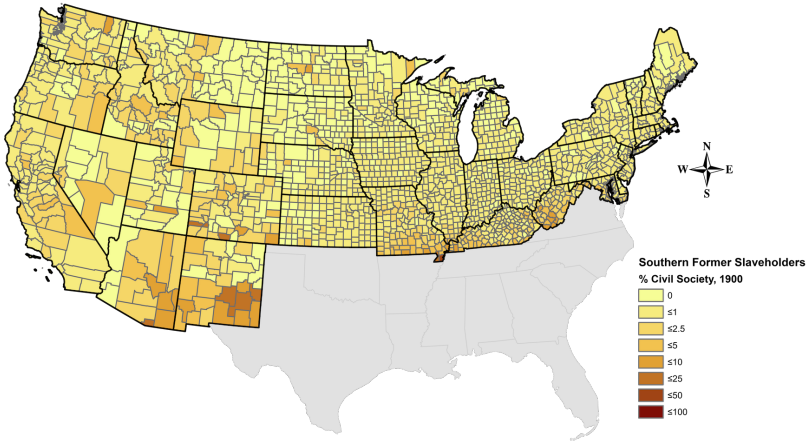
(a) Slaveholders in Governance



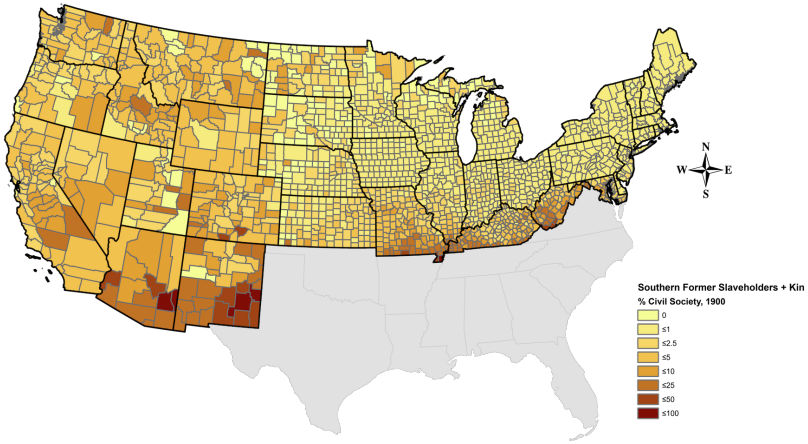
(b) Slaveholders (+ Kin) in Governance



(c) Slaveholders in Religion



(d) Slaveholders (+ Kin) in Religion



Notes: Maps show estimated spatial diffusion across counties of former slaveholder migrants (excluding and including their direct kin) in occupations of governance (law enforcement, legal occupations, and public administration) and civil society (education, religious clergy and other workers).

D Additional Tables and Figures

D.1 Additional Tables

Table D.1: Summary Statistics, Non-Southern County-Level Data

	Obs.	Mean	St. dev.	Min.	Max.
Explanatory variables					
% Southern-born whites (1900)	1,702	2.19	3.68	0.00	49.69
Predicted % Southern-born whites (for 1870–1900)	1,702	3.62	6.16	0.00	49.08
Outcome variables					
Any Confederate memorials (e.g., monuments, place names)?	1,702	0.25	0.43	0.00	1.00
Any United Daughters of the Confederacy chapters (1900–20)?	1,702	0.11	0.31	0.00	1.00
Any 2nd Ku Klux Klan chapters (1915–40)?	1,702	0.37	0.48	0.00	1.00
Any lynchings of Blacks occurred (post-1900)?	1,702	0.05	0.22	0.00	1.00
Confederate cultural index (i.e., the sum of the above)	1,702	0.78	0.91	0.00	4.00
Secondary diaspora measures					
% Southern-born whites (1870)	1,702	5.70	11.18	0.00	91.40
% Southern former slaveholders (1900)	1,702	0.21	0.33	0.00	3.11
% Southern former slaveholders (1870)	1,687	0.13	0.27	0.00	3.03
% Southern non-slaveholders (1900)	1,702	3.61	5.14	0.00	54.24
% Southern non-slaveholders (1870)	1,687	2.35	3.60	0.00	29.35
Controls					
Log population (1870)	1,702	8.39	2.18	0.00	13.74
Log county area	1,702	6.59	0.86	3.14	9.91
% Chinese-born population (1870)	1,702	1.42	6.26	0.00	64.81
% Foreign-born population (1870)	1,702	18.99	17.61	0.00	264.29
% Black population (1870)	1,702	2.13	5.93	0.00	68.75
On frontier in 1860	1,702	0.40	0.49	0.00	1.00
Never on frontier (settled by 1790)	1,702	0.10	0.30	0.00	1.00
Male Union Army enlistment rate during Civil War	1,702	25.64	27.88	0.00	100.00
Male Union Army mortality rate during Civil War	1,702	3.21	4.91	0.00	87.50
% Votes for Breckinridge (1860)	1,702	8.07	16.28	0.00	92.86
% Slaves (1860)	1,702	2.13	6.75	0.00	58.44
Cotton potential	1,702	0.20	0.27	0.00	0.74
Tobacco potential	1,702	0.59	0.35	0.00	0.97
Agricultural potential	1,702	0.45	0.21	0.00	0.68

Appendix Table D.1 shows summary statistics for the core variables used in our county-level analysis. County-level data are standardized to 2010 boundaries using ArcGIS, based on the procedure described in Ferrara et al. (2021). This lets us consistently match counties across time with historical Census data and prevents issues associated with the merging and splitting of counties across Census periods. This process involves creating unique units (henceforth county parts), based on where historical and 2010 counties intersect. We then calculate areas for each county part. We divide these by total (2010) county area to generate an area share-based weight. We then interpolate values of historical count variables for county parts based on these shares. Finally, these approximated counts are aggregated within each 2010 county. Counties get dropped from the analysis if any county part was not yet incorporated in the base year (e.g., as of 1870) and as such had no count data from which to derive harmonized values.

Table D.2: Heterogeneity in Selective Migration with Respect to Grievances in the South

Grievance:	% Slaves, 1860	Pro-Secession County	Any Battles	Federal Occupation	Any Freedmen's Bureaus	% Confederate Veterans, 1870	% Former Slaveholders, 1870
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Dependent Variable: Employed Indicator						
Migrant	0.002	0.003	0.003*	0.002	0.002	0.002	0.002
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Migrant × Grievance	-0.002	0.001	-0.001	0.001	0.001	-0.003	-0.003**
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)
Observations	2,836,379	2,840,167	2,840,167	2,840,167	2,840,167	2,839,720	2,839,720
Non-Mig. Mean	0.506	0.506	0.506	0.506	0.506	0.506	0.506
	Dependent Variable: Working in Position of Authority Indicator						
Migrant	0.766***	0.662***	0.634***	0.631***	0.639***	0.676***	0.720***
	(0.055)	(0.051)	(0.050)	(0.048)	(0.049)	(0.050)	(0.053)
Migrant × Grievance	0.381***	0.088**	0.050	0.164***	0.270***	0.155***	0.331***
	(0.056)	(0.039)	(0.044)	(0.048)	(0.049)	(0.049)	(0.054)
Observations	2,836,379	2,840,167	2,840,167	2,840,167	2,840,167	2,839,720	2,839,720
Non-Mig. Mean	1.062	1.063	1.063	1.063	1.063	1.063	1.063
	Dependent Variable: Occupational Income Score						
Migrant	1.441***	1.260***	1.233***	1.203***	1.217***	1.273***	1.332***
	(0.085)	(0.095)	(0.078)	(0.088)	(0.092)	(0.085)	(0.093)
Migrant × Grievance	0.753***	0.223***	0.002	0.278***	0.344***	0.234***	0.465***
	(0.080)	(0.068)	(0.100)	(0.080)	(0.095)	(0.080)	(0.073)
Observations	1,431,001	1,433,683	1,433,683	1,433,683	1,433,683	1,433,480	1,433,480
Non-Mig. Mean	16.936	16.938	16.938	16.938	16.938	16.938	16.938
	Dependent Variable: Socioeconomic Index						
Migrant	2.532***	2.158***	2.113***	2.047***	2.083***	2.207***	2.331***
	(0.163)	(0.203)	(0.153)	(0.184)	(0.193)	(0.171)	(0.190)
Migrant × Grievance	1.520***	0.319**	0.029	0.635***	0.695***	0.512***	1.009***
	(0.167)	(0.128)	(0.217)	(0.160)	(0.199)	(0.168)	(0.132)
Observations	1,443,097	1,445,787	1,445,787	1,445,787	1,445,787	1,445,583	1,445,583
Non-Mig. Mean	18.729	18.734	18.734	18.734	18.734	18.733	18.733

Notes: This table augments the panel (b) results in Table 1 with additional interactions of the migrant indicator and a set of factors shaping grievances around the war in the South. These are the same set of factors used in Tables 4 and 7 (panel b). Standard errors are clustered at the origin-county×year level. Significance levels are denoted by * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table D.3: The Confederate Diaspora and Klan Membership in the Early 20th Century: Evidence from Indiana and Arizona

	Dependent Variable: Matched to KKK Member Records					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Indiana			Arizona		
Southern-Born	0.016***	0.013***	0.012***	0.003***	0.003***	0.002***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Non-Southern-Born w/ Southern Parent	0.014***	0.011***	0.011***	0.003***	0.003***	0.002***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Fixed Effects	–	County	County	–	County	District
Observations	1,437,971	1,437,971	1,437,971	157,341	157,341	157,341
Outcome mean (control)	0.063	0.063	0.063	0.002	0.002	0.002

Notes: The dependent variable is a binary indicator for whether a White male in Indiana (columns 1–3) or Arizona (column 4–6) as of the 1920 U.S. Census can be found in the corresponding state's KKK membership records from the 1920s. The sample includes all White men in the given state, and the regressors include indicators for whether they were born in the South and whether they were born outside the South but their parents were born in the South. Standard errors are clustered by enumeration district. Significance levels are denoted by * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table D.4: Reweighting and Adjusting the Estimates in Panel (a) of Table 7 by Name Frequency

Dependent Variable:	Matched to KKK Member Records					
	(a) Reweighting many-to-one matches by the random match probability					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Southern-Born	0.020***		0.026***		0.025***	
	(0.005)		(0.004)		(0.004)	
Non-Southern-Born with Southern-Born Parent	0.023***		0.026***		0.019***	
	(0.005)		(0.005)		(0.005)	
Deep South-Born		0.025***		0.031***		0.029***
		(0.008)		(0.008)		(0.008)
Upper South-Born		0.019***		0.024***		0.023***
		(0.005)		(0.005)		(0.005)
Non-Southern-Born w/ Deep South-Born Parent		0.023*		0.024**		0.019*
		(0.012)		(0.011)		(0.011)
Non-Southern-Born w/ Upper South-Born Parent		0.024***		0.026***		0.020***
		(0.005)		(0.005)		(0.005)
Sample Counties	Denver only	Denver only	All metro	All metro	All metro	All metro
Fixed Effects	–	–	County	County	District	District
Observations	129,248	129,248	172,277	172,277	172,276	172,276
Outcome mean (control)	0.238	0.238	0.288	0.288	0.288	0.288
	(b) Controlling for name frequency decile FEs					
Southern-Born	0.028***		0.024***		0.022***	
	(0.005)		(0.003)		(0.003)	
Non-Southern-Born with Southern-Born Parent	0.021***		0.019***		0.014***	
	(0.005)		(0.003)		(0.003)	
Deep South-Born		0.031***		0.028***		0.026***
		(0.009)		(0.007)		(0.007)
Upper South-Born		0.026***		0.022***		0.021***
		(0.005)		(0.003)		(0.003)
Non-Southern-Born w/ Deep South-Born Parent		0.021*		0.019**		0.013*
		(0.011)		(0.008)		(0.008)
Non-Southern-Born w/ Upper South-Born Parent		0.020***		0.018***		0.014***
		(0.006)		(0.004)		(0.003)
Sample Counties	Denver only	Denver only	All metro	All metro	All metro	All metro
Fixed Effects	–	–	County	County	District	District
Observations	129,248	129,248	241,298	241,298	241,297	241,297
Outcome mean (control)	0.238	0.238	0.213	0.213	0.213	0.213

Notes: Panel (a) re-estimates panel (a) of Table 7 reweighting each observation by $1/N$ where N is the number of Census matches for the given individual's first name–surname combination to the KKK ledger. Panel (b) re-estimates panel (a) of Table 7 including indicators for deciles of the frequency N capturing the number of Census matches for the given individual's first name–surname combination to the KKK ledger. See the notes to Table 7 for additional details.

Table D.5: The Confederate Diaspora and Klan Membership in the Early 20th Century: Robustness

	Dependent Variable: Matched to KKK Member Records								
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)			
Southern-Born	0.015***	0.022***	0.006	0.016***	0.024***	0.008*	0.014***	0.021***	0.008*
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Non-Southern-Born w/ Southern Parent	0.019***	0.033***	0.020***	0.023***	0.036***	0.023***	0.018***	0.029***	0.019***
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Sample Counties	All metro	All metro	All metro	All metro	All metro	All metro	All metro	All metro	All metro
Sample	U.S.-Born	All	U.S.-Born	U.S.-Born	All	U.S.-Born	U.S.-Born	All	U.S.-Born
Geographic Fixed Effects	–	–	–	County	County	County	District	District	District
Occupation FEs	–	Yes	Yes	–	Yes	Yes	–	Yes	Yes
Observations	201,052	241,286	201,039	201,052	241,286	201,039	201,052	241,285	201,039
Outcome mean (control)	0.226	0.213	0.226	0.226	0.213	0.226	0.226	0.213	0.226

Notes: This table includes several robustness checks on the results in columns 3 and 5 of panel (a) in Table 7. For each set, we consider restricting the non-Southern-born population to the U.S.-born population, including a very large number of occupation fixed effects, and the combination of both checks. The specification is otherwise identical to Table 7; see the notes therein for additional details. Standard errors are clustered by enumeration district. Significance levels are denoted by * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table D.6: The Confederate Diaspora, Labor Market Competition, and Klan Membership in the Early 20th Century

	Dependent Variable: Matched to KKK Member Records					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Top 10 Occ. for Non-White/Foreign Workers	0.021***	0.021***	0.024***	0.024***	0.027***	0.027***
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Southern-Born	0.028***		0.021***		0.016***	
	(0.008)		(0.006)		(0.006)	
Non-Southern-Born w/ Southern Parent	0.034***		0.033***		0.024***	
	(0.008)		(0.006)		(0.006)	
Southern-Born × Top 10 Occ. for Non-White/Foreign Workers	0.007		0.015*		0.016*	
	(0.012)		(0.008)		(0.008)	
Non-Southern-Born w/ Southern Parent × Top 10 Occ. for Non-White/Foreign Workers	0.009		0.007		0.010	
	(0.015)		(0.010)		(0.009)	
Deep South		0.046***		0.047***		0.039***
		(0.015)		(0.012)		(0.012)
Upper South		0.022**		0.014**		0.010
		(0.010)		(0.006)		(0.006)
Non-Southern-Born w/ Deep Southern Parent		0.023		0.037***		0.028**
		(0.017)		(0.013)		(0.013)
Non-Southern-Born w/ Upper Southern Parent		0.037***		0.032***		0.023***
		(0.009)		(0.006)		(0.006)
Deep South × Top 10 Occ. for Non-White/Foreign Workers		-0.011		-0.000		0.003
		(0.019)		(0.016)		(0.016)
Upper South × Top 10 Occ. for Non-White/Foreign Workers		0.013		0.019*		0.019*
		(0.015)		(0.010)		(0.010)
Non-Southern-Born w/ Deep Southern Parent × Top 10 Occ. for Non-White/Foreign Workers		0.005		0.004		0.007
		(0.033)		(0.023)		(0.023)
Non-Southern-Born w/ Upper Southern Parent × Top 10 Occ. for Non-White/Foreign Workers		0.008		0.006		0.009
		(0.015)		(0.010)		(0.010)
Sample Counties	Denver only	Denver only	All metro	All metro	All metro	All metro
Fixed Effects	–	–	County	County	District	District
Observations	129,248	129,248	241,298	241,298	241,297	241,297
Outcome mean (control)	0.238	0.238	0.213	0.213	0.213	0.213

Notes: This table augments the specifications in panel (a) in Table 7 to include an indicator for whether the given White, native-born individual works in one of the top 10 occupations for non-White, foreign-born individuals in the sample as well as an interaction of that indicator with the given individual's first- and second-generation Southern migrant status. The specification is otherwise identical to Table 7; see the notes therein for additional details. Standard errors are clustered by enumeration district. Significance levels are denoted by * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table D.7: The Confederate Diaspora and Klan Membership in the Early 20th Century: Distinguishing Slaveholder Differentials

	Dependent Variable: Matched to KKK Member Records					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	(a) Based on Listed Slaveholders Only					
Southern-Born	0.030***	0.028**	0.027***	0.021**	0.022***	0.021**
	(0.007)	(0.014)	(0.005)	(0.010)	(0.005)	(0.010)
Non-Southern-Born w/ Southern Parent	0.036***	-0.001	0.034***	0.005	0.026***	0.004
	(0.007)	(0.013)	(0.005)	(0.009)	(0.004)	(0.009)
2nd Gen. Slaveholder	0.113***	0.034	0.139***	0.072***	0.130***	0.078***
	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.028)	(0.028)	(0.028)	(0.028)
Sample	All	1860 parents	All	1860 parents	All	1860 parents
Sample Counties	Denver only	Denver only	All metro	All metro	All metro	All metro
Fixed Effects	–	–	County	County	District	District
Observations	129,248	22,351	241,298	42,909	241,297	42,908
Outcome mean (control)	0.238	0.316	0.213	0.277	0.213	0.277
	(b) Also Based on Slaveholder Household Members					
Southern-Born	0.025***	0.024	0.021***	0.007	0.017***	0.006
	(0.007)	(0.018)	(0.005)	(0.011)	(0.005)	(0.011)
Non-Southern-Born w/ Southern Parent	0.035***	-0.003	0.033***	0.004	0.025***	0.003
	(0.007)	(0.013)	(0.005)	(0.009)	(0.004)	(0.009)
2nd Gen. Slaveholder Household	0.114***	0.036*	0.120***	0.054***	0.109***	0.057***
	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.015)
Sample	All	1860 parents	All	1860 parents	All	1860 parents
Sample Counties	Denver only	Denver only	All metro	All metro	All metro	All metro
Fixed Effects	–	–	County	County	District	District
Observations	129,248	22,351	241,298	42,909	241,297	42,908
Outcome mean (control)	0.238	0.317	0.213	0.278	0.213	0.278

Notes: This table augments the odd-numbered-column specifications in panel (a) in Table 7 to include an indicator for second-generation migrants with parents who were slaveholders in the South. The even-numbered columns here restrict the sample to White men observed in 1870, 1880, or 1900, who are living with parents that were successfully linked to the 1860 census using Census Tree data. The regressors include indicators for whether men were born in the South, whether they were born outside the South but their parents were born in the South, and whether they lived with at least one parent linked to the 1860 Slave schedule. The specification is otherwise identical to Table 7; see the notes therein for additional details. Standard errors are clustered by enumeration district. Significance levels are denoted by * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table D.8: The Confederate Diaspora and Klan Recruitment in Indiana and Arizona in the Early 20th Century

	Dependent Variable: Matched to KKK Member Records					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	(a) Only White Men with no Southern Heritage/Parentage in Indiana					
1st or 2nd Gen. Southern White Neighbor	0.004***		0.001		0.000	
	(0.001)		(0.001)		(0.001)	
1st Gen. Southern White Neighbor		0.004***		0.001		-0.000
		(0.001)		(0.001)		(0.001)
2nd Gen. Southern White Neighbor		0.004***		0.001		0.000
		(0.001)		(0.001)		(0.001)
% 1st Gen. Southern Whites in District					0.001***	0.001***
					(0.000)	(0.000)
% 2nd Gen. Southern Whites in District					0.000	0.000
					(0.000)	(0.000)
Fixed Effects	–	–	County	County	County	County
Observations	1,331,691	1,331,691	1,331,691	1,331,691	1,331,691	1,331,691
Outcome mean (control)	0.062	0.062	0.062	0.062	0.062	0.062
	(b) Only White Men with no Southern Heritage/Parentage in Arizona					
1st or 2nd Gen. Southern White Neighbor	0.001**		0.001**		0.000	
	(0.000)		(0.000)		(0.000)	
1st Gen. Southern White Neighbor		0.001*		0.001*		0.000
		(0.000)		(0.000)		(0.000)
2nd Gen. Southern White Neighbor		0.001		0.001		0.001
		(0.001)		(0.001)		(0.001)
% 1st Gen. Southern Whites in District					0.000***	0.000***
					(0.000)	(0.000)
% 2nd Gen. Southern Whites in District					0.000**	0.000**
					(0.000)	(0.000)
Fixed Effects	–	–	County	County	County	County
Observations	112,839	112,839	112,839	112,839	112,839	112,839
Outcome mean (control)	0.002	0.002	0.002	0.002	0.002	0.002

Notes: This tables estimates the specifications in Table 8 for the Indiana sample in panel (a) and the Arizona sample in panel (b). The specification is otherwise identical to Table 8; see the notes therein for additional details. Standard errors are clustered by enumeration district. Significance levels are denoted by * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

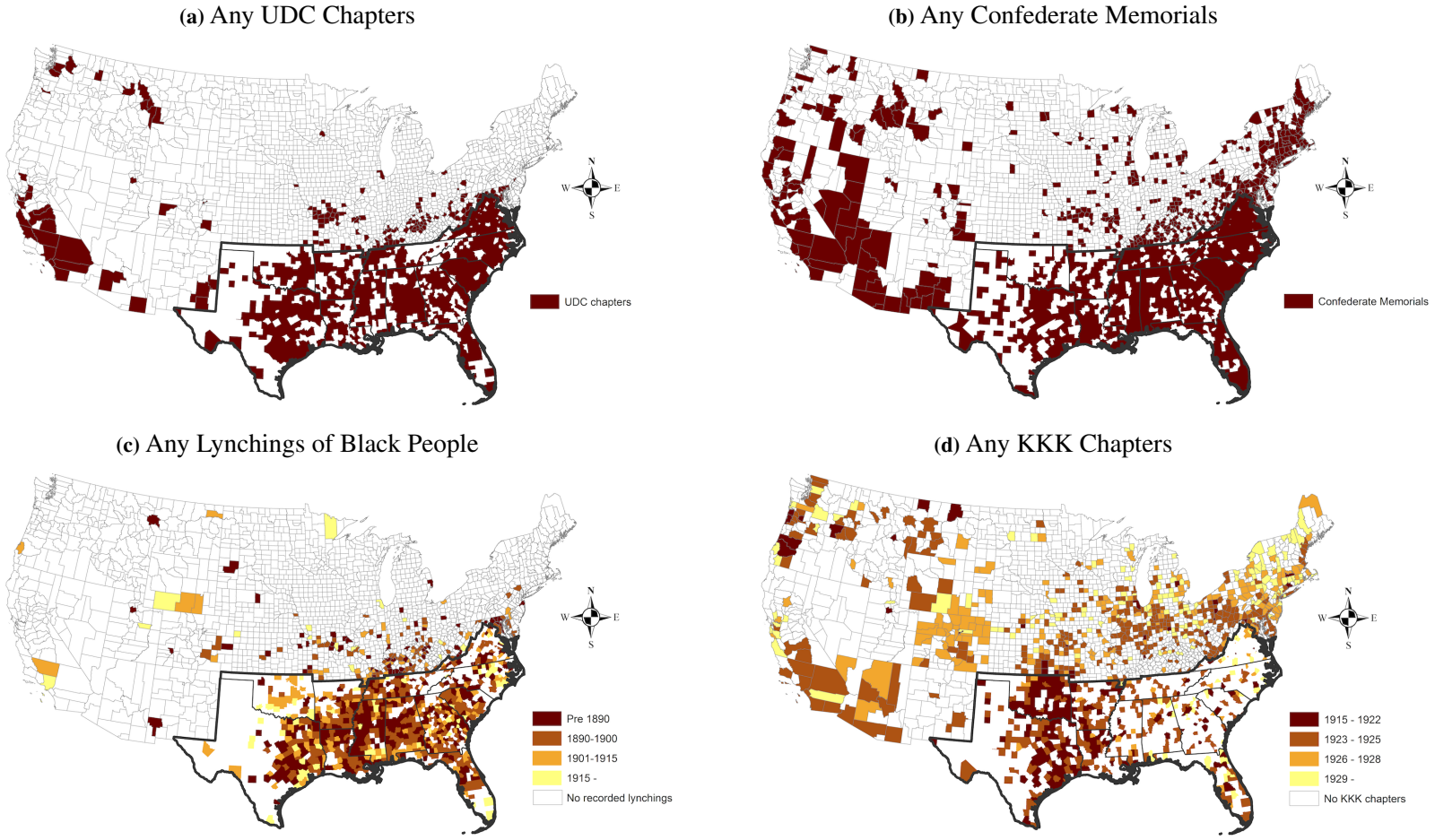
Table D.9: Institutional Capture: Robustness to Varying Worker Count Cutoffs

	Confederate Cultural Activity (CCI Score, from 0–4)							
# Workers in Governance and Civil Society Cutoff:	$\geq$ 2 Workers		$\geq$ 4 Workers		$\geq$ 6 Workers		$\geq$ 8 Workers	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)				
% Southern Whites, 1900	0.134***	0.137***	0.136***	0.137***	0.142***	0.142***	0.171***	0.175***
	(0.033)	(0.030)	(0.034)	(0.031)	(0.034)	(0.030)	(0.045)	(0.038)
% Southern Whites, 1900	0.057*	0.046	0.065*	0.052*	0.076**	0.063**	0.083**	0.069*
× Sorting Ratio Among Authority Occupations	(0.034)	(0.032)	(0.035)	(0.031)	(0.036)	(0.032)	(0.042)	(0.036)
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
County size	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sorting confounds		Yes		Yes		Yes		Yes
% Southern Whites, 1900 (SSIV)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
% Southern Whites, 1870	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,666	1,666	1,619	1,619	1,557	1,557	1,488	1,488
Outcome mean	0.79	0.79	0.81	0.81	0.83	0.83	0.85	0.85
KP Joint F-statistic	9.4	11.1	9.0	10.7	11.1	13.4	10.5	12.5
KP Underident., p-value	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Southern White SW F-statistic	31.5	39.8	28.9	37.0	32.8	40.2	24.8	30.0
Southern White Underident., p-value	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Interaction SW F-statistic	56.3	56.3	55.3	55.8	48.8	48.8	42.6	42.5
Interaction Underident., p-value	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

Notes: This table re-estimates Table 9 based on alternative cutoffs in the number of individuals employed in authority occupations for determining sample inclusion. The baseline in Table 9 was 5 total workers in the county. Here we consider 2, 4, 6, and 8 as alternatives and find broadly similar patterns with slightly stronger results for higher cutoffs. The specification is otherwise identical to Table 9; see the notes therein for additional details. Standard errors are clustered at the 60×60 square-mile grid cell level, following the approach of Bester et al. (2011). Significance levels are denoted by * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

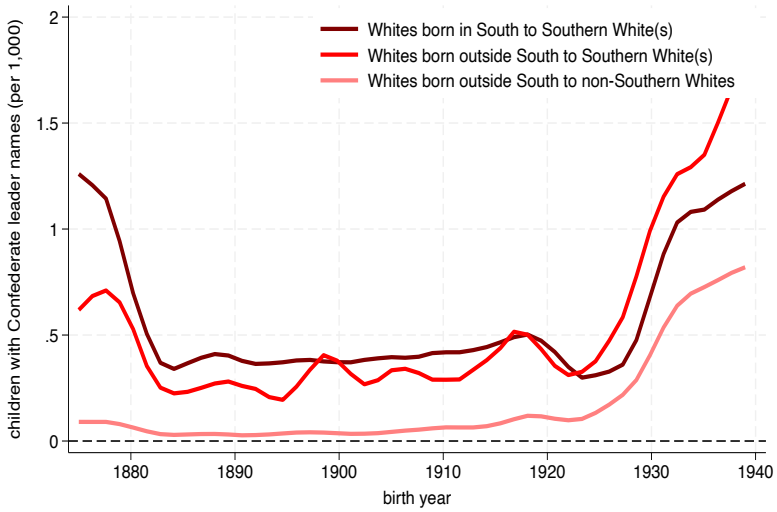
D.2 Additional Figures

Figure D.1: Confederate Cultural Activity In and Outside the South



Notes: Maps show the diffusion of our four main county-level outcomes out of the South. The map for UDC chapters (panel a) is based on confirmed chapters during the 1900–20 period. The map for Confederate memorials (panel b) combines information on Confederate monuments as well as Confederate-inspired location names (i.e., places, streets, schools) matched from a restrictive set of name inputs, as previously used in panel b of Figure 2. The map for Black lynchings (panel c) is based on confirmed lynchings of Black people during the specified periods in the legend and features time variation. The map for KKK chapters (panel d) is based on the diffusion of chapters with time information.

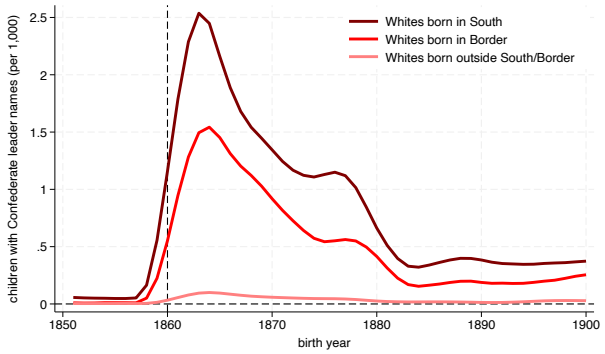
Figure D.2: Confederate Leader Names among 2nd Generation Southern and Non-Southern Whites



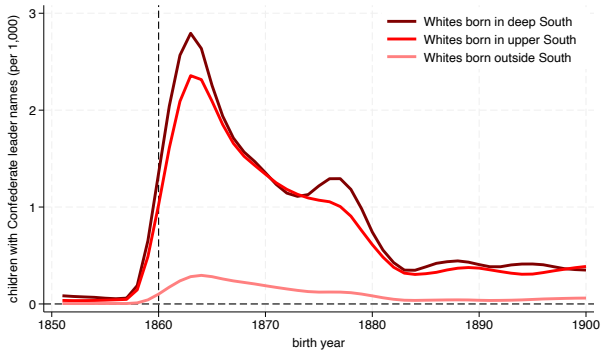
Notes: Three-year moving average in Confederate leader name frequencies across birth years among different subsets of second-generation Southern migrants (i.e., at least one parent born in the South) and non-Southern White populations (ages 0–9) in the complete-count U.S. Census by birth cohort year. See the notes to Figure 2 for details on the name measures.

Figure D.3: Confederate Culture Across Migrant Origins

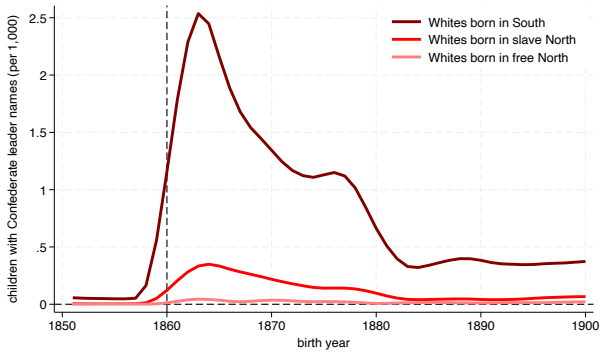
(a) South, Border States, and Non-Southern/Non-Border States



(b) Deep South, Upper South, and Non-Southern States



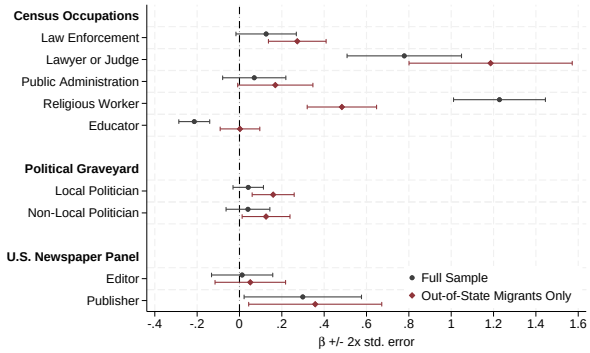
(c) Southern, Slave North, and Free North



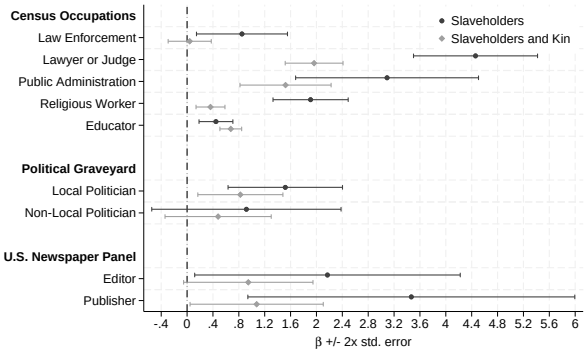
Notes: Three-year moving average in Confederate leader name frequencies across birth years among different subsets of Southern and non-Southern White populations (ages 0-9) in the U.S. Census. In panel (a), these subsets include: those born in the deep South (dark red), those born in the upper South (bright red), and those born outside the South (light red). In panel (b), these subsets include: those born in the South (dark red), those born in the "slave North" (bright red), and those born in the "free North" (light red). In panel (c), these subsets include: those born in the South (dark red), those born in the border states (bright red), and those born outside the South and outside the border states (light red). See the notes to Figure 2 for details on the name measure.

Figure D.4: Disaggregated Occupational Choices in Figures 4, 5, and 6

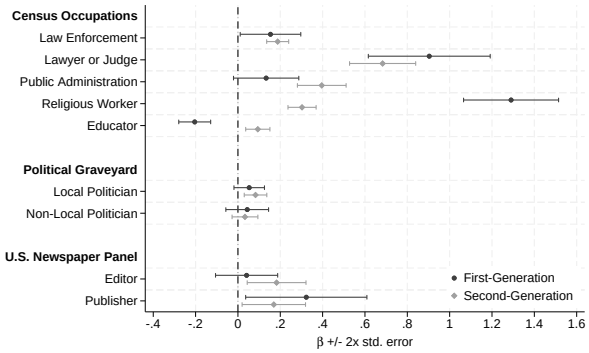
(a) Subgroups in Figure 4



(b) Subgroups in Figure 5



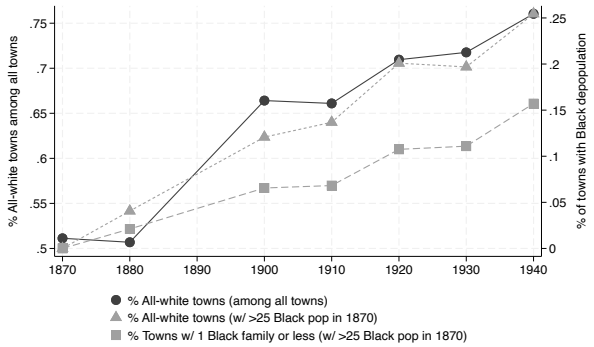
(c) Subgroups in Figure 6



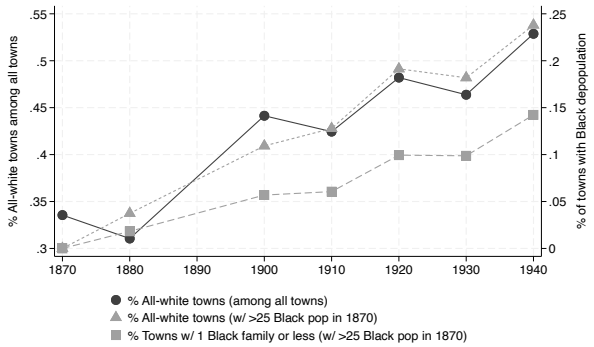
Notes: These figures report the fully elaborated subgroups within the occupational categories in the main Figures 4, 5, and 6. See the notes therein for details on the specifications. Here, the "local politicians" include non-federal politicians: sub-state politicians like mayors, postmasters, councilmen, etc. and state legislators and officials.

Figure D.5: Visualizing the "Great Retreat", Black Depopulation Outside the South in …

(a) All Towns

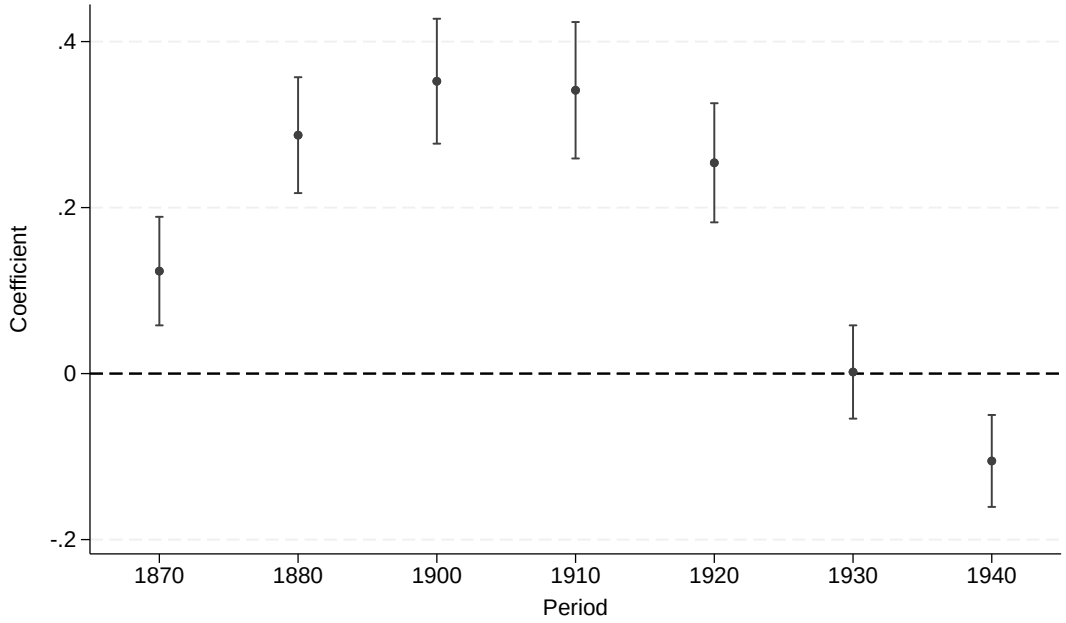


(b) Towns w/ $\geq$1,000 Pop. in 1870



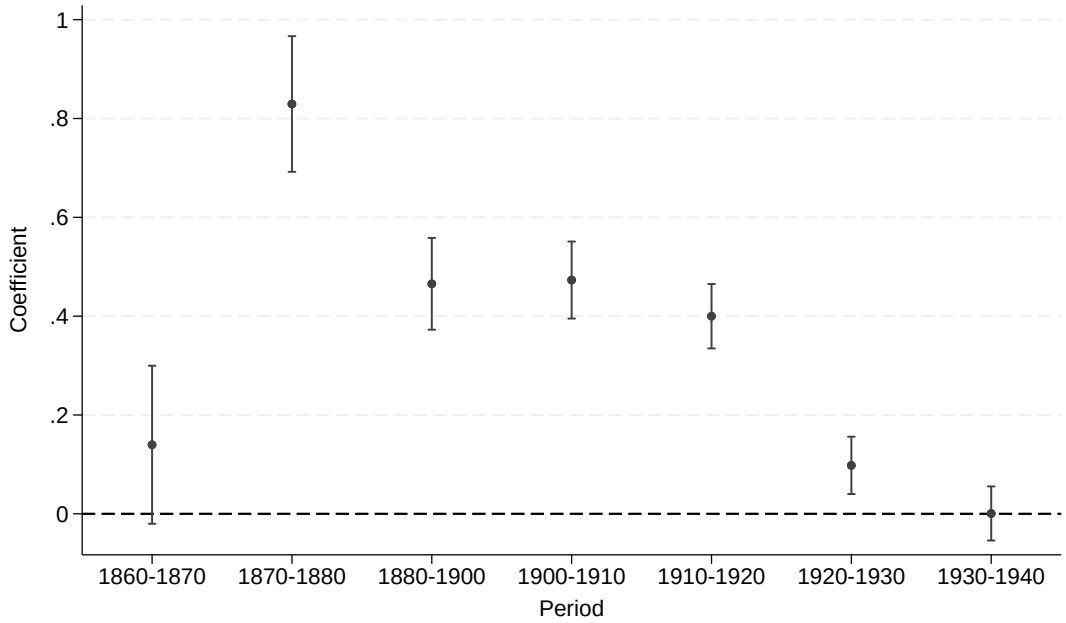
Notes: This figure shows the share of non-Southern towns with all-White populations (left y-axis), and shares of non-Southern towns that had more than 25 Black residents as of 1870 with (i) no Blacks or (ii) with one Black family or less (right y-axis). The sample in (a) consists of all towns outside the former Confederacy and Oklahoma and in (b) is further limited to towns with populations of over 1,000 as of 1870. A version of this figure was previously featured in an earlier version of Bazzi et al. (2023) and is based on a similar figure featured in Bazzi et al. (2022).

Figure D.6: Sorting into Authority by Southern White Migrants: 1870–1940



Notes: This graph reports decade-specific estimates of coefficients and 95% confidence intervals capturing Confederate migrant sorting into public-facing authority positions at destination, normalized by the mean of that occupational indicator for non-Southerners. The sample is based on the complete-count Census records. The regressions control for destination-county fixed effects and thus identify the Southern vs. non-Southern differential in "Working in Position of Authority" indicator among all White men outside the South between the ages of 18 and 64 across each of the Census periods from 1870–1940. See notes in Figure D.6 for other details on specification. Standard errors are clustered by county.

Figure D.7: Selection on Authority Occupations among Southern White Migrants: 1870–1940



Notes: This graph reports decade-specific estimates of coefficients and 95% confidence intervals capturing Confederate migrant selection on public-facing authority positions at origin, normalized by the mean of that indicator for stayers. The sample is based on linked Census records including all those who can be linked to a Southern county at the beginning of the decade. The regressions include controls for origin-county fixed effects and thus identify the migrant–stayer differential in "Working in Position of Authority" at origin among all White men in the South between the ages of 18 and 64 across each of the Census periods from 1860–1940. See notes in Table 1 for other details on specification. Standard errors are clustered by origin county.