

Ethics, Left and Right

The Moral Issues that Divide Us



BOB FISCHER
Texas State University

2020

New York Oxford
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

ASHES OF OUR FATHERS: RACIST MONUMENTS AND THE TRIBAL RIGHT

DAN DEMETRIOU

1. Introduction

At least for now, a statue of Paul Kruger still stands in Pretoria, South Africa's Church Square, though it's surrounded by protective fencing and concrete barriers. Kruger embodied the Afrikaner experience: As a child, he was a Voortrekker who fought Zulus for control of the Transvaal; as a young man, he led Boer forces against British colonialists; later in life, he served as president of the South African Republic. Over the past few years, the Church Square monument honoring "Oom" (Uncle) Paul has been repeatedly defaced and threatened with destruction, through legal and illegal means, by black nationalists (chiefly Economic Freedom Fighters [EFF] representatives and supporters) and anti-colonialist #RhodesMustFall activists. "There is a national mandate to all the EFF branches to remove all the apartheid statues and symbols," one EFF councilman has said. "One day people are going to wake up and find the statue not being there."⁴³ Counter-protests, including one by an Afrikaner singer who chained herself to the monument, have made international news.⁴⁴ Plans are underway to add items to the square that celebrate the freedom struggle of non-white South Africans, but debate still rages over whether to remove Kruger's statue completely.⁴⁵

Meanwhile, in the United States, a Charlottesville, Virginia circuit court judge has just ordered that tarps covering a monument of iconic Confederate general Robert E. Lee be removed.⁴⁶ Lee's loyalty to his people (Virginians), brilliant generalship, and quiet dignity inspire millions of devotees today, despite the fact that Lee himself wished not to be memorialized for the sake of reunification.⁴⁷ In February 2017, the Charlottesville city council voted to have the statue in Emancipation Park—until recently, Lee Park—taken down, but the process has been halted by legal challenges, as, like many places in the South, state laws protect Confederate monuments.⁴⁸ In response to the city council's vote, the 26-foot-tall equestrian statue was the scene of a "Unite the Right" rally that descended on Emancipation Park to protest the statue's removal with white nationalist and anti-Semitic chants. The right-wing protestors were met by crowds of "antifascist" counter-protesters, and state police shut down the rally. In the chaos that ensued, a right-wing activist plowed his car into a group of counter-protesters, resulting in the death of one person.⁴⁹

These are just two of many cases of monuments jeopardized or already dismantled because of their alleged racist or (racially motivated) colonialist significance. Elsewhere, philosopher of political aesthetics Ajume Wingo and I have sought to catalogue the principal sorts of preservationist and removalist arguments one hears in the "racist monument" debate, and there are broadly leftist and rightist rationales for both positions.⁵⁰ As I cannot discuss here even all the rightist considerations relevant to this issue,⁵¹ I'll focus only on what I see as the fundamental one, which is social cohesion, both across time and across the relevant races or ethnicities. Specifically, in this chapter I sketch a rightist approach

to monumetary policy in a diverse polity beleaguered by old ethnic grievances. I begin by noting the importance of tribalism, memorialization, and social trust, and then provide policy guidance based on these concerns to the racist monument debate as it stands in the English-speaking world today.

A word on terminology: I use the phrase “racist monument” to refer to any monument seriously controversial because of its alleged racist significance. This definition entails that the above statues to Kruger, Lee, and hundreds more are indisputably “racist monuments” for the purposes of this chapter. This nomenclature is necessary shorthand because phrases such as “Confederate statues” or “colonialist monuments” are too narrow, as I want to discuss any monument thought problematic for reasons of racism, while “controversial monuments” and the like are too broad, as I wish to exclude monuments contentious because of other political or religious associations, such as the Buddhas of Bamiyan dynamited by the Taliban in 2001. I don’t necessarily concede with this term that the monuments in question are “in fact” racist—indeed, there may be no sense to saying a monument is “in fact” racist beyond its seeming racist to enough people. Nor should this terminology prejudice the issue for the removalist position, for the mere fact that a monument is thought by many to be racist simply doesn’t entail that it ought to be removed.

2. Tribal Assumptions

As this volume reveals, there are many conceptions of what it means to be on the political “right” or “conservative.” Since the moral perspective I appeal to is older than Christianity and more properly considered “global” than “Western,” some of my fellow travelers will disagree with parts of what I’m about to say.⁵² Be that as it may, anyone espousing the following principles will be considered on the political right today, especially if they believe these principles apply to whites or white ethnicities as well as for other races or ethnicities.

The first principle I’ll forward is that *humans are a tribal species, and political structures failing to accommodate this fact are doomed to fail*. Unlike tigers and sea turtles, humans don’t go through life alone.⁵³ We are a highly social species that seeks the comfort and protection of clans and tribes. Tribes gobble up loners. So as long as there are significant numbers of tribalists in the world (and there always will be), even (largely hypothetical) “individualists” and “cosmopolitans” must rely on tribal loyalty for their security, property, freedoms, and dignity, since these good things are secured only by a willingness of tribemates to sacrifice for and defend the territories individualists and cosmopolitans flit between.

If you don’t understand what “tribe” is, think of your family and proven friends. Think, in short, of who “has your back”: who would leap to your defense if you were in trouble before even asking if you were in the wrong, who would find space for you in their homes if you had nowhere else to go, who feels an obligation to feed you if you were hungry. Tribal affiliation isn’t *that* strong, usually (except in war, this level of sacrifice is typically reserved for family, clan, or gang), but nonetheless, tribemates will do these things to some degree—especially if they are thrown together in a strange land, as the behavior of expats will testify.

If you're a citizen or denizen of a high-trust Western country, you should know that the people who built that society worked hard to create institutions reliable enough for tribalism to be unnecessary below the level of the state itself. Their success at this was so spectacular that all this talk of "tribalism" may seem unsettlingly primitive. To this, all I can say here is that complacency about tribalism is as foolish as thinking that lights must turn on when you flip a switch, or that water must flow from the faucet when you turn the knob. A sense of tribal affiliation is the psychological infrastructure of any sustainable free society: If it goes, authoritarianism becomes necessary to maintain law and order.⁵⁴

Second, *memorialization is essential to maintaining tribal identity and cohesion over time*. Humans evolved language and culture to transmit adaptive memes (units of information), and not just genes, to the next generation.⁵⁵ Populations pass on their cultures in large part by memorialization, which includes not only monuments but also *inter alia* museums (e.g., Cape Town's District 6 museum), historical sites (e.g., as the Gettysburg battlefield), temporary installations (e.g., New York City's Tribute in Light, representing the fallen Twin Towers), or one-off events (e.g., Nelson Mandela's state funeral). Memorials bend our artistic and dramatic creativity to the tasks not of making money or entertaining, but of expressing our values, remembering our tragedies, celebrating our victories, honoring our heroes, and affirming a shared identity, and thus memorialization is increasingly acknowledged as a human right.⁵⁶ If we were to use a domestic analogy, memorials wouldn't be mere decorations or microwave dinners, but family portraits, heirlooms, trophy displays, household altars, and Christmas dinners.

Is tribalism illiberal? Certainly, the liberalism committed to the primacy of the individual or hostile to borders and nationalism will be anti-tribalist. Yet liberal thinkers formerly appreciated that individual rights are secure only within a tribal shell. For instance, John Stuart Mill himself seemed concerned about tribal cohesion even for free societies (he didn't endorse liberalism for cultures still mired in "barbarism").⁵⁷ In fact, Mill was explicit in cautioning against combining various "nations" into one polity precisely because sub-state tribal loyalties either tear multicultural states apart or force their governments to become authoritarian in their struggle to maintain order: "Free institutions are next to impossible in a country made up of different nationalities. Among a people without fellow-feeling, especially if they read and speak different languages, the united public opinion, necessary to the working of representative government, cannot exist."⁵⁸

By "nation," Mill means

[a population] united among themselves by common sympathies which don't exist between them and any others—which make them co-operate with each other more willingly than with other people, desire to be under the same government, and desire that it should be government by themselves or a portion of themselves exclusively. . . . [Nationality is sometimes] the effect of identity of race and descent. Community of language, and community of religion, greatly contribute to it. Geographical limits are one of its causes. But the strongest of

all is identity of political antecedents; the possession of a national history, and consequent community of recollections; collective pride and humiliation, pleasure and regret, connected with the same incidents in the past.⁵⁹

In other words, a “nation” for Mill is a “people,” or a big tribe. Mill realized that a functional polity requires citizens who are more willing to sacrifice for, and cooperate with, each other than they would with mere strangers. In contemporary sociological terms, what Mill was worried about is social cohesion. And just as Mill hypothesized, sociological research suggests that diversity decreases social trust, an important element in social cohesion.⁶⁰ These declines can be counteracted only, it’s hoped by researchers, if the diverse peoples constituting the polity buy into a new, overarching cultural identity—a new tribe.⁶¹

The conservatism of this essay, then, is a traditionalism that acknowledges tribalism as an obvious fact and sees piety toward one’s ancestors, traditions, and holy places as not only a *prima facie* moral obligation for individuals but an important civic virtue. Tribal folkways are so typical across the world that they are better categorized as the human psychological default than an ideology.⁶² For instance, these lines, written by a Victorian poet about an ancient Roman hero who fought for his people’s city and holy places, are something any traditional Yoruba, Jew, Sikh, or Maori would accept as a matter of course:

Then out spake brave Horatius,
The Captain of the Gate:
To every man upon this earth
Death cometh soon or late.
And how can man die better
Than facing fearful odds,
For the ashes of his fathers,
And the temples of his gods?⁶³

Noble thoughts and feelings to be sure, but also utterly *normal*. It’s the contemporary Western liberal ethos that discourages tribal identification that is unusual—or, as social psychologists have recently euphemized it, “WEIRD” (Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, and Democratic).⁶⁴

Rightists (and, apparently, even liberals of the past) are not opposed to tribes mapping onto religious or ethnic lines. But even if the polity in question is for whatever reason committed to diversity on these dimensions, the solution isn’t to eradicate tribal sentiment, but to replace the tribe of religion or ethnicity with some form of civic or populist nationalism.

Most “tribal rightists” who think along these lines will be skeptical about the sustainability of any free yet significantly multicultural state.⁶⁵ Their skepticism is increasingly justified. At the time of this writing, moderates are converting to identitarian politics in North America and Western Europe: Rightist politics appear to be more and more popular among whites,⁶⁶ while new, ethnic/religious parties (e.g., the Turkish DENK in the Netherlands or Partij Islam in Belgium) emerge from nominally leftist parties, such as Greens.⁶⁷ Violence on campuses

too quickly, by erecting monuments honoring sub-par figures or unremarkable events just to even things out. But gradually, as historical research into ignored or preliterate cultures improves, and as new outstanding citizens arise, the formerly underrepresented peoples should be suitably showcased in the national household.

What about existing, or even future, racist monuments? Just as every married person knows it's possible to place on the same mantle pictures of in-laws who abused each other, we can tolerate monuments to figures who were enemies. A healthy, racially diverse citizenry will *want* their fellow citizens to feel free to honor their ancestors and draw pride in their heritage. This means that white South Africans or white Americans can appreciate that their black countrymen may not personally advocate for radical political solutions today, but still wish to honor black nationalists or separatists who struggled on behalf of their people. And black Americans or black South Africans can recognize that a white fellow citizen may not condone all that her ancestors did, but still take pride in their sacrifices or heroism. The many Native American monuments in the United States, and to a much greater degree many democratic South African monuments, demonstrate that it's perfectly possible to memorialize culture heroes for their sacrifices for their peoples, even if they were at war with the ancestors of fellow citizens and completely opposed to the creation of the modern states that now memorialize them. For example, the statues of African royal captives recently installed at their former prison, Cape Town's Castle of Good Hope, harmoniously contribute to a more complete picture of the peoples whose history shaped the Castle and South Africa itself.⁷³

Nonetheless, some racist monuments, whose designs are highly ideological, leave little room for interpretation, deliberately provoke, and carry little meaning to anyone but hardened ethno-tribalists uninterested in a shared future, are good candidates for removal, *only if* they are *actually* offensive to a significant number of citizens, especially if those citizens have given costly signals of interest in a multiethnic tribal future. For example, the 2017 removal of the New Orleans' Battle of Liberty Place (BLP) monument was consistent with a tribal rightist approach.⁷⁴ But if, quite contrary to the facts, the BLP monument were not controversial, even it should have remained absent some good reason to remove it, and mere (ignored) ideological inconsistency with our legal and political aims today is not one such reason. For instance, if the people of New Orleans overwhelmingly interpreted it as a living symbol of a shameful past and/or a sort of trophy of a defeated regime, then it would be as strange to remove the BLP monument as to remove a public museum's installation about segregated drinking fountains.

For in matters of trust-building, we must remember that offense often isn't rational.⁷⁵ Insofar as we are concerned about being good tribemates, the historical context of a monument's installation or the momentousness of the historical figure or event's actual racism (e.g., that this general killed thousands for an apartheid state, that this statue was erected to bolster the Cult of the Lost Cause, etc.) is less important than the offense it actually causes fellow citizens of good will for

To sum up, heterogeneous societies interested in overcoming their divisions must adopt memorial policies that promote social cohesion and do not betray tribal trust. In the case of monuments, this principle would suggest policies, some of which I have articulated, that would say not only which future monuments should go up, but also which present monuments should come down. I argue that although some racist monuments fail this standard, many do not. Furthermore, because it is possible and usually beneficial to honor your ancestors even if they opposed the heterogeneous tribe you are part of, monuments to such figures do not *ipso facto* betray tribal trust, although they may for various—often aesthetic—reasons.

4. Conclusion

Any marriage worth having allows each spouse to maintain their family honor and their ties to the family they left behind. And as the interracial marriage case shows, people can navigate landscapes with memorials to people who were racists or fought for ethnocentric causes.⁷⁹ Granted, interracial relations in places such as the United States or South Africa are nothing like a high-trust marriage. But then again, the five policy guidelines on monuments suggested above hardly paint a rosy picture: If anything, they seem more apt for a marriage where the spouses are trying their best to avoid divorce over racial animosity, and in fact, these guidelines echo the heritage policies of Mandela-era South Africa.⁸⁰ Nonetheless, to repair or build trust, each spouse must gradually make themselves more and more vulnerable to the memorial expressions of the other, assuming each concession is reciprocated and not abused. Analogously, aggressive assaults on a people's monuments and, thus, the continuity of their ethnic tribe are bound to decrease their faith in the proposed multiethnic upgrade. Cowed peoples may be compliant, but they are not trustworthy, and they typically become so degraded as to be a burden even as subjects. Of course, alienating and intimidating the relevant populations is not a problem for those who deep down don't wish to be co-tribalists with anyone who would support maintaining a monument to Robert E. Lee or "Oom" Kruger. Casting down the monuments of your enemies is a time-honored practice of demoralization and establishing supremacy, and removalists may be gambling that the Horatiuses who rise up to defend the ashes of their fathers will be put down easily enough. They may be correct, but we should be under no illusions that the polity on the other side of such an endeavor would be both multicultural and free.⁸¹

COMPREHENSION QUESTIONS

1. What does Demetriou mean by "social cohesion"?
2. Why doesn't Demetriou want to talk about "Confederate monuments" specifically?
3. What follows from our being a tribal species?
4. Why is memorialization important?
5. What's the point of the marriage analogy?

Questions about the ethics of Confederate monuments are complex. The chapters in this text do not cover everything there is to be written on the subject. Hopefully, however, they can serve as one possible entry point into this important, difficult, debate.

COMPREHENSION QUESTIONS

1. What do Timmerman and Demetriou agree about?
2. Given the choice between (a) preventing harm from Confederate monuments and (b) sacrificing social cohesion, Timmerman goes for the former. Why?
3. Timmerman claims that there's an ethical constraint on memorializing your ancestors. What is it?

DISCUSSION QUESTION

1. Timmerman thinks that we can have our cake and eat it too: We can get memorialization without having Confederate monuments erected in prominent public places. Do you think he's right about this? Or do we have to make a choice between honoring certain historical figures and minimizing harms to current people?

REPLY TO TIMMERMAN

DAN DEMETRIOU

Travis Timmerman presents an admirably clear argument for removing Confederate monuments. In this rebuttal, I deny its first and fifth premises.

Timmerman sees his first premise,

(1) If the existence of a monument *M* unavoidably harms an undeserving group, then there's strong moral reason to end the existence of *M*,

as an application of a more general, "exceedingly plausible" principle:

If *x* unavoidably harms morally considerable beings who don't deserve to be harmed, then there's strong moral reason to prevent *x*.

Timmerman sees causing undeserved harm as a strong, although defeasible, reason not to do something. Counterexamples to this principle are abundant, however. Suppose you're basking in the glory that comes with being the starting point guard, but a young Stephen Curry transfers to your school and tries out for your team. Curry's displacing you as point guard makes your life worse, and you didn't deserve that harm, but obviously, he has no moral reason not to do so. Or imagine some classmates were distressed by your political opinions—this fact alone wouldn't give you a strong reason to abandon your views or censor yourself. In these counterexamples, the innocent parties have been harmed, but not wronged, since they had no moral claim against the harming parties not to be harmed by them in these ways.

The point holds with monuments. Surely some Chinese people feel bad when considering Mongolia's massive, recently erected monument to Genghis Khan, whose dynasty killed about half of all Chinese (60 million).⁸² But hurt Chinese feelings wouldn't justify removing the Khan monument, for Chinese offense has no moral claim on Mongolia's heritage landscape. The University of Ghana recently removed a statue of (the racist?) Mahatma Gandhi, which may have insulted some Indians, but that hypothetical offense would be irrelevant to Ghana's monumentary rights, too.⁸³ So whether we're talking about erecting or removing monuments, a bare appeal to the harm of racial offense is insufficient.

In my essay, I supplied a "tribal rightist" standard for racist monuments generally. Unlike the Mongolian/Chinese and Ghanaian/Indian cases, black and Southern white Americans should (unless preferring a civic divorce) seriously attempt to forge a new people, analogous to how an interracial married couple from racist families should (unless they prefer to divorce) try to forge a new family. So it's not racism or racist offense as such that makes a Confederate monument problematic, but its potential faithlessness to American blacks, or at least the subset of American blacks invested in being compatriots with Southern whites.

Are Confederate monuments faithless in this way? Remove race from the equation for a moment. At least 647,000 Northerners were killed or injured in the Civil War.⁸⁴ Do, or did, Confederate monuments wrong the descendants or communities of Northern whites by betraying tribal good faith? Maybe. If the monument in question specifically gloried in Union casualties (imagine a statue of Lee sitting atop a pile of Yankee skulls), or if the monument was used only to reinvigorate the Confederacy, then the said monument would be a good candidate for Northern complaint: The aforementioned BLP monument, which referred to reconstructionist forces as "usurpers," is a plausible real-life example. Many Confederate monuments passed this test, however, and managed to honor Confederate figures and soldiers without antagonizing Northerners harmed by the war. Reciprocally, Northerners generally countenanced Confederate monuments because they were seen as beneficial for rehabilitating Southern pride, which they saw as essential to healing a divided nation.

By the same rationale, it is consistent with being a good compatriot to black Americans to preserve Confederate monuments as long as the monuments in question do not demand an anti-black interpretation (as the Battle of Libert Place monument once did, by explicitly calling for "white supremacy") and are reasonably thought to be used to venerate white Southern culture heroes. For again, monuments, like books and family portraits, can have multiple meanings or uses, some wrongly harmful and some not, and the fact that there is a mainstream anti-black interpretation or use does not morally trump other interpretations or uses.⁸⁵ (As leftists remind rightists whenever accused of being un-American for critiquing America,⁸⁶ the mere fact that a compatriot interprets an act *you* see as loyal as disloyal doesn't entail that you are betraying trust.⁸⁷)

Finally, Timmerman's premise (5),

There are no countervailing reasons to preserve public Confederate monuments that are equally strong or stronger than the moral reasons to remove them,

is answered by recognizing at least two reasons to maintain monuments (assign books at public schools,⁸⁸ display art in public museums,⁸⁹ etc.) that precipitate racial offense. The first concerns cultural continuity. Monuments are an important form of memorialization, which in the civic case is like a people hanging family photos on the national walls. A multiracial state's peoples use memorials to build cohesion, inspire pride, and pass down a sense of their history, just as parents do through photos not just of their present families, but the *families they came from*. Given the facts about American itinerancy and (geographic or racial) interbreeding, in time there will be few people left who feel any attachment to Confederate monuments, at which point their removal will be unproblematic.⁹⁰ That point has not arrived. This leads us to our second reason for maintaining the Confederate monuments that pass the tribal rightist standard. The more interracial social distrust, the more likely Confederate monuments will irritate black Americans. But it's just as obvious that removalism in such a context is likely to be taken as provocative in the other direction: The more culture heroes of Southern whites are equated with Nazis, and the more their monuments are torn down in the manner done to conquered peoples, the less interest they will have in a multiracial future (which, arguably, explains the Charlottesville rally).⁹¹ That's why Nelson Mandela's strategy of adding monuments to black culture heroes to the South African heritage landscape, rather than removing monuments to whites, seems advisable for Americans whether interracial trust is running high or low.

COMPREHENSION QUESTIONS

1. What's the point of the Stephen Curry example?
2. Why, according to Demetriou, did Northerners tolerate Confederate monuments after the Civil War?
3. Demetriou thinks that we'll eventually be able to take down Confederate monuments; we just aren't there yet. When will that be?

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Demetriou gives examples of cases where people "had no moral claim against the harming parties not to be harmed by them in these ways." When *would* someone have a claim against a harming party not to be harmed? Is there any reason to think that black Americans *do* have this kind of claim? Against whom?
2. Unlike Timmerman, Demetriou holds that the prospect of causing merely undeserved offense or harm does not present us with a strong reason not to do something. Do you find his counterexamples persuasive?

FURTHER READINGS

- Demetriou, Dan, and Ajume Wingo. "The Ethics of Racist Monuments." In *Palgrave Handbook of Philosophy and Public Policy*, edited by David Boonin. New York: Palgrave, 2018: 341–55.
- Jacobs, Michele Eileen. "Contested Monuments in a Changing Heritage Landscape," Master's Thesis, University of Kwazulu-Natal, 2014. <https://researchspace.ukzn.ac.za/handle/10413/12069/>.
- Matthes, Erich Hatala. "Who Owns Up to the Past? Heritage and Historical Injustice." *Journal of the American Philosophical Association* 4, no. 1 (2018): 87–104.

NOTES

1. Matthew Haag, "Judge Orders Tarps Removed From Confederate Statues in Charlottesville," *New York Times*, February 27, 2018, accessed April 16, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/02/27/us/charlottesville-confederate-monuments.html>.
2. Jesse Holland, "Deadly Rally Accelerates Ongoing Removal of Confederate Statues Across U.S," *Chicago Tribune*, August 15, 2018, accessed April 16, 2018, <http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/nationworld/ct-confederate-statue-removal-20170815-story.html>. See also Mitch Landrieu, *In the Shadows of Statues: A White Southerner Confronts History* (New York: Penguin, 2018).
3. It's generally immoral, but shouldn't be illegal, to cheat on one's partner. Or, more closely related to this issue, most people grant that the right to free speech entails legally permitting some speech that's immoral. Alfred Brophy has surprisingly argued that preserving Confederate monuments ought to be illegal because they supposedly violate the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment ("Flying the Confederate Flag on Public Property May Violate America's 14th Amendment," Quartz, June 25, 2015, <https://qz.com/437136/flying-the-confederate-flag-on-public-property-may-violate-americas-14th-amendment/>).
4. A little less than half of them are public monuments, and not all of them are statues.
5. Booth Gunter and Jamie Kizzire, *Whose Heritage: Public Symbols of the Confederacy* (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2018), 8. Accessed August 16, 2018, https://www.splcenter.org/sites/default/files/whoseheritage_splc.pdf.
6. Fitzhugh Brundage, "I've Studied the History of Confederate Memorials. Here's What to Do About Them," *Vox*, August 18, 2018, <https://www.vox.com/the-big-idea/2017/8/18/16165160/confederate-monuments-history-charlottesville-white-supremacy>. For a more comprehensive history of this and related issues, see Fitzhugh Brundage, *The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory* (New York: Harvard University Press, 2008).
7. Brundage, "I've Studied."
8. For more on "othering," see Lajos Brons, "Othering, An Analysis," *Transcience, A Journal of Global Studies* 6, no. 1 (2015): 69–90. See also Fred Dervin, "Cultural Identity, Representation and Othering," in *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Intercultural Communication*, edited by Jane Jackson (New York: Routledge, 2012).
9. Brundage, "I've Studied."
10. Or, if one wants to deny that the monuments *themselves* are racist, they were still created by racists often, at least in part, for racist reasons. Dan Demetriou and Ajume Wingo helpfully distinguish between three ways monuments can have racist significance. They

can be racist because of who they represent, because it honors someone or something racist, or because of the racist intentions of those who brought it into existence. See Dan Demetriou and Ajume Wingo. "The Ethics of Racist Monuments," in *The Palgrave Handbook of Philosophy and Public Policy*, edited by David Boonin (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2018).

11. Gunter and Kizzire, *Whose Heritage*. See also Miles Parks, "Confederate Statues Were Built to Further a 'White Supremacist Future,'" NPR, August 20, 2017, <https://www.npr.org/2017/08/20/544266880/confederate-statues-were-built-to-further-a-white-supremacist-future>. Jim Crow laws refer to the set of laws in the South between the Reconstruction period (1877) and the civil rights movement (1950s) that enforced racial segregation. The civil rights movement that sought to end racial segregation gained national momentum in the mid-1950s and culminated in 1964 when the Civil Rights Act became federal law.
12. Marc Bain, "'You Can't Change History': Read Donald Trump's Defense of Confederate Statues," Quartz, August 15, 2017, <https://qz.com/1054062/statues-of-confederate-soldiers-across-the-south-were-cheaply-mass-produced-in-the-north/>.
13. Parks, "Confederate Statues." Considered in an ahistorical context, one may not fully appreciate how harmful these Confederate monuments are. Here Marilyn Frye's bird-cage analogy of oppression is instructive. She writes, "Consider a birdcage. If you look very closely at just one wire in the case, you cannot see the other wires. If your conception of what is before you is determined by this myopic focus, you could look at that one wire . . . and be unable to see why a bird would not just fly around the wire any time it wanted to go somewhere . . . It is only when you take a step back . . . and take a macroscopic view of the whole cage, that you can see why the bird does not go anywhere" (*The Politics of Reality: Essays in Feminist Theory* [New York: Crossing Press, 1983], 4–5). The Confederate statues, considered in isolation, are but one wire in the cage.
14. The only difference between the two models were the letters on the soldier's belt buckle. Marc Fisher, "Why Those Confederate Soldier Statues Look a Lot Like Their Union Counterparts," *Washington Post*, August 18, 2017, accessed March 5, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/why-those-confederate-soldier-statues-look-a-lot-like-their-union-counterparts/2017/08/18/cefcc1bc-8394-11e7-ab27-1a21a8e006ab_story.html?utm_term=.296cbb7938ba.
15. The UDC is still an active organization and is, as of this writing, suing cities over their attempts to remove Confederate statues the UDC funded during the Jim Crow era. See, for instance, Guillermo Contreras, "Group Sues San Antonio over Removal of Confederate Statue," *My San Antonio*, October 25, 2017, accessed November 13, 2017, <https://www.mysanantonio.com/news/local/article/Group-sues-San-Antonio-over-removal-of-12306414.php>, and Jeff Gauger, "UDC: We Had to Sue to Stop Illegal Removal of Caddo Confederate Monument," *Shreveport Times*, October 20, 2017, accessed November 13, 2017, <https://www.shreveporttimes.com/story/news/2017/10/20/lawsuit-filed-block-removal-caddo-confederate-monument/783966001/>.
16. Gunter and Kizzire, *Whose Heritage*, 8.
17. Gunter and Kizzire, *Whose Heritage*; see, in particular, 8–10.
18. While my argument focuses on the experiential harms Confederate monuments cause people in (I) and (II), I deliberately leave open the possibility that they may cause non-experiential harms to people outside of these groups. In fact, I think that possibility is not implausible, although I don't have space to argue for it in this short essay.
19. This is assuming, of course, that x is preventable.

20. This especially includes those people whose oppression the monuments were meant to further.
21. For an incredibly insightful analysis of a type of oppression that leads to this harm, see Chapter 6 (especially section 2) of Ann E. Cudd, *Analyzing Oppression* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).
22. Baltimore mayor Catherine Pugh raises this type of consideration when discussing her decision to remove four Confederate statues. Jake Nevins, "Baltimore Mayor on Confederate Statues: Why Should People Have to Feel That Pain Every Day," *The Guardian*, August 22, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/aug/22/baltimore-roger-b-taney-confederate-statues-catherine-pugh>. In a March 19, 2018, *Daily Show* interview by Trevor Noah, Mitch Landrieu discusses how Wynton Marsalis raised this point to him, which served as a catalyst for Landrieu to change his mind about whether the statues should be removed (Mitch Landrieu, "Confronting Confederate Myths with 'In the Shadow of Statues'"). See also Marsalis's moving article, "Why New Orleans Should Take Down Robert E. Lee's Statue," in *The Times Picayune*, May 17, 2017, http://www.nola.com/politics/index.ssf/2015/12/confederate_monuments_new_orle_6.html. Multiple people raise this concern in *America Inside Out: "Re-Righting History,"* directed by Cheryl McDonough, *National Geographic*, April 11, 2018. Countless more examples can be found by listening to interviews of counter-protesters who oppose preserving Confederate monuments.
23. Malcolm McLaren, "Punk? It Made My Day," *The Telegraph*, September 30, 2007, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/3668263/Malcolm-McLaren-Punk-it-made-my-day.html>. See also Vivien Goldman, "Never Mind the Swastikas: The Secret History of UK's 'Punky Jews,'" *The Guardian*, February 27, 2014, <https://www.theguardian.com/music/2014/feb/27/never-mind-swastikas-secret-history-punky-jews>.
24. At least, this is true of moral reasons with *requiring force*.
25. The moral value of symbolic actions and, relatedly, the moral value of symbols themselves are discussed in Chapter 6 of Jeffrey M. Blustein, *Forgiveness and Remembrance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014). For a good discussion of historical value in the context of historical preservation, see Erich Hatala Matthes, "The Ethics of Historic Preservation," *Philosophy Compass* 11, no. 12 (2016): 786–794.
26. Matthes convincingly argues that there's a contingent relationship between historical value and irreplaceability in "History, Value, and Irreplaceability," *Ethics* 124, no. 1 (2013): 35–64. Even if cheaply mass-produced statues have historical value, there is no reason to think that such value is entirely replaceable with harmless monuments.
27. If the reader objects to the idea that harms can be aggregated in this way, simply re-imagine the thought experiment such that the comet will break into millions of tiny pieces causing non-trivial (but not life-ending) amounts of harm to millions of people unless you destroy the statue. In this case, it still seems clear to me that you should sacrifice the statue to spare millions of people harm.
28. Ta-Nehisi Coates, "Take Down the Confederate Flag—Now," *The Atlantic*, June 18, 2015, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2015/06/take-down-the-confederate-flag-now/396290/>. Holland Cotter, "We Need to Move, Not Destroy, Confederate Monuments," *New York Times*, August 20, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/8/20/arts/design/we-need-to-move-not-destroy-confederate-monuments.html?mtrref=www.google.com>. Christopher Knight, "What to Do with Confederate Monuments? Put Them in Museums as Examples of Ugly History, Not Civic Pride," *Los Angeles Times*, August 18, 2017, <http://www.latimes.com/entertainment/arts/la-et-cm-confederate-monuments-20170818-htmlstory.html>.

29. If they're in a museum they would not be interpreted as being reverential, thereby removing one offensive aspect of the monuments that cause suffering. While they would still make salient the horrors of America's racist past and the Civil War, and while this would certainly still cause suffering, it wouldn't cause *unavoidable* suffering since anyone would be free to visit or not visit the museum(s) in question. Not everyone has that luxury when a monument is prominently displayed in a public space. Finally, being put in the proper historical context would make these monuments instrumental in acquiring historical knowledge, and the good gained from that (by willing museum patrons) could outweigh whatever suffering they may still cause.
30. Cameron Smith, "Condoleezza Rice Talks Religion, Confederate Monuments, and Energy Policy," YouTube video posted May 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HoCY69iP4fk>. Dan Demetriou and Ajume Wingo also cite this quote in their paper. Condoleezza Rice is not alone. Notably, a non-trivial number of black activists are arguing for preserving the Confederate monuments on these grounds. See Bradford Richardson, "Honoring Patriots or Traitors? Legacy of Confederate Statues in Eye of Beholder," *Washington Times*, August 15, 2017, <https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2017/aug/15/black-activists-want-confederate-statues-to-serve-/>. See also Brian B. Foster, "Confederate Monuments Are More Than Reminders of Our Racist Past. They Are Symbols of Our Racist Present," *Washington Post*, August 24, 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2017/08/24/confederate-monuments-are-more-than-reminders-of-our-racist-past-they-are-symbols-of-our-racist-present/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.671ff7bce840.
31. Of course, some who bother to read plaques on monuments might not bother to acquire that information in the absence of monuments.
32. This may include, for example, certain requirements in history classes in primary schools, funding documentaries and television series focusing on the Civil War, creating a Civil War museum, as well as a plethora of other options.
33. This sort of argument is made about Confederate flags in George Shedler, *Racist Symbols and Reparations: Philosophical Reflections on Vestiges of the American Civil War* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998), 75–90. See also George Shedler, "Are Confederate Monuments Racist?" *International Journal of Applied Philosophy* 15, no. 2 (2001): 287–308. Preservationists make this argument in the "Re-Righting History" episode of *America Inside Out*. For a devastating reply to Shedler's book, see Alter Torin, "On Racist Symbols and Reparations," *Social Theory and Practice* 26, no. 1 (2000): 153–171.
34. This is also true because that same amount and type of good in question can be generated by choosing to honor someone better than any of the members of the Confederacy.
35. In fact, the most recent polls show that the majority of Americans oppose removing Confederate monuments. However, this does not necessarily mean that most of those people would suffer significantly if the statues are taken down. Chris Kahn, "A Majority of Americans Want to Preserve Confederate Monuments," *Reuters*, August 21, 2017, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-protests-poll/a-majority-of-americans-want-to-preserve-confederate-monuments-reuters-ipsos-poll-idUSKCN1B12EG>.
36. To be clear, I'm only claiming that much (not all) suffering that would result from removing Confederate monuments is predicated on irrational beliefs and contemptible attitudes.
37. It's also worth noting, per my discussion of Jim Crow laws, that Confederate monuments were inexorably intertwined with other injustices. Whatever pain the removal of Confederate statues would cause isn't connected to other structural injustices. Consequently, one might think that the harm their removal would cause simply wouldn't be the same in kind or degree.

38. Unless, of course, knowledge about the past Confederate monuments was widespread and their absence is visually arresting in some way. However, this too seems highly unlikely.
39. At least they would so long as people who see the monuments know they're Confederate monuments and know about the Civil War and slavery.
40. Gandhi's racism and sexism are well documented. Concerning his racism, see Rama Lakshmi, "What Did Mahatma Gandhi Think of Black People?" *Washington Post*, September 3, 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/09/03/what-did-mahatma-gandhi-think-of-black-people/?utm_term=.5d924fad6cf. Concerning his sexism, see Michael Connellan, "Women Suffer from Gandhi's Legacy," *The Guardian*, January 27, 2010, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2010/jan/27/mohandas-gandhi-women-india>.
41. There are exceptions, of course, and the current exceptions may indicate what will be the norm in the future. A statue of Gandhi was "banished" at the University of Ghana because it was viewed as racist toward black South Africans. See Jason Burke, "Racist Gandhi Statue Banished from Ghana University," *The Guardian*, October 6, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/06/ghana-academics-petition-removal-mahatma-gandhi-statue-african-heroes>.
42. For helpful written and verbal feedback, I am very grateful to Kurt Blankschaen, Dan Demetriou, Bob Fischer, Jens Johansson, Adam Lerner, Vicente Medina, Amanda Timmerman, and my audience at New York University, the Central APA, and the College of New Jersey.
43. Rapula Moatshe, "Oom Paul Statue Excluded from Monument; EFF Threat [sic] to Topple It," *Pretoria News*, January 29, 2018, <https://www.iol.co.za/pretoria-news/oom-paul-statue-excluded-from-monument-eff-threat-to-topple-it-12988851>.
44. Marianne Thamm, "Afrikaner Singer Chains Herself to Vandalised South African Statue," *The Guardian*, April 10, 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/apr/10/afrikaner-singer-chains-herself-to-vandalised-south-african-statue>.
45. Sarel van der Walt, "Paul Kruger to Get New Neighbours at Pretoria's Church Square," *Netwerk24*, May 19, 2017, <https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/paul-kruger-to-get-new-neighbours-at-pretorias-church-square-20170519>.
46. Haag, "Judge Orders."
47. James C. Cobb, "How Did Robert E. Lee Become an American Icon?" *Humanities: The Magazine of the National Endowment of the Humanities* 32, no. 4 (2011), <https://www.neh.gov/humanities/2011/julyaugust/feature/how-did-robert-lee-become-american-icon>.
48. IellKaeliSubberwal, "Several States Have Erected Laws To Protect Confederate Monuments," August 17, 2017, https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/states-confederate-statue-laws_us_5996312be4b0e8cc855cb2ab.
49. "Unite the Right Rally," *Wikipedia*, accessed December 15, 2017, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Unite_the_Right_rally.
50. Demetriou and Wingo, "The Ethics of Racist Monuments."
51. I must ignore, for instance, the critical importance of longstanding traditions of civic honor—in which memorialization plays a key role—to combating tyranny and kleptocracy by elites, and encouraging civic sacrifice from high and low alike. Dan Demetriou, "Civic Immortality: The Problem of Civic Honor in Africa and the West," *Journal of Ethics* 19, no. 3–4 (2015): 257–276.
52. For an example of an anti-tribalist conservatism, see Jonah Goldberg, *Suicide of the West: How the Rebirth of Tribalism, Populism, Nationalism, and Identity Politics Is Destroying American Democracy* (New York: Crown Forum, 2018).

53. See among many sources Aristotle, *Politics, The Basic Works of Aristotle*, edited by Richard McKeon, translated by Benjamin Jowett (New York: Random House, 1941); Joshua Greene, *Moral Tribes: Emotion, Reason, and the Gap Between Us and Them* (New York: Penguin, 2013); Robert Sapolsky, *Behave: The Biology of Humans at Our Best and Worst* (New York: Penguin, 2017); Amy Chua, *Political Tribes: Group Instinct and the Fate of Nations* (New York: Penguin, 2018).
54. Leftists typically acknowledge this dynamic in Africa especially, where political instability is often attributed to the legacy of “artificial” colonial borders that don’t reflect tribal affiliation (see, e.g., James Brook, “In Africa, Tribal Hatreds Defy the Borders of State,” *New York Times*, August 28, 1988, <https://www.nytimes.com/1988/08/28/weekinreview/the-world-in-africa-tribal-hatreds-defy-the-borders-of-state.html>). Rightists point out that there is a cautionary lesson here for Western nations as well.
55. Maciek Chudek, Wanying Zhao, and Joseph Henrich, “Culture–Gene Coevolution, Large-Scale Cooperation and the Shaping of Human Social Psychology,” in *Signaling, Commitment, and Emotion*, edited by Richard Joyce, Kim Sterelny, and Brett Calcott (Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 2013), 425–458.
56. “Statement by Ms. Karima Bennouna, Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights, at the 71st session of the General Assembly,” Office of the High Commissioner, UN, October 26, 2016, <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=20831&LangID=E>.
57. “Liberty, as a principle, has no application to any state of things anterior to the time when mankind have become capable of being improved by free and equal discussion. Until then, there is nothing for them but implicit obedience to an Akbar or a Charlemagne, if they are so fortunate as to find one.” John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, Chapter 1, <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/34901/34901-h/34901-h.htm>.
58. John Stuart Mill, *Representative Government*, Chapter 16, https://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/m/mill/john_stuart/m645r/chapter16.html.
59. Mill, *Representative Government*, Chapter 16.
60. Current research suggests that ethnic diversity either lowers social trust or lowers social trust for whites in particular, who have uniquely high social trust when they are in homogenous white areas. See especially Peter Thisted Dinesen and Kim Mannemar Sønderskov, “Ethnic Diversity and Social Trust: A Critical Review of the Literature and Suggestions for a Research Agenda,” in *Oxford Handbook of Social and Political Trust*, edited by Eric Uslaner (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 175–204; Maria Abascal and Delia Baldassarri, “Love Thy Neighbor? Ethnoracial Diversity and Trust Reexamined,” *American Journal of Sociology* 121, no. 3 (2015): 722–782.
61. Robert Putnam, “E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-First Century,” *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 30 (2007): 137–174.
62. “Tribalism, it’s always worth remembering, is not one aspect of human experience. It’s the default human experience,” Andrew Sullivan, “America Wasn’t Built for Humans,” *New York Magazine*, September 19, 2017, <http://nymag.com/daily/intelligencer/2017/09/can-democracy-survive-tribalism.html>.
63. Thomas Babington Macaulay, *Lays of Ancient Rome*, <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/847/847-h/847-h.htm>.
64. Joseph Henrich, Steven Heine, and Ara Norenzayan, “The Weirdest People in the World?” *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 33, no. 2–3 (2010): 61–82.
65. Skepticism about the sustainability of multicultural states is not warranted merely by recent history: see *inter alia* Ross Hammond and Robert Axelrod, “The Evolution of Ethnocentrism,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50 (2006): 926–936; Max Hartshorn,

- Artem Kaznatcheev, and Thomas Shultz, "The Evolutionary Dominance of Ethnocentric Cooperation," *Journal of Artificial Societies and Social Simulation* 16, no. 3 (2013): 7.
66. Alberto Avalos, "50k 'Gen Z' Students Identify as Republican," *Hispanic Heritage Foundation*, October 27, 2016, <http://hispanicheritage.org/50000-generation-z-high-school-students-identify-republican/>; Perry Bacon, Jr., "Charlottesville and the Rise of White Identity Politics," *FiveThirtyEight*, August 14, 2017, <https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/charlottesville-and-the-rise-of-white-identity-politics/>.
 67. Christ Tomlinson, "Belgian Islamic Party Announces '100 Per Cent Islamic State' as End Goal," *Breitbart*, April 7, 2018, <http://www.breitbart.com/london/2018/04/07/belgian-islamic-party-announces-islamic-state-end-goal/>.
 68. Sumantra Maitra, "Methods Behind the Campus Madness," *Quillette*, March 7, 2017, <http://quillette.com/2017/03/07/methods-behind-the-campus-madness/>.
 69. See, for example, David Shimer, "Germany Raids Homes of 36 People Accused of Hateful Postings Over Social Media," *New York Times*, June 20, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/20/world/europe/germany-36-accused-of-hateful-postings-over-social-media.html>.
 70. Ahmed Areff, "'We Are Cutting the Throat of Whiteness'—Malema on Plans to Remove Trollip," *News24*, March 4, 2018, <https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/we-are-cutting-the-throat-of-whiteness-malema-on-plans-to-remove-trollip-20180304>.
 71. Note how the institutions that Putnam, in "E Pluribus Unum," says overcome ethnic divisions are ones that have strong conservative ethics: sports, the military, the churches.
 72. E.g., the short recommendations published in "Tear Down the Confederate Monuments—But What Next? 12 Art Historians and Scholars on the Way Forward," *Artnet News*, August 23, 2017, <https://news.artnet.com/art-world/confederate-monuments-experts-1058411>.
 73. Aphiwe DeKlerk, "Statues of Royal Prisoners Unveiled at Castle of Good Hope Commemoration," *Business Day*, <https://www.businesslive.co.za/bd/life/2016-12-11-statues-of-royal-prisoners-unveiled-at-castle-of-good-hope-commemoration/>.
 74. "Battle of Liberty Place Monument," *Wikipedia*, accessed April 8, 2018, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Liberty_Place_Monument.
 75. On the irrationality of political symbols, see Ajume Wingo, *Veil Politics in Liberal Democratic States* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
 76. Charmaine Nelson, "Racist Monuments Don't Belong in Public. But They Could in a Museum," *Huffpost*, September 28, 2017, https://www.huffingtonpost.ca/charmaine-nelson/racist-monuments-dont-belong-in-public-but-they-could-in-a-museum_a_23224080/.
 77. "Rye: White Supremacist Statues Need to be Removed," *CNN*, August 18, 2017, <http://edition.cnn.com/videos/politics/2017/08/18/angela-rye-statues-washington-jefferson-lee-come-down-sot-ath.cnn>.
 78. If indeed monuments should dwell on telling a story about peoples rather than ideas, then mass immigration is bound to undermine any memorializing culture, and thus culture, but this point will take us too far afield.
 79. In many current polls, about 30% of American blacks still oppose removal of Confederate monuments (while about 50% support it; support among whites is almost double that). See, e.g., Ariel Edwards-Levy, "Polls Find Little Support for Confederate Statue Removal—But How You Ask Matters," *HuffPost*, August 23, 2017, https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/confederate-statues-removal-polls_us_599de056e4b05710aa59841c.

80. "Arts, Culture and Heritage White Paper: 'All Our Legacies, Our Common Future,'" Department of Arts and Culture, June 4, 1996, http://ocpa.irmo.hr/resources/docs/South_Africa_White_Paper_Arts_Culture-en.pdf; Annie Coombes, *History After Apartheid: Visual Culture and Public Memory in a Democratic South Africa* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003); Mcebisi Ndletyana and Denver A. Webb, "Social Divisions Carved in Stone or Cenotaphs to a New Identity? Policy for Memorials, Monuments and Statues in a Democratic South Africa," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 23, no. 2 (2016): 97–110. It's worth bearing in mind that Mandela—who is not considered a rightist—was the son of a traditional Xhosa kingmaker, and had great instincts for building tribal unity among old enemies.
81. This research was generously supported by UC Riverside's Templeton-funded Immortality Project and the University of Minnesota's Grant-in-Aid program.
82. *Wikipedia*, "Destruction under the Mongol Empire," accessed July 2, 2018, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Destruction_under_the_Mongol_Empire.
83. Burke, "'Racist' Gandhi Statue." (Gandhi apparently said some disparaging things about blacks when he was a South African.)
84. "American Civil War," *Wikipedia*, accessed June 21, 2018, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American_Civil_War.
85. Many black Americans appear to agree. The most recent major opinion polls on Confederate monuments were conducted in August 2017. According to a HuffPost/YouGov poll, about 47% of black Americans think that Confederate monuments are more symbolic of "racism" than "Southern pride," while 17% answered the converse, and 35% answered "not sure." About half of black Americans polled approved of removing Charlottesville's Lee statue (this poll was taken shortly after the "Unite the Right" rally discussed in both main essays), while 11% disapproved and 40% had no opinion. See Edwards-Levy, "Polls Find Little Support." In an NPR/PBS poll conducted around the same time that asked people whether Confederate statues should "remain as historical symbols" or "be removed because they are offensive to some people," black Americans responded 44% in favor of maintaining the monuments as historical symbols and 40% in favor of removing them because they are offensive (<http://maristpoll.marist.edu/nprpbs-newshourmarist-poll-results-on-charlottesville/>).
86. For instance, many on the right felt that the National Football League players who protested police violence by "taking a knee" during the national anthem were being unpatriotic, while leftists saw the same demonstration as affirming American values; e.g., Conor Friedersdorf, "Kneeling for Life and Liberty Is Patriotic," *The Atlantic*, September 25, 2017, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2017/09/kneeling-for-life-and-liberty-is-patriotic/540942/>.
87. I cannot delve into the question of our responsibility to accommodate irrational outrage for the sake of civic cohesion here, but I do think we must take the psychological tolerances of peoples as realistically and nonjudgmentally as we do ecological constraints on development.
88. E.g., the case of Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn*, which many people interpret as racist or at least too racially offensive to assign in schools.
89. Antwaun Sargent, "To Fight Racism Within Museums, They Need to Stop Acting Like They're Neutral," *Vice*, May 21, 2018, https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/pavpkn/to-fight-racism-within-museums-they-need-to-stop-acting-like-theyre-neutral.
90. The average American moves eleven times in his or her lifetime, so descendants of Old South stock are likely to grow up elsewhere and lose their Southern white identities.

Adam Chandler, "Why Do Americans Move So Much More Than Europeans?" *The Atlantic*, October 21, 2016, <https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2016/10/us-geographic-mobility/504968/>.

91. Indeed, iconoclasm on these terms will serve as a cautionary example for any nation contemplating diversifying its population or its political power, for very few natives would allow in foreign populations if doing so meant losing the ability to memorialize their own ancestors and culture heroes.