

The University of Southern Mississippi
The Aquila Digital Community

Dissertations

Spring 2019

The Rebel Made Me Do It: Mascots, Race, and the Lost Cause

Patrick Smith
University of Southern Mississippi

Follow this and additional works at: <https://aquila.usm.edu/dissertations>



Part of the [Cultural History Commons](#), and the [Human Geography Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Smith, Patrick, "The Rebel Made Me Do It: Mascots, Race, and the Lost Cause" (2019). *Dissertations*. 1654.

<https://aquila.usm.edu/dissertations/1654>

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by The Aquila Digital Community. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations by an authorized administrator of The Aquila Digital Community. For more information, please contact Joshua.Cromwell@usm.edu.

THE REBEL MADE ME DO IT: MASCOTS, RACE, AND THE LOST CAUSE

by

Patrick Caleb Smith

A Dissertation
Submitted to the Graduate School,
the College of Arts and Sciences
and the School of Biological, Environmental, and Earth Sciences
at The University of Southern Mississippi
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Approved by:

Dr. Clifton “Skeeter” Dixon, Committee Chair
Dr. David Cochran
Dr. Andrew Haley
Dr. Mark Miller
Dr. Andy Reese

Dr. Clifton Dixon
Committee Chair

Dr. Jake Schaefer
Director of School

Dr. Karen S. Coats
Dean of the Graduate School

May 2019

COPYRIGHT BY

Patrick Caleb Smith

2019

Published by the Graduate School



ABSTRACT

THE REBEL MADE ME DO IT: MASCOTS, RACE, AND THE LOST CAUSE

by Patrick Caleb Smith

May 2019

Public memory is commonly tied to street names, toponyms, and monuments because they are interacted with daily and are often directly associated with race, class, and regimes of power. Mascots are not thought of in the same manner although they are present as part of everyday life. The childish or sometimes comedic nature of the mascot discounts it from many considerations of its influence, symbolism and history. Nonetheless this research focuses on the term “Rebel” as a secondary school mascot. The term possesses the trappings of race because the American vernacular ties the word to the Confederate States of America and its slave-holding foundation. The issue is that the images, terms, and iconography utilized by many schools with a Rebel mascot is sometimes similar to symbols adopted by many White supremacist groups across the country. The five chapters in this document are united under the topic of Rebel mascots in secondary schools addressing the 1.) distribution of the mascots, 2.) history of selection, and 3.) occurrence of removal. These studies use data from yearbooks, sports databases, newspaper articles, and various websites to construct catalogs of Rebel mascots from the past century. This research finds that Rebel is a term that still retains a connection to the Confederacy and a vernacular link to the American South. There are also significant regional and racial connections related to the term, particularly the Confederate version of the Rebel. Selection of the mascot can be tied to race and the removal or alteration of the Rebel mascot may be connected to racially charged events.

The mascot still retains significant currency as a term tied to the Lost Cause and remains a hot-button issue due to the deep connections of schools to their identity through naming. The issue is further compounded by implicit bias and the fear of guilt by association, whereby schools attempt to reinterpret, rename, remove, or distance themselves from the Confederate version of Rebel to avoid controversy.

Key Words: rebels, mascots, cultural landscape, vernacular regionalism, race

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First I want to thank my dissertation committee. My chair, C. “Skeeter” Dixon has been a great advisor and rolled with the changes as I flittered from one topic to the next. He has been very patient with my eagerness to move on to the next thing. David Cochran, thank you for helping me become a better writer as I sought my academic voice. Andrew Haley, thanks for giving me new perspectives and approaches. Mark Miller, thank you for keeping me focused and grounded in theory. Andy Reese, thank you for pushing me to go deeper, asking more questions.

I would also like to thank my other encouragers, cheerleaders, and supporters including Myron Noonkester, Jonathan Brooke, Mark Nicovich, Andy Hilburn, Carrie Mott, Casey Barefield, Joshua Eaton, Michael Yarbrough, Hayley Patterson, Angie Adams, Fred Shelley, Tom Bell, Peggy Gripshover, Paul McDaniel, Jonathan Leib, Steven Ericson, Ronnie Bishop, LeAnne Nixon, John Blackmon, and Paige McCardle. Without your kind words and encouragement, I could not have made this long journey.

Finally, I want to thank my family including my in-laws, Bobby and Nicki, and my parents, Alvin and Patsy. My sister, Drew, and her family also deserve thanks for their encouragement. Last, but not least, I want to thank my research partner and life partner, Erin. You humored me when we took a three-hour detour through parts of Arkansas and when we stopped at every Rebel school between Nashville and Ellisville. Without my lovely bride, I would have quit this journey a long time ago. Thanks for always being there.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my wife, Erin, and my two kids, Bennett and Norah. Honey, I owe you a cruise.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	ii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iv
DEDICATION	v
LIST OF TABLES	xi
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	xii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xiv
PROLOGUE – STARTING THE REBELLION	1
CHAPTER I – A WOLF IN REBEL CLOTHING	6
1.1 Literature Review	8
1.1.1 Cultural Landscape	9
1.1.2 Mascots	10
1.1.2.1 Native Mascots	12
1.1.2.2 Rebel Mascots	13
1.1.3 Symbols	16
1.1.4 Memory and the Lost Cause	18
1.1.5 Racialized Landscape	20
1.2 Research Questions	22
1.2.1 Question 1	24
1.2.2 Question 2	24

1.2.3 Question 3.....	25
1.2.4 Research Scope.....	25
1.2.5 Methodology	26
1.3 Organization of Study	29
CHAPTER II – A REBEL’S HOME.....	32
2.1 Spatial Distribution of Rebels	34
2.1.1 Methodology of Study.....	35
2.1.2 Findings	36
2.1.3 Discussion	42
2.1.3.1 School Names and Identity	44
2.1.3.2 Vernacular Regionalism.....	46
2.1.3.3 Demographics	46
2.2 Rebel Subsets Study.....	48
2.2.1 Confederate Rebels.....	48
2.2.2 Western Rebels.....	51
2.2.3 Revolutionary Rebels	52
2.2.4 Other Rebels	53
2.2.5 Lettering Only	54
2.3 Subset Spatial Findings.....	55
2.4 Subset Statistical Findings	59

2.4.1 Analysis of Demographics	62
2.4.2 Centroids of Subsets	63
2.5 Overview	65
CHAPTER III – A HISTORY OF REBELLION	69
3.1 The Issues of Selecting a Name	70
3.2 Messaging of a Mascot	73
3.3 Rebel Mascots and History	76
3.3.1 Rebels at the Start of the Twentieth Century	76
3.3.2 Commemorating Rebels	77
3.3.3 Rise of the Unreconstructed Rebel	78
3.4 Timeline Study	80
3.5 Historical Findings	82
3.5.1 Phase 1: 1930-1977	85
3.5.2 Phases 2 and 3: 1977-Present	91
3.6 Spatial Findings	93
3.6.1 Early Adopters	95
3.6.2 The Response to School Integration	97
3.6.3 Post-Integration: 1972-Present	97
3.6.4 Long-term Trend of Rebels	98
3.7 Overview	100

CHAPTER IV – FROM REBELLION TO REBEL LION: CHANGING MASCOTS. 104

4.1 Deconfederalization	107
4.1.1 The Process of Deconfederalization	107
4.1.2 Resistance to Deconfederalization	109
4.2 Landscape Change	111
4.2.1 Motivators of Landscape Change	112
4.2.2 Processes Behind Landscape Change	113
4.2.3 Fluidity of Landscape	114
4.3 Research Methodology	114
4.4 Research Findings	115
4.4.1 Mascot Removal	116
4.4.2 Rebel Mascot Deconfederalization	119
4.4.3 Closed Rebel Schools	123
4.4.4 Spatial Patterns of Removals, Alterations, and Closures	124
4.5 Discussion	129
4.5.1 The Process of Change	130
4.5.2 Demographic Shifts and Change	134
4.5.3 Spatial Mutability	136
4.6 Overview	137

CHAPTER V – THE END OF THE REBEL? 140

5.1 History and Regionalism.....	140
5.2 The Harm of the Rebel.....	143
5.3 The Power of Symbols.....	148
5.4 Social Context.....	149
5.5 The Role of Schools.....	153
5.6 Further Implications.....	156
APPENDIX A– LISTING OF SCHOOLS	163
APPENDIX B – REBEL SUBSETS	201
APPENDIX C – STATE DISTRIBUTION OF REBEL MASCOTS	208
REFERENCES	210

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1 One Sample t-test of Rebel Schools	40
Table 2.2 ANOVA Results Based on School Location	41
Table 2.3 Descriptive Statistics of Rebel Subsets.....	59
Table 2.4 ANOVA of Demographics of Rebel Subgroups.....	62

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure P.1 Bumper Sticker using Confederate Battle Flag	3
Figure P.2 Rebel Mascots in Secondary Schools as of June 1, 2018.....	4
Figure 1.1 <i>Colonel Reb</i> mascot of now defunct Natchez-Adams High School.....	14
Figure 1.2 Hey Reb mascot of United South Central High School, Wells, MN	15
Figure 1.3 Image from Ku Klux Klan Flyer	22
Figure 1.4 Welcome Sign of Highland High, Hardy, Arkansas	22
Figure 2.1 Rebel Mascots in Secondary Schools, June 1, 2018	37
Figure 2.2 Harrison Central High School Signage	38
Figure 2.3 Carroll Academy, Mississippi, Football Program	49
Figure 2.4 Confederate Cavalry Soldier of Franklin High, Tennessee, circa 1980	50
Figure 2.5 Gladbrook-Reinbeck, Iowa, Rebel Mascot	50
Figure 2.6 Iteration of Hey Reb at Sanborn Central, South Dakota	52
Figure 2.7 Revolutionary Rebel from Altmar-Parish-Williamstown, New York.....	53
Figure 2.8 Mascot of Laona-Wabeno High, Wisconsin	54
Figure 2.9 West Monroe, Louisiana School Logo	55
Figure 2.10 Distribution of Rebel Subsets.....	56
Figure 2.11 Confederate Rebels Map	56
Figure 2.12 Western Rebels Map.....	57
Figure 2.13 Revolutionary Rebels Map	57
Figure 2.14 Rebel Schools with “Other” Mascot Map	57
Figure 2.15 Rebel Schools Lacking an Anthropomorphic Mascot Map	58
Figure 2.16 Centroids of Rebel Subsets.....	63

Figure 3.1 Timeline of Rebel and Confederate Rebel Mascots	84
Figure 3.2 T-shirt from Summerfield High, Louisiana.....	89
Figure 3.3 Mascot at Briarfield Academy, Lake Providence, LA	90
Figure 3.4 Locations of all Rebel Mascots (1930-Present).....	94
Figure 3.5 Private School Expansion of Rebel Mascots 1954-1972	96
Figure 3.6 Public School Expansion of Rebel Mascots 1954-1972.....	96
Figure 3.7 Decadal Centroids of Rebels and Confederate Rebels	99
Figure 4.1 Causes of Decline of Rebel Mascots 1950-2018.....	115
Figure 4.2 Timeline of Mascot Changes 1950-2018	115
Figure 4.3 Mascot Removals 1950-2018	116
Figure 4.4 Forest Hill High Old and New Mascots	119
Figure 4.5 Deconfederalized Rebel Mascots 1950-2018.....	119
Figure 4.6 Deconfederalized mascot of South Albany, Oregon	121
Figure 4.7 Timeline of Rebel Schools that Closed	123
Figure 4.8 Map of Schools that Dropped Rebel Mascots	124
Figure 4.9 Map of Deconfederalized Schools.....	125
Figure 4.10 Map of Rebel Schools that Closed 1954-2018.....	126
Figure 5.1 Logos of the Confederates of Caledonia High School, Mississippi.....	159

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AIM</i>	American Indian Movement
<i>AME</i>	African Methodist Episcopal Church
<i>ANOVA</i>	Analysis of Variation
<i>CSA</i>	The Confederate States of America
<i>G.I. Bill</i>	Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944
<i>KKK</i>	Ku Klux Klan
<i>LA</i>	Los Angeles
<i>LCA</i>	Lawrence County Academy
<i>LGBT</i>	Lesbian, Gay, Bi-Sexual, Transgender
<i>NAACP</i>	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
<i>NCAA</i>	National Collegiate Athletic Association
<i>NCES</i>	National Center for Educational Statistics
<i>SBHS</i>	South Burlington High School
<i>SLZ</i>	San Lorenzo High School
<i>SPSS</i>	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
<i>UNLV</i>	University of Nevada- Las Vegas
<i>UN-Reno</i>	University of Nevada- Reno

PROLOGUE – STARTING THE REBELLION

The term rebel can loosely be defined as one who veers from the norm or fights against the establishment; however, rebel has several sub-definitions and multiple interpretations. The word has spatial and temporal links that unite American Revolutionary soldiers, insurgents in Somalia, punk rockers, out-of-the box thinkers, and leather-clad motorcycle riders. Rebel can be a term used to identify or classify. The label rebel can be positive in describing revolutionaries and savants and classify them as people deviating from the ordinary. Negative connotations of rebel are used to segregate people who are outsiders or who cause disorder. In the latter half of the 20th Century, the term has seen revivals in Western pop-culture through movies and music. James Dean's movie Rebel Without a Cause, the Star Wars franchise protagonist Rebel Alliance, Billy Idol's song "Rebel Yell", Portugal the Man singing, "I'm a rebel just for kicks" in his song, "I Feel it Still", and David Bowie's song "Rebel, Rebel" have all created pieces that redefine what it means to be a rebel injecting the term with additional designations. As new pop culture is created the term will morph and include additional ways to view the word and how it is defined.

The Confederate States of America provides another definition of rebel in the American vernacular that is still frequently used. Rebellions before the Civil War in American history like Shay's Rebellion and the Whisky Rebellion attached the term "rebels" to the participants, but the Civil War created cause for a longer adherence to the term with references to "Rebels" as early as 1861 (Gragg, 2002). Since the Civil War, rebel has been commonly used to refer back to people who fought for the Confederate States. Other American conflicts, like the Depression era farm riots of the northern Great

Plains, have occurred and brought new life into the term (Shover, 1964). Yet the word rebel is still commonly affiliated with Confederate soldiers and perpetuated through the eponymous and controversial banner, the Rebel Flag. The Rebel Flag is perhaps the most recognizable symbol of the Confederacy and is often directly tied to the word rebel (Webster & Leib, 2012). Since the 1860s, this flag has been utilized for many other reasons beyond symbolically representing the rebels, but is still termed The Rebel Flag.

The Rebel Flag has a distribution that reflects the historical footprint of the Lost Cause that glorified the Confederate States of America with a latter attachment of States' Rights and the platforms of White supremacy and White power. The flag is a symbol that has been used by people from Colorado to northern Italy in order to symbolize notions of white supremacy, school spirit, nationalism, rebellion, or the memory of the Confederacy (Horowitz, 1998; Leib, 2007; Webster and Leib, 2012). The flag is commonly found near Confederate memorials, on Confederate graves- specifically around Confederate Memorial Day- and on the State Flag of Mississippi. It is the most common symbol of the Lost Cause ideology that serves as a reminder of the noble Confederate soldiers and what they fought to preserve. It can also be seen on bumper stickers, car tags, and body art for various reasons and interpretations. However, the flag still carries the sometimes-negative term rebel as a descriptor. The State of South Carolina flew the Rebel flag over the South Carolina Statehouse for decades as a symbol of State's Rights serving as one example where the term rebel and geography intersect on a public landscape (Webster & Leib, 2016). Counting and noting the placement of the flag at certain locations is but one method to measure the lasting impression of rebel upon

the cultural landscape. There are, however, other means to demonstrate the imprint of the term rebel upon the cultural and political landscape.



Figure P.1 Bumper Sticker using Confederate Battle Flag

Beyond the flag, a different way to measure the distribution of rebels and the iconography of the Confederacy is through studying Rebel mascots. Mascots are popular elements of culture because they are linked to educational institutions that unite alumni with those who support and currently attend the institution. Beyond schools, mascots also collectivize fans of larger sports teams: collegiate, semi-professional, and professional. They group people into units that can identify with others who share the same passion and support the same entity. Mascots also reflect a history, culture, and geography based on their names and appearances. American rebels are varied in their presentation and in their distribution. Because of the common association of rebel with the American South and its ties to the Confederacy, one would assume that most Rebel mascots are located in the states that comprised the CSA. However, Figure P.2, displays the distribution of secondary school Rebel mascots as of June 1, 2018, and illustrates a wide expanse of Rebels across the country. Rebel mascots spread from Kirkland, Washington, to St. Petersburg, Florida. They are present in forty-one states and range from cities as large as Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania to communities as small as Hickory Flat, Mississippi. In these

findings, it is important to note that not all Rebel mascots are considered Confederate. There are multiple interpretations and presentations of the mascot beyond those of the Confederacy.

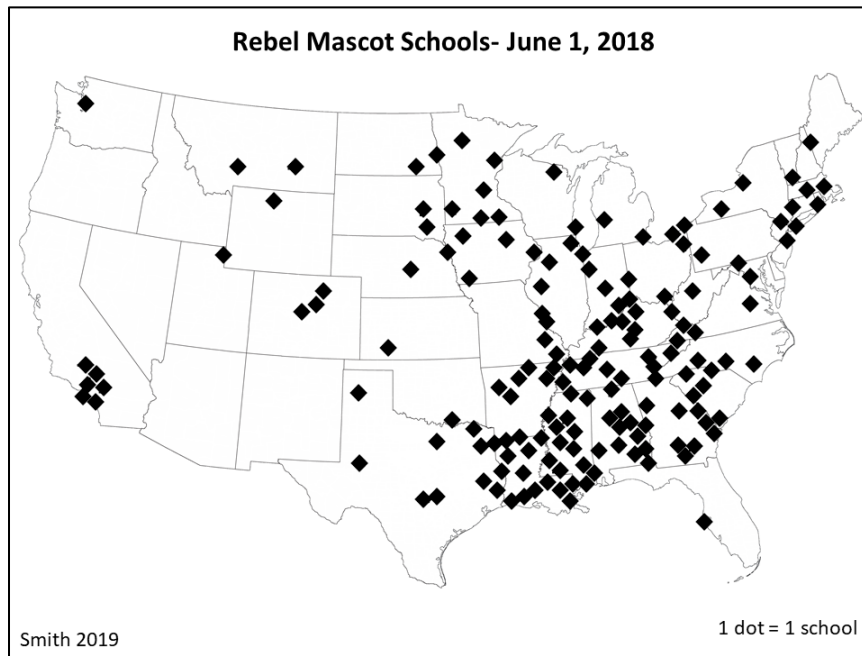


Figure P.2 Rebel Mascots in Secondary Schools as of June 1, 2018

This research uses Figure P.2 as a primer to the main research question of this dissertation: “How do schools in the United States with a Rebel name represent themselves?” More specifically, the question is one of iconography: “How does a school with a Rebel mascot use the name without using Confederate images that could be viewed as offensive?” The map above presents 162 schools with Rebel mascots; a decrease of nearly thirty in the past three decades (Dorsey, 1991). The decrease means there is a reason why the map has less Rebels than it did in the past. This research will analyze that decrease through three related studies. These three studies will answer the

questions of representation and Confederate imagery by discussing the current state of Rebel mascots, how rebel mascots got their start, and what has caused the decline in number. The research question for study 1 asks, “Is there a spatial distribution of Rebel mascots and Rebel mascot subsets?” Study 2 will answer the research question, “What is the selection process of Rebel mascots and are there spatial and temporal patterns of selection?” The third study focuses on the decline in number by asking, “What are the spatial and temporal patterns of alterations and changes to Rebel mascots?”

There have been controversies over Rebel mascots at Division I universities like the University of Nevada-Las Vegas and the University of Mississippi (Khayat, 2013; UNLV.edu, 2014). The University of Nevada-Las Vegas and the University of Mississippi have both been discussed by academics because of their Rebel mascots, but the topic lacks scholarly coverage concerning Rebels at the secondary school level. This dissertation investigates secondary school Rebel mascots and their history and relationship to the Confederate icons that are also affiliated with the term. Figure P.2 challenges the myth that rebels are isolated to the American South or that associations with the term are only affiliated with the Confederacy. Rebel mascots are spread across the U.S. and need to be discussed, especially with the changing cultural climate related to Confederate memory and Confederate images (Kurtz, 2015; Inwood & Alderman, 2016; Webster & Leib, 2016; and Hardin, 2017). Rebel ties to the Confederacy, which were perpetuated by the Lost Cause, can be difficult and strained because of the contentious connections with white supremacy leading to conflicting messages of school spirit and white power.

CHAPTER I – A WOLF IN REBEL CLOTHING

Dylann Roof's murder of nine parishioners at Emanuel AME Church in Charleston, South Carolina, in 2015 became an important event in American history in that it reframed the prevalence of Confederate icons on the American cultural landscape. After the shooting, investigators and news agencies uncovered Roof's motives and his desire to start a race war (Inwood and Alderman, 2016). A digital forensic analysis of Roof revealed a significant amount of racially charged hatred accompanied by a multitude of neo-Confederate icons and symbols. News agencies throughout the country investigated the reason why Roof associated himself with icons that glorified the Confederate States of America and perpetuated sentiments of white supremacy. This analysis of Roof's interest in Confederate icons expanded to investigations of public Confederate iconography in cities like Baltimore and New Orleans, as well as small towns like South Burlington, Vermont (Kurtz, 2016). In South Burlington, the *Burlington Free Press* began looking at the Rebel mascot used at the local high school, probing the name and Confederate-themed past of the school (DeSmet, 2017c). The media attention led faculty and staff to reconsider the appearance of the Rebel mascot and the Confederate iconography that adorned the school from the 1960s until 2015. Local groups and a state senator backed a call to change the Rebel mascot at South Burlington for good, eliminating the mascot that once glorified the Confederacy, and preventing any chance of misinterpretation.

On February 1, 2017, the district's superintendent announced that the district would drop the Rebel and opt for a new, more inclusive mascot chosen with input from the student body (South Burlington Schools, 2017). Many welcomed the change, but

some formed opposition groups to fight the conversion, demanding more community input before the decision was fully implemented (Chaffee, 2017; Walsh, 2017).

Opponents of the mascot removal utilized the district's budget vote as a proxy vote for changing the mascot, voting it down twice (DeSmet, 2017a; DeSmet 2017b). However, the opposition lost support after a student who led the charge for change was accosted in a store for being the face of opposition and another student spray-painted racist graffiti on the school's lacrosse field. In the months that followed, a series of e-mail threats were made toward the school and specific teachers and students were threatened with harm if the mascot was changed (DeSmet, 2017b). One student was arrested for the threats and another arrested for vandalizing the field. The change occurred, nonetheless, and the "Rebels" became the "Wolves" in August 2017.

This change was not isolated to South Burlington as calls for removal of school mascots spread across the country. In Toledo, Ohio, Bowsher High has recently engaged in vigorous debate over its Confederate Rebel mascot (Elms, 2017). The school dropped its Confederate banner in the mid-2000s, but still retains a Confederate soldier as the school's logo. Likewise, Anaheim, California's, Savanna High School and Rich County High in Randolph, Utah, changed their presentations of Rebel mascots in the wake of the Charleston shooting (Henline, 2017; Robinson, 2017). Yet the changes were not limited to areas outside the American South. Boone County High, Kentucky, removed its Rebel mascot citing the 2015 Charleston Shooting and 2017 protests in Charlottesville, Virginia, as reasons to abandon its Confederate soldier icon (Reinert, 2017). Vestavia Hills High, Alabama, also muted its Rebel iconography in 2015 after the Charleston Shooting (Turpen, 2015). The Vestavia Schools Superintendent cited a need to change

after she received a significant amount of community feedback concerning the school's mascot in the summer of 2015. The debated issue of Confederate Rebel mascots, which is a key element of this study, is deeply emotional and cuts to the core of identity and the sense of camaraderie because mascots are symbolic of institutions, entities, teams, cities, and groups.

1.1 Literature Review

This study is a cultural/historical review of Rebel mascots in secondary schools across the United States that needs attention because of the recurring pattern of violent actions, national reactions, and local changes. Geographers have addressed Confederate icons on the landscape beginning with John Winberry's study of Confederate statues in town squares (1983). Winberry's landmark work featured a discussion of the site and situation of these monuments and how they served a role as memory-shaper and political unifier. Outside of geography, historian Gaines Foster also discussed the role of Confederate monuments highlighting the overlap between the timeline of establishment of monuments and coinciding with the growth of the Lost Cause mythology as a political unifier (1987). Geographers Gerald Webster and Jonathan Leib have published many articles and chapters related to Confederate icons on the landscape with most of their focus upon the Confederate Battle Flag or Rebel flag (Webster, 1998; Webster & Leib, 2001; Leib, 2007; Leib & Webster, 2012;). A popular topic of both is public displays of the Confederate flag by states. Georgia, South Carolina, and Mississippi have histories of Confederate flag usage in an official state capacity that complicates race relations and messages of inclusiveness. Ezra Zeitler's dissertation addresses the spatial aspects of Native mascots, the other highly controversial mascots aside from Rebels (2008). Beyond

these researchers, there has been little, if any, research related to studies that are geographical in nature that are tangentially concerned with Rebel mascots.

Other academic fields have not filled this gap in research either. King and Springwood (2000), anthropologists by trade, have discussed mascots and their representation, specifically Native mascots on college campuses. Connolly (2000) and King, et al. (2002) also discussed Native mascots and the political and financial ties that prevent or promote the presence of collegiate Native mascots. Colleges with Rebel mascots have not been as popular of a topic but have been discussed on occasion. The University of Mississippi is the poster-child institution studied in relation to Rebels and Confederate images (Cohodas, 1997; Eubanks, 2004; and Khayat, 2013). The university has struggled for decades with how to continue its Rebel spirit without alienating students. It has suffered several setbacks with multiple aborted attempts to remove the mascot name and a failed attempt to rebrand the Rebel as a black bear. Tony Horowitz (1998) discusses high school Rebel mascots in Kentucky related to an incident where a student was shot and killed over flying a Rebel flag. According to Horowitz, the flag and mascot serve as relics of the Confederacy, which note favorable sentiments toward the Confederacy they still exist. Finally, there are glancing mentions of Rebel mascots by Davis (2001) and Cox (2011) as stereotypical images that shape perceptions of race in the American South. However, a full-scale study of secondary Rebel mascots has not occurred, thus there are no previous holistic studies of the topic.

1.1.1 Cultural Landscape

A study of Rebel mascots includes several key topics. First, mascots serve a symbolic role as an imprint upon the cultural landscape. Mascots are very popular across

the United States and have connections to the history and geography of a region or more specifically, an institution. As a symbol, there are layers of messages and meanings as well as interpretations both intentional and unintentional. As a part of the cultural landscape, Rebel mascots can be ingrained with race because they are most often connected to the Confederacy, a country founded to preserve slavery (Mississippi Secession Convention, 1861). Rebel mascots also carry history that can be linked to a specific event or group that may be contextualized in a framework of hero worship. Finally, the Rebel is linked to the vernacular American South through historical associations that connect “South” with images of the Confederacy. These key concepts comprise the arguments that will shape the rest of this dissertation and frame the research questions that follow a discussion of these themes.

1.1.2 Mascots

One may think that a mascot is a modern invention of professional and amateur sports, but mascots have served specific roles in cultures for centuries. Richard the Lionheart, the Lion of Judah, and the lion on the flag of Sri Lanka all highlight the historical usage of the lion as a totem or spirit animal. Some Native tribes around the Great Lakes divided their groups by animal names that reflected specific animal characteristics (Tuan, 2000). These symbols served to unite and retain cohesive bonds among members through common identifiable symbols. After the Civil War, professional sports teams became popular as industrialization allowed workers more leisure time (Putnam, 2000; Zeitler, 2008). Early professional teams adopted names that represented their sponsoring agency. Later professional and collegiate teams adopted names that featured animals or other descriptors as the popularity of mascots spread to universities.

By 1930, most colleges and many high schools had adopted some form of mascot to symbolize their school spirit (Zeitler, 2008). In the decades that followed, teams expanded their brands, developing specific styles and traditions, allowing them to craft unique identities.

Mascots are ubiquitous and assumed to be banal parts of pop culture, but they serve a specific role. Mascots are chosen to represent an institution or club in a way where the strength, cunning, or might of the mascot is similar to that of the team or school (Kidwell, 1999). The selection of a mascot has an impact on the fans, community, and opponents due to placement and presentation. Fight songs, cheers, school walls, fields of play, and uniforms all exhibit the spirit of the selected mascot and convey a message of unity and support for the school. These elements combine to form rote devotion where fans do not reflect on the “Wildcat” or “Bulldog” mascot that is presented, but swear allegiance by participating in support of the team (Leib, 2011). Fans become “Tigers” or “Bears” through performance by supporting their teams, but also by being in clubs or groups that are named for the mascot, reinforcing the need to be part of the institution (Hoelscher, 2003). These school clubs typically select names that tie back to the mascot such that a school with a Panther mascot may have a newspaper named *The Growl* and boosters of the Eagles may be called “The Aerie”. Reminders through naming the team, constant performances, and rituals create a feeling of belonging to the group and unite fans around an emblem that may be on a wall or field of play. The displays of these icons are not a haphazard occurrence but a scene in the “unspoken warfare” of power over what is represented (Foucault, 1980). Control over this landscape is

emblematic of control over the mascot, how it is depicted, and who determines its presentation - thus reinforcing allegiance through performativity on the landscape.

1.1.2.1 Native Mascots

There have been several instances where mascots have been the topic of discourses concerning the appearance of certain images. The most notable instance involves mascots modeled after Native Americans. Many Native mascots were selected in the early 1900s and were chosen in part because of the Native revolts in the previous decades (King et al, 2002). Natives were labeled as savage and fierce, so institutions selected indigenous icons to strike fear in their opponents. The selection also had racial implications because the indigenous images reinforced a stereotype of a feather-wearing, tomahawk-wielding warrior that was a caricature of a group of people (King and Springwood, 2000; Zeitler, 2008). In the 1970s the American Indian Movement (AIM) participated in open protest and began challenging the appearance of stereotypical Native mascots across the United States (Kidwell, 1999; Spindel, 2000; Zeitler, 2008). AIM changed the way people viewed mascots, leading to massive reform of professional, collegiate, and high school Native symbols (Connolly, 2000). Several schools dropped their Native names, choosing less offensive icons. Others retained their Native names but toned-down their stereotypical cultural appropriation of Native people and sought blessings from the tribes they represented. Some states even passed legislation banning Native American mascots because of the difficulty involved in honoring a people through sports without making a mockery of their traditions (Kidwell, 1999). Native mascots still exist, but are less controversial because of informed awareness that has led to changes in the last four decades.

1.1.2.2 Rebel Mascots

The other common and highly controversial mascot is the Rebel mascot. Rebels can have many different interpretations, but controversy surrounds the Confederate interpretation of the term. Schools that use the Confederate definition typically utilize the Confederate soldier or the *Colonel Reb* to symbolize Rebels (see Figure 1.1). Both support an ideal that the Confederacy is worthy of honoring or lampooning through the presentation and glorification of Confederate images and icons. The Rebel flag is sometimes utilized as the official school banner and a popular fight song of Rebel schools is “Dixie”. The issue of using a Rebel mascot is complicated because of the ties to the Confederacy and the use of the Confederate Battle Flag as a school banner. Todd Central High School in Elkton, KY, selected a Rebel mascot when the school opened in 1964 (Horowitz, 1998). The school selected the mascot because the county claims to be the birthplace of Confederate president Jefferson Davis. In 1995, two African American men shot Michael Westerman, a White graduate of Todd Central, during the Martin Luther King Jr. holiday because he was flying a Rebel flag from his truck. His girlfriend claimed the flag matched his truck and symbolized school spirit. The shooters stated that occupants of the truck shouted racist epithets at them. Either way, one man is dead and two more are in prison because of an incident tied to a mascot and a Rebel flag.

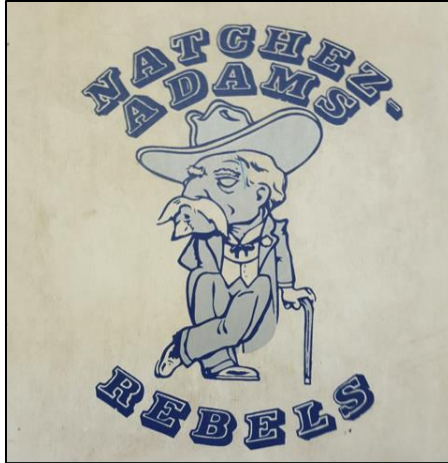


Figure 1.1 *Colonel Reb* mascot of now defunct Natchez-Adams High School

The University of Nevada-Las Vegas selected a Rebel mascot that tied the school to the Confederacy. The state of Nevada was never part of the Confederacy, but the state still had a post-secondary institution with a Confederate mascot. The university opened in 1957 as the Southern Division of the University of Nevada (UNLV.com, 2014). The college developed extracurricular activities and embraced its “Southern” identity, developing iconography around the name. As a southern branch of the University of Nevada-Reno, UNLV adopted the flagship university’s mascot Wolfpack and adapted it to fit the Southern name. Nevada-Las Vegas borrowed the Wolf from Reno and dressed him in Confederate garb, naming him *Beauregard* after Confederate general P.G.T. Beauregard. *Beau*, as the mascot was called, flew a Confederate flag and gave a wink as a tongue-in-cheek nod to in-state rival UN-Reno. The student body embraced the Southern identity holding a cotillion and placing the Confederate Battle Flag on the student newspaper. By the mid-1970s Black students at UNLV asked for the removal of the Confederate icons because they felt it did not present a message of diversity. In 1976, in

coordination with the American bi-centennial, the university utilized an image of an American Revolutionary soldier as its Rebel. In the early 1980s UNLV scrapped the soldier idea and implemented a new icon, *Hey Reb* (Figure 1.2). The new icon represented Nevada's pioneering spirit as the mascot donned a fringe jacket, musket, and oversized handlebar moustache. *Hey Reb*, now in his fourth iteration, still symbolizes UNLV as the Runnin' Rebel.



Figure 1.2 Hey Reb mascot of United South Central High School, Wells, MN.

(United South Central, 2017)

The University of Mississippi also has a Rebel mascot, but it has a much deeper affiliation and history with the Confederacy. The university lost nearly its entire student body and faculty at the Battle of Gettysburg, so it adopted the mascot University Greys to honor the lost soldiers (King & Springwood, 2001). In the early 1930s the university adopted the moniker “Flood” after the Great Mississippi River Flood of 1927. On the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Civil War, the university chose the name “Rebels” for its

mascot. In the decade that followed, the University of Mississippi added Colonel Reb (see Figure 3), grey uniforms for the band, “Dixie” as its fight song, and the Confederate flag as an unofficial banner (Cohodus, 1997; King and Springwood, 2001; Eubanks, 2004; and Khayat, 2013). Through the 1940s, 50s, and 60s, Confederate imagery at the university grew in popularity along with White resistance to the Civil Rights Movement, reaching an apex in 1962 with a speech at a university football game by Governor Ross Barnett that blurred school spirit with resistance to integration (Katagiri, 2001; Busbee, 2005). In the past three decades, the university has progressively phased-out Confederate imagery that may be viewed as offensive. The University of Mississippi has, on separate occasions, banned the Confederate flag, songs associated with the Confederacy, and the school’s plantation-owning mascot, *Colonel Reb*, in order to distance itself from the Confederacy (Khayat, 2013). The university endured a five-year period without a physical representation until it adopted a Black Bear in 2008 that was replaced by *Tony the Land Shark* in 2018, yet the Rebel name persists.

1.1.3 Symbols

Mascots are symbolic in their message like other logos, emblems, and totems. Symbols, according to Barthes (1964), have three factors: the symbol itself, the symbolized, and those who select the symbol. A symbol lacks any value if it does not have something to denote and an entity to give the symbol credence. Since a symbol points back to the party that gave it value, there is power imbued in its selection and its existence (Said, 1989). Power can be restrictive or permissive according to these symbols. A state uses flags, banners, national icons, cartoons, songs, and other symbols to shape minds and force ideas of nationalism upon people (Tuan, 1975; Brunn, 2011).

Symbols also store information that is interpreted by the viewer. They have an intention and a message that may be received for the purpose they were created, or may be viewed as innocuous (Appleby, et al, 1994). Symbols start out typically as ad hoc creations to denote a group or person, but are adapted into official terms over time (Rowntree and Conkey, 1980). In many cases mascots serve as symbols or markers of a group and are a form of communication, creating cohorts that alienate those who do not claim the same allegiances (Tuan, 2002; Jansson, 2003). This act of grouping and segregating into a fan base is fueled by words, cheers, mantras, songs, and gives power to emblems and colors that symbolize a city/team/school/institution and fans.

Symbols though are mutable and prone to reinterpretation. Cultural and generational changes can reinterpret symbols and their definitions (Rowntree and Conkey, 1980). Transfers of power, such as regime changes, or memory loss over time can alter a symbol to a point where it can completely lose its initial meaning (Rose-Redwood, et al., 2010). These generational and power changes redefine symbols and can create conflicts between traditionalist and progressives who have varying opinions over the role of the symbol. Terms and symbols are stuck to groups like Velcro; they have a lasting connection but can be repositioned or adhered to new items (Appleby et al., 1994). When changes occur, especially concerning team names and mascots, a person's deep affiliation with a team can make it difficult to cope with changes or alterations to the presentation of his/her squad, even if the only change is an addition to a color scheme. Yet many mascots are changed over time to modernize a brand or remove offensive or questionable symbols. Resistance over change by the fan base could be linked to larger issues far beyond a team, uniform, or icon (Delaney, 2002). These symbols have a value

and are fought over because of personal connections (Harvey, 2017). The issue of Rebel mascots changing is likewise an issue of possession of said icon and connections of symbols to the past.

1.1.4 Memory and the Lost Cause

A common issue with Rebel mascots is the connection to history and the memorialization of the Confederacy. The memory of the Confederacy is tied to the Civil War but is also patchwork in nature due to time and the motivations of those who memorialize it. Many who strive to retain the memory of the Confederacy suffer from “heritage syndrome” where the good parts like economic success and self-rule are lauded while slavery and rebellion against the United States are ignored (Kammen, 1993; Gretlund, 1999). This syndrome is a relic of the Lost Cause, a revisionist interpretation of the Civil War where the South is viewed as heroic in its loss and controversial portions of the Confederacy’s history are ignored (Cobb, 2005). Memory involves a social struggle over the past that implicates parties that are in control or have influence over those in control. The state erects and sponsors monuments that serve as unifying symbols of a people or area bringing the past into the present (Burk, 2006; Stone et al., 2016). The politics behind the selection and portrayal of certain people notes the motivations and utility of memorials on the landscape (Lowenthal, 2015). However, monuments are constantly removed, memories are contextualized, and people fade from history because memory is a continual process (Romano and Raiford, 2006; Reiff, 2016; Savage, 2017). Paramount to Lost Cause ideology is the continuation of memories that carry forward positive images of the Confederacy and those who fought for it; ignoring critical issues

that exclude facts about the ills of slavery (Forts, 2002). The Lost Cause is at the heart of most Confederate memorials and also crucial to the use of the Rebel Flag.

In the past few decades, public discourse has been significant over the continued presence of Lost Cause images on the American landscape. The Lost Cause constructed a civic religion that deified leaders of the Confederacy and blurred lines of class by establishing a racial hegemony of White supremacy (Winberry, 1983; Cobb, 2005). The constructed memorialization and icons have shaped a collective memory that is incomplete and biased as it is formed by civic organizations and political groups for the purposes of uniting for power (Alderman, 1996). For years, several cities and institutions have wrestled with the constant presence and symbolism of monuments honoring the Confederacy. Cities, counties, and states removed Confederate names from streets and schools in a process called “de-Confederalizing” (Alderman, 1996, 57). After the 2015 Charleston Shooting, debates over the presence of Confederate iconography in public grew larger and the scope of change expanded to more places where Confederate symbols were displayed. Changes ignited organized opposition from the far Right as neo-Confederates pushed for preservation of Confederate symbols in the name of heritage (Hague, 2008; Bohland, 2013; Inwood and Alderman, 2016; Webster and Leib, 2016). Debates over these markers are grounded in the awkwardness in symbolizing the antebellum South because of the one-sidedness of the narratives (Forts, 2002). Debates have spilled into schools that use the Rebel as a symbol of school spirit because the burdened past of the Rebel icon forces schools to address the reason for the mascot.

1.1.5 Racialized Landscape

Mascots also are a reflection of the culture where they are sourced. Native mascots typically reflect White dominance because of the way they present indigenous people as a stereotype (King and Springwood, 2000; Zeitler, 2008). Whites also shape the way the Rebel is usually presented in that the image is a soldier or upper-class planter. The soldier is brave and fearless, ready for battle and serving to defend his homeland. The planter is a symbol of wealth and class, well-groomed and dressed in a suit. These images are prevalent across the landscape and refer back to the people who select the icon. In the past three decades, scholars have spent a great deal of time discussing this landscape and the give-and-take between the landscape and the participant in that landscape (Rowntree and Conkey, 1980; Winberry, 1983; and Tuan, 1991). People construct built environments, which in turn influence people through everyday interactions (Kobayashi and Peake, 2000). The continual rotating influence of human and landscape shapes each other and perpetuates memories. Whiteness is a catalyst of this imprint on the landscape in that social privilege shapes the selection and perception of the mascot (Alderman, 1996; Tretter, 2011). Landscapes are embedded with race, including those of mascots; meaning a modification in a mascot is also an adjustment in the landscape that is reflective of more significant changes in how people are represented or how they are allowed to alter images. Race and racism shape landscapes and lead to changes when certain groups who were previously excluded are included in debates over public presentations or when the dominant party changes opinion or affiliation (Pulido, 2000). These issues are part of a larger body of research associated with critical race theory.

Race is embedded in place. It is reinforced through everyday items like street names, school names, monuments, and buildings (Alderman, 1996; Alderman, 2000; Inwood & Yarbrough, 2010; Eaves, 2016; McCutchen, 2016). To many, race is ignored in these items because they seem normal or not explicitly labeled as racial on a daily basis. Flags also carry racial identities that are more prominent and more common because of the direct association of groups like White supremacists who use the Rebel flag and the Nazi flag as part of their marches (Webster & Leib, 2002; Hague, 2008). Less noticeable racial icons and images are important to critical race theorist because all things are racialized to a degree (Peake and Kobayashi, 2002). The connections these items have to race can shape our thoughts and beliefs and inhibit our ability to treat others with equality because of the unconscious power of implicit bias (Greenwald & Krieger, 2006; Jolls and Sunstein, 2006). Implicit bias is the theory that caricatures, images, pop culture, and icons shape our beliefs of people with whom we have little contact, molding our presuppositions and causing us to stereotype and prejudge. In many cases, White is presumed as normal, and popular culture has for ages perpetuated this belief (Peake & Kobayashi, 2002). Critical race theory addresses this issue of “White normality” seeing that racialization is present and needs to be discussed to educate people in order to move toward multiculturalism and equality (Price, 2010; Savage, 2017). The issue of mascots is also racial, especially of one that wields a Confederate Battle Flag. That issue is crucial to this work due to the spatial nature of race and Confederate icons.

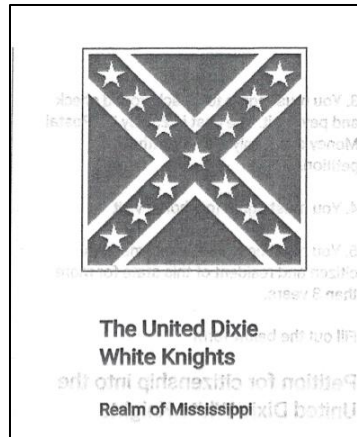


Figure 1.3 Image from Ku Klux Klan Flyer



Figure 1.4 Welcome Sign of Highland High, Hardy, Arkansas

1.2 Research Questions

South Burlington is one example of many Rebel school changes that have occurred across the U.S., especially since the Charleston Shooting. Alterations to Rebel mascots have recently occurred in locations in the former Confederacy, where one would assume a more common occurrence of a Rebel, like Fort Smith, Arkansas, and Vestavia Hills, Alabama. However, locations detached from the South like Keenesboro, Colorado,

and Albany, Oregon, have also altered their Rebel mascot (Turpen, 2015; Hunter, 2016; Moody, 2017; and Staff Reports, 2017). The broad spatial distribution of these events highlights the core research question of this document, how do schools with a Rebel name represent themselves? Additionally, how does a school that is a Rebel, no matter what the reasoning for the original selection of the Rebel, find a way to divorce itself from the history of the Civil War and the slave-holding Confederate States of America? The most prominent visual issue is the Rebel flag, also known as the Confederate Battle Flag (See Figures 1.3 and 1.4) or the Flag of the Army of Northern Virginia that symbolizes a past of slave-holding and White supremacy (Leib and Webster, 2012). Rebel schools also have to contend with representations like Confederate soldiers and the *Colonel Reb* figure who fought during the war to retain slavery. Schools with this moniker now have to tread the thin line between school tradition and representing the entire student body.

The ethereal nature of symbols, specifically the Rebel mascot, is the root of this research. This study will determine the spatial distribution of the Rebel mascot across the United States. Then it will investigate the spatial patterns of the various interpretations of the Rebel and the origins of these mascots. Next, this study will analyze the historical pattern of the Confederate Rebel as compared to non-Confederate Rebels to determine a spatial difference in their distributions. Finally, the changes to these mascots over the past five decades will be addressed to reach the core issue of mascot presentation, mutability, and historical proximity of the mascot to the location and history of the Confederacy. This dissertation will address Rebel mascots by investigating questions pertaining to the distribution and history of these icons.

1.2.1 Question 1

This research intends to answer three primary research questions with several sub-questions to follow. The first research question is, what is the spatial distribution of Rebel mascots in the United States? In studying these patterns, the follow-up question asks, is there a demographic pattern among these schools? Interpretation of the Rebel mascot lends to issues of regionalism and presentation of the mascot, leading to a second follow-up question: is there also a way to classify subsets of Rebels based on physical presentation and interpretation of what defines a Rebel? Finally, these mascots will be grouped and further classified in the next question, is there a demographic or spatial pattern among these subsets?

1.2.2 Question 2

The second primary research question investigates the history of these mascots by asking, what is the spatial and temporal history of the Rebel mascot? To follow that question, there are several key spatial issues and points in time that will be discussed as part of the Rebel adoption timeline. The first follow-up is, are these mascots selected in part due to their affiliation with the term “South”? An additional follow-up asks, is there a significant growth in public school Rebels after the *Brown v. Board* case of 1954? One more follow-up question is, do private White-flight academies stand out as having more Rebel mascots than public schools, and if so, why? To summarize these trends, the next question asks, is there a specific timeframe when the mascot was a popular choice? Finally, this set of questions closes with a comparison of Confederate and non-Confederate Rebels with the question, is there a difference in the spatial patterns of

Confederate Rebels versus non-Confederate Rebels since 1930? Here I used 1930 because, according to Zeitler (2008) that year was when high school mascots began picking up in popularity.

1.2.3 Question 3

The third research question turns toward occurrences like the events of South Burlington, with the focus on change of Rebel mascots. Previous research does not explicitly give Rebel mascot totals over the past fifty or one hundred years, but a 1991 article found that there were 191 Rebel mascots in secondary schools across the U.S. (Dorsey, 1991). The map and findings from Figure P.2, which will be discussed in Chapter 2, reveal that there are now 162 Rebel mascots. This decrease of nearly one per year is significant and worthy of study. This data leads to the primary question of this third study, what are the changes or alterations to the Rebel mascot and do they possess spatial and temporal patterns? A cursory search of mascots and change yields the first conflicts over mascots to be in the late 1960s, but there may have been changes before this time (Indiana State Advisory Committee, 1968). The three follow-up questions investigate these changes. The first asks, is there a spatial pattern to these changes? Second, what type of change is occurring, compromise and muting of symbols or wholesale change, and is there a spatial pattern? The comparison of change and the spatial patterns of that change gives a broader perception of tendencies and demonstrates national trends.

1.2.4 Research Scope

This research focuses on secondary schools in the U.S. that have a Rebel mascot. Mascots in the U.S. are very popular and identifiable across the country. Twenty-four

hour news channels have bred twenty-four hour sports news channels that keep sports and mascots constantly in the mind of the American public. Sports are highly marketable with a large amount of marketing memorabilia, clothing, and supporting knick-knacks sold daily across the country. Secondary schools are the subject of this research because they are located across the country, thus their spatial reach is more intriguing than studying the aforementioned “Rebels” of the University of Mississippi and Nevada-Las Vegas that have already been investigated by some. This work isolates secondary schools because they are perhaps less visible than collegiate athletics but more noticeable and public on a local level due to media coverage and extracurricular activities that make these mascots more visible. Specifically, secondary schools in this study are those that have at least a 12th grade. Some schools are only grade 9-12 or 10-12 while others may be K-12, but only the ones with a senior or 12th grade class are discussed here. Rebels are the only type of mascot discussed due to the deep association with Confederate icons. Other similar mascots like Generals, Renegades, Raiders, and Chargers begin to stray from the key arguments linked to the Confederacy and the Rebel flag, although some are Confederate in nature and should be studied later.

1.2.5 Methodology

To answer the first question, I had to create a database of Rebel mascots to establish a working knowledge of where they are located. I used the Clell-Wade Directory (2017), MaxPreps.com (2017), the National Coaches Directory (2005), and other web resources to build the database. Each school was cross-referenced in the National Council of Education Statistics (2017) database to confirm existence of the school and ascertain location and demographics. This data was processed through SPSS

to find a mean value of Rebel schools compared to all secondary schools and note any striking trends among the mean of the data. These results were compared to school data from the National Council of Education Statistics to determine if there are any demographic differences in racial composition and size between the Rebel schools and what should be found in a typical American high school. The schools were then grouped based on five popular depictions of Rebel mascots: Confederate, Western, Patriot, Other, and Lettering Only. These five groups were determined after the initial survey of mascots produced four distinguishable groups (Confederate, Western, Patriot, and Lettering). The demographic data of these five data sets was compared in SPSS through an analysis of variation to determine what type of differences there are between the groups. These data sets are also mapped out to find a spatial distribution. Once mapped, the centroids of location were determined for these groups of Rebels and compared to demonstrate the spatial patterns of the various types of Rebels and their comparison to Census centroids that would assume population centers.

The second research question investigates the history of selecting a Rebel mascot, which includes a brief overview of how the Rebel became so popular and notable. One approach has been through the association of the word rebel in the American vernacular with the Confederacy. Several schools discuss their history on their websites, including selection of a Rebel mascot. To discuss the history of these schools, this study primarily uses yearbook data from schools to create a decadal pattern of centroids of Confederate and non-Confederate Rebel datasets, and frames them against Census data and events like the Supreme Court desegregation orders of *Brown v. Board*, *Green v. New Kent County*, *Alexander v. Holmes*, and *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg*. Chapter 3 will also involve a

discussion of the Massive Resistance strategy and the role of White-flight academies in maintaining White supremacy through icons and actions (Bartley, 1969). The growth and change in the number of Rebels is symbolic of opposition to the Civil Rights Movement as framed by the court cases and decadal change. Yearbook data is typically not readily available for hundreds of schools, but classmates.com is a website that has acquired and digitized yearbooks in the hope that people will look through the yearbooks and pay money to join their old classmates on the website. Classmates.com has a vast library of yearbooks scanned into its database and can provide at least decadal trends of how the mascot was displayed. The yearbook is a viable tool because it contains approval of the school administration and displays many variations of the approaches used to present Rebel spirit.

The third question is approached through the lens of change. Trends of change will be analyzed for spatial proximity to the Confederacy and method of change. The presupposition is that there would be less change or alteration of mascots over time in areas closer to the center of the Confederacy since emotional ties to the country are deeper in the Deep South. Patterns of changes are discussed with an emphasis on events and spatial patterns, linking time and space to these alterations. The number of changes and the spikes and depressions in these numbers are linked to events highlighting their impact on mascots. To contextualize more recent changes, I will use data I have collected through Google news alerts. In the past decade, I have been collecting articles with the phrases “mascot”, “rebel”, and “change” as the keywords. I have collected over 100 articles since 2008 that have discussed these changes. This dissertation considers not only the changes but also the locations of the changes. Additionally, this section will also have

a discussion of Fairfax, Virginia, High School's transition from Rebel to Lion that involved a federal court case (U.S. Fourth District, 1987). Fairfax is a prime example of the way a school addresses the Confederate icons of the Rebel and how it confronts opposition to the change.

This study is important because of the popularity of the icons and the commonality of their presence. It is geographical in nature because these icons display spatial patterns relevant to a time and a place. Rebel mascots are present on the American landscape and invite allegiance because they are associated with an institution. People who attend or support those institutions give their allegiance to these mascots and support their school with cheers, banners, and clothing. Others news services have discussed the prevalence of the Confederate flag, Confederate monuments, and Confederate names on the landscape, but the Confederate mascots that are Rebel in name have been overlooked. The discussions of these mascots are important because of the larger issues of memorialization and memory of what the mascots are honoring. Likewise, affiliated icons, names, and features tied to the mascot shape perceptions of students and fans without regard to the perceived message from outsiders. The spatial nature of this study also demonstrates that the Confederacy is not just a symbol contained in the American South, but is common across the country.

1.3 Organization of Study

Confederate symbols like the Rebel are in a state of great change that necessitates scholarly evaluation. This dissertation addresses this issue in five parts, concentrating on the previously stated research questions and concluding findings in the summary. This first chapter has laid the foundation of the research and mapped the questions that will be

addressed through the rest of this work. Chapter 2 establishes a working catalog of Rebel mascots and identifies the spatial characteristics of the group. After a brief review of mascots, their role, and the presence of them, demographic data is assessed to determine the features of Rebels and how they are depicted. Rebels are then categorized with special attention given to the unique and inventive ways that some schools display Rebel support and how the term “South” shapes the interpretation of the Rebel. Chapter 3 inspects the history of selecting a Rebel mascot. This discussion highlights the interpretations and logic of choosing a Rebel and the implications of such choices. The chapter also discusses historical quantitative trends in Rebel mascot selection and spatial trends of where the mascots were located.

Chapter 4 addresses the changes that are occurring to Rebel mascots across the country. This part of the study traces a long period of change in mascots that includes changes prior to the Charleston Shooting and those after the shooting. The section discusses the spatial distribution of change and the methods used to alter or remove the mascot. Finally, this study concludes with a summary of the Rebel mascots and a proposition of how and why events like Charleston can alter the way depictions are so quickly addressed and changed. The conclusion of this study questions the role of victimhood in the process of alteration and removal and also asks if racial icons associated with the Rebel have to have tragedy as a forerunner for change.

The killing of nine at Emanuel AME was fed by racial hatred and influenced by icons and symbols of White supremacy. The massacre leads one to ask, have we become so desensitized to racism and hate that we require violent events like this shooting to help reframe our mindset? Will we continually need events like this to reframe additional

mindsets on topics of hate? Is the violence needed, or can we find another way to address these racial issues? Mascots may not seem like the most pertinent skirmish to fight in the battle over racism, but it is one place to start. Scholarship and research are different methods to address problems as education occurs through discovery. It may not be a lot, but it is a beginning.

CHAPTER II – A REBEL’S HOME

After World War II, the American economy continued to shake off the Great Depression as economic prosperity persisted to expand in cities across the country, including Muncie, Indiana. The city experienced a boom in population after the war as farms became more mechanized, industries continued to expand, and veterans came to Muncie to utilize their G.I. Bill at Ball State University. In 1959, Muncie Community Schools announced that these growth factors had led the district to propose two new high schools be constructed to meet population demands (U.S. Seventh District). The first of these schools would be Southside High School, which opened three years after the announcement. It was located two miles southeast of Muncie Central High on East 26th Street. The district then proceeded to build a second high school on the Northwest side of town, near the university, to provide additional relief to the burgeoning student body at Muncie Central (Indiana State Advisory, 1968). Northwest High School opened in 1970 near Ball State. Four years later, Central relocated from its original home, which was built in the 1920s, to a new facility one block away at Minnetristra (U.S. Seventh Circuit, 1970). The construction of these schools was uneventful to local media, but issues that followed created racial tension throughout the city.

Southside opened and the student body selected “Rebels” as the school mascot. The selection was a tongue-in-cheek reference to the location of the school on the Southern side of town, thus the Rebel name. In maintaining the Southern theme, the school chose “Southern Aires” as the name of its choral group, the homecoming queen was the “Southern Belle”, and the school paper was named the Sentinel (Indiana State Advisory, 1968). More importantly, the school selected a Confederate flag as its official

banner, which in the 1960s became an issue during the Civil Rights Movement. When Southside opened, its student body was around 92% White (Indiana State Advisory, 1968). By 1967, the African American population had grown to 11%, but was still viewed as a small minority compared to the rest of the school. The city's demographics reflected this trend as the overall African American population of 8% in 1968. In the late 1960s, there were rumors that the community school district of the city was building the two additional schools to create a gerrymandered district of "neighborhood schools" that were all-Black or all-White, limiting the chances of interracial schools (Kindis, 2014). This led the Indiana Civil Rights Commission (1968) to investigate these possible actions and attempt to find out if such motivations were real.

The Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965 gave African Americans in the city an opportunity to challenge the status quo of White domination in Muncie. Students at Southside claimed that they were discriminated against since there were no Black cheerleaders and no Black students in the honor society (U.S. Seventh Circuit, 1970). They also claimed that they were blamed for interracial fights and punished more severely than Whites for participating in clashes. In 1967 the fighting was so severe that nearly 300 students were involved in a one day riot that included students from Southside and Muncie Central (Papa and Lassiter, 2003). Any African American student who voiced an opinion of oppression was met with threats by White students and reminded with the school banner, the Confederate Battle Flag. The Black student body sued the district for equality and sought to have the flag removed because it served as a reminder of oppression, claiming it was difficult for Black students to owe allegiance to such a symbol of White power (Indiana State Advisory, 1968 and U.S. Seventh Circuit, 1970).

The court ruled that the school had selected the flag through a democratic process and found no evidence of discrimination as the flag was a symbol of school spirit. The school maintained the banner until it closed in 2014.

Mascots are so common that people forget the connection or historical reference. A Viking mascot in an area without Scandinavian roots or a Norse connection may seem odd, but it is common because the mascot has lost some of its original symbolic power over time. A Trojan mascot is also common in schools although most cities where the mascot is found are not named “Troy”. Muncie is located in Indiana, not part of the Confederacy, yet Indiana does have some Southern cultural spillover from Kentucky (Bigelow, 1986). Muncie, however, is located in the central region of the state, far from the South and the cultural influence of the South. Southside selected the Rebel as its icon because of the association of the name “South” with the school name not specifically because of the Confederacy. The growth and appearance of Rebel mascots is not only evident in Border South regions like Indiana, but across the country. This chapter seeks out the location of Rebel mascots and conducts statistical comparisons on demographics, subsets of Rebels, and expressions of school spirit.

2.1 Spatial Distribution of Rebels

Mascots are found in every city, county, and state in the U.S. They are common, yet often overlooked. Pekin High School in Pekin, Illinois, used the “Chinks” as a mascot represented by images of Chinese stereotypes (Zeitler, 2008). For years, the Arabs of Coachella Valley High in California used a caricature of a bearded man in a *kaffiyeh* as the symbol of Arab spirit. These stereotypes have been modified and replaced to a degree. Rebels though, are not isolated incidents like the Chinks and Arabs, but a

common occurrence of a mascot that in 2005 was one of the twenty-five most popular of all secondary school mascots (Zeitler, 2008). Like the Chinks and Arabs, the name also carries racial implications, specifically the Rebel Flag and the Lost Cause. These images allow the notion of White supremacy in the form of a mascot that is displayed daily by many schools. The prevalence of the Rebel name assumes that the Lost Cause has reinforced the presence of the Confederate iconography that is associated with the name.

This study begins with a discussion of the distribution of the Rebel in terms of presence on the American landscape. This discussion is valuable in that it sheds light on an overlooked topic that is viewed as commonplace but has been regarded as more controversial in the past few decades due to the public debates over the prevalence of Confederate imagery (Webster and Leib, 2001; Inwood and Alderman, 2016). Use of “Dixie” as a fight song, the Confederate Battle Flag, and uniforms modeled after Confederate soldiers all convey messages of memory for the Confederacy that may not be presented in the same tongue-in-cheek manner as some Native mascots. Rebels are glorified and revered because Anglo leaders dictated how the mascot was presented and what was presented with the name. School officials designed Confederate mascots in a way where Whiteness was praised, like the Statesmen, Knights, and Crusaders who are all presented as White, but stereotypes still persist for Natives and others.

2.1.1 Methodology of Study

This study was initiated in 2008 when I began collecting a list of Rebel mascots in secondary schools. I modeled the study after Zeitler’s 2008 study of Native mascots in secondary schools. I created a database by compiling a list of Rebel mascots based on the sources and methods described in Chapter 1. I limited my search to regular/general

education schools, excluding alternative or vocational. I also included only schools with a twelfth grade so varsity or senior high athletics would be present. This eliminated middle and elementary schools that had a Rebel mascot because they are less present in the media, especially related to sports. My search was narrowed to official websites, those with a greeting from a headmaster or principal and/or links to a district office. I also used athletic fields and sports uniforms to confirm the presence of a Rebel. Websites, uniforms, and fields are all officially endorsed representations of the school and are landscapes where the message of school spirit is broadcast to the public. I also performed site visits by visiting some of the schools to see representations personally. Finally, I acquired demographic data about the schools from the National Center of Education Statistics at nces.ed.gov. Each year since 2008, I have refined my search and updated my data to the point where it is accurate up to June 1, 2018.

2.1.2 Findings

There are 162 occurrences of Rebels in forty-one states and 161 cities. St. Louis, Missouri, is the only city with more than one Rebel school; it is home to two private all-female Catholic schools with a Rebel mascot. Nine states do not have a Rebel: Alaska, Arizona, Delaware, Hawaii, Idaho, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, Oregon, and the District of Columbia. The state with the most Rebels is Louisiana with fifteen, followed by Mississippi with thirteen, Alabama has twelve, and Tennessee with ten. Other states with large numbers were also typically from the South including Georgia and Texas both with nine. The first major regional outlier was Minnesota with seven. The eleven states of the former Confederacy collectively have 86 or 53% of all Rebel mascots. If Missouri and Kentucky are included with this group, as they are sometimes,

these thirteen states account for 97 or 60% of all Rebels (Gulley, 1990). This means that a surprising 40% of Rebel mascots are located outside of the extended definition of the Confederacy. Not all these mascots are Confederate in nature, so the distribution beyond the South leads to a distance-decay of the symbol's connection to the term. Private schools account for 18% of the Rebels but 88% of them are located in the former Confederacy. Finally, twenty-two of the Rebels were located in the schools with "South" in their name.

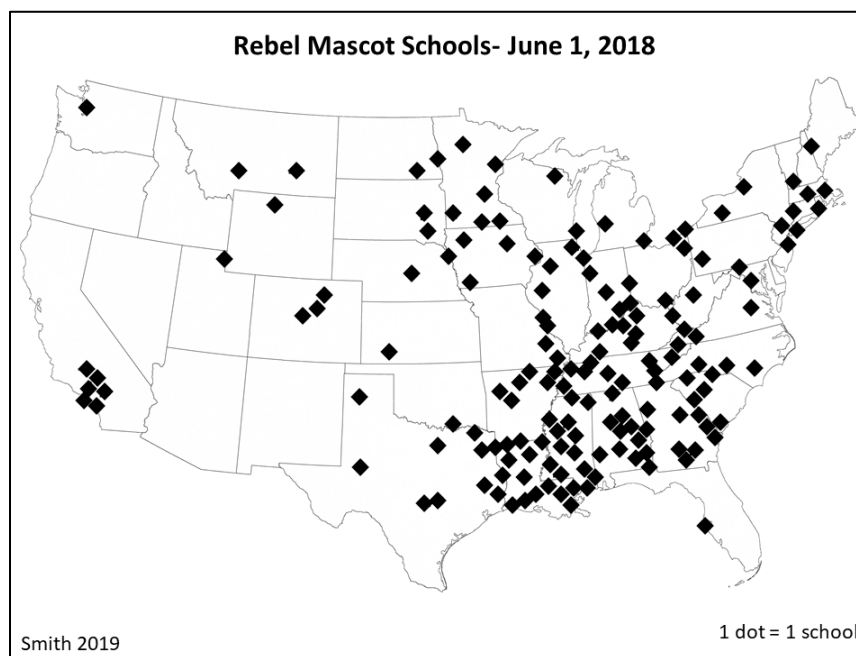


Figure 2.1 Rebel Mascots in Secondary Schools, June 1, 2018

Rebels varied in presentation and specific name across the country. Over ninety percent of the Rebels in this study were just "Rebels". A few had the adjective "Running" or "Runnin'" in front of Rebels as an alternative name. The term "Running" relates back to the Rebel of the University of Nevada-Las Vegas and distinguishes it from the normal

Rebel. A handful also included a color like “Red” to the name to give the institution a more specific mascot. Harrison Central High School in Gulfport, Mississippi, is an example of a Red Rebel. The school prominently displays the name above the football field press box and on much of its other signage (see Figure 2.2). A few schools had a different name added to Rebel that reveals some of the creative ways Rebel can be presented. Riverdale High in Jefferson, LA, opened in 1962 as a female-only school (Riverdale High, 2018). The school adopted Lassies as its mascot with a Scottish motif. When the school added males in 1980 the school retained the Scottish theme, making the Scottish Rebels its official mascot. Two of the most unique Rebels are North Duplin High in Calypso, NC, which is presented as the Rebel Bulls and Fairfax High in Virginia that is the Rebel Lions.



Figure 2.2 Harrison Central High School Signage

A statistical analysis of Rebels reveals additional findings that support what has been discussed but includes new information. Descriptive statistics finds that Rebel schools have a statistical mean of one percent Native American, nine percent Hispanic, two percent Asian, seventy-seven percent White, nine percent African American, and two

percent classified as two or more races. Compared to the national average, Rebel schools have a higher White composition, 77% as compared to 50% nationally and lower percentages of other races (see Table 2.1). Sixty-four percent of the schools are classified by the National Center for Education Statistics as rural, which means that the school is not located in a metropolitan or micropolitan area. Only 49% of all schools are considered rural, far less than the findings for Rebels only. Rebel schools also average 168 students per grade, which is 15% lower than the national average. One-sample t-tests compares these means to the national average of schools across the United States. Results from the t-test show that every category measured, except for percent of student body Native, is significantly above or below the national average. Rebel schools are significantly below the national average concerning the percentage of non-white student body. Except for Native population, percentage of student body that is Hispanic, African American, Native, or two or more Races are all significantly below the national average while percentage White is statistically above average. Schools are also significantly below average in being private and smaller in student body than average. Schools were also significantly above average based on their location in rural areas.

Variable	N	Rebel Mean	National Mean	Critical t-Value	t-test Value	Statistical Significance
African American	162	9.11%	15.5%	1.65	-5.35	YES
Asian	162	2.27%	5.3%	1.65	-6.75	YES
Hispanic	162	9.02%	25.4%	1.65	-13.11	YES
Native	162	1.00%	1.0%	1.65	0.00	NO
White	162	76.84%	49.5%	1.65	13.98	YES
Two or More	162	1.72%	3.2%	1.65	-9.27	YES
Students per Grade	162	168.38	197	1.65	-2.10	YES
Private	162	18%	27%	1.65	-3.02	YES
Rural	162	64%	48.7%	1.65	4.30	YES

Table 2.1 One Sample t-test of Rebel Schools

A further investigation of school locations reveals even more details related to Rebels and location. The National Center for Education Statistics classifies schools in four types of locations: City, Suburb, Town, and Rural. City is an urbanized core city with a population above 50,000 people; Suburb is an urbanized area in a cluster larger than 50,000 but outside the core city. Town is a site in an urbanized area but outside a specific urban cluster. Rural areas are those outside urbanized areas. An analysis of variation, or ANOVA, of the data based on location split the groups into the four classifications. This study measures factors provided by the National Center of Educational Statistics: race, public or private, and school size. The data compiled here finds significant disparity in school size, percent of student body that is African American, percent Asian, percent Hispanic, and percent White. School grade size is much smaller in rural areas and towns while suburban and urban schools are close to the same size. Student body composition also proves substantial differences in non-White populations, especially in rural areas. Urban and suburban schools have double the African American percentage that rural and town schools have. The issue of scale is

present in these schools as size and location both serve as contributing factors that determine student body composition. Asian students are more than ten times as likely to be found in urban and suburban schools. Hispanic populations are also higher in suburban and urban schools, yet Whites are less likely to be found in suburban and highly unlikely to be found in urban schools as compared to rural and town schools.

	Rural	Town	Suburban	Urban	p-value
N	104	10	32	16	
Students per Grade	95	116	335	343	< .0001
African American	6%	8%	13%	18%	.0059
Asian	.5%	.8%	7%	5%	< .0001
Hispanic	4.9%	2.9%	11.5%	34.6%	< .0001
White	85.2%	86.4%	65.5%	39.2%	< .0001

Table 2.2 ANOVA Results Based on School Location

Table 2.2 reveals a stark contrast in the number of schools of each classification and the racial make-up of Rebel schools based on their location. A majority of these schools were rural according to NCES classification. The rural nature of these schools again reinforces the rural sentiments of remembering the past and fearing change, which are highly likely reasons for the continual support toward images of the Confederacy (Leib and Webster, 2012). Rural schools have large White populations with small numbers of African American and Hispanic students. These schools are also smaller in size than their counterparts with an average of 95 students per grade. This is a function of rural settlement patterns as a whole that yield a higher White population as compared to suburban and urban areas that are usually more diverse. Rebel schools falling under the classification of town are slightly larger in school size with an average of 116 students

per grade. The schools have slightly Whiter student body populations with lower numbers of Hispanic students. Suburban and urban Rebel schools are small in number but are more diverse than Rebel schools in the other two areas. Grade size in suburban and urban Rebel schools is 335 and 343 respectively, three times the size of the town school. The diversity of these schools means that they have more Asian, African American, and Hispanic students. In fact, suburban and urban schools share similar findings but have great differences in Hispanic and White populations. Urban schools have nearly the same number of Hispanic students as White students while suburban schools have nearly six times more White than Hispanic students. The p-values of the above chart show a high degree of reliability for each category in the finding.

2.1.3 Discussion

A majority of schools were located in the eleven states of the former Confederacy demonstrating that the region still has an attachment to the name. Jansson (2003) said that this attachment to the name Rebel serves as a binary to the North and unifier of the region. This outsider image is a form of regional “othering” where people of the region make themselves look unique and special compared to the areas outside the South (Johnson and Coleman, 2012). The attachment to the name is evident across the region but does not explain all the occurrences of Rebels on the map as roughly 50% were outside the standard 11 states of the Confederacy. Three Confederate states are outliers related to the number of Rebel schools: Florida, North Carolina, and Virginia. These three states combined have nine schools with a Rebel mascot, placing them far behind Louisiana and Mississippi, states that are smaller in population but have higher numbers of Rebel mascots. Several authors have stated that North Carolina and Virginia have

shifted further from a history of the “South” and swung back to a colonial “East Coast” history (Reed, et al., 1990; Breed, 2005). Florida, likewise, has culturally disassociated itself more from its Confederate past as mapmakers include less of Florida culturally in the South due to Caribbean and East Coast migrant influences (Jansson, 2003). Based on numbers of schools in the former Confederacy, the states of that region not only rank high in number of Rebel schools but also the percentage of schools in the state. Over 4% of all schools in the state of Mississippi had Rebel mascots. Only two other states, Louisiana and Alabama, have over 1% of their schools with a Rebel population.

An additional cause for the popularity of the Rebel in the South could also be attributed to an inspiration from the University of Mississippi. The frequent appearance of the Rebel from the university in media would place the mascot in the mind of those who make decisions of choosing a mascot. The University of Mississippi’s Rebel is frequently supported by fans in Mississippi and is a common opponent in the states of Louisiana, Tennessee, Alabama, and Georgia, thus making the Rebel mascot a frequently viewed mascot in those states. The states of Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, Alabama, and Georgia are the states with the highest number of Rebels, thus supporting this hypothesis of university influence. But the other NCAA Division I Rebel school, UNLV, seems to have no influence of mascot choice. There are no Rebel mascots in Nevada, so the idea of a university influencing secondary school mascot choice is likely not the reason for the Rebel’s popularity. Instead, the Rebel of Civil War fame seems more likely to be the inspiration. An additional method to check this is with other unique flagship mascots. The University of Arkansas features the Razorback as a mascot, a rare,

regionally-specific icon that is unique. There are only four secondary schools in the country with that mascot, none of which are located in the state of Arkansas.

Outside the states of the former Confederacy there were several places where Rebels were popular. The highest concentrations of Rebels outside the Confederacy are located in Kentucky, the Upper Midwest, and Southern California. Kentucky is considered at times a part of the South as it was a slave-holding state and the birthplace of Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederacy. Some in the state still hold to Confederate leanings and many still proclaim Kentucky to be part of the South (Reed, 1976; Horowitz, 1998; Jansson, 2003). Iowa, Minnesota, and the Dakotas also have a high number of Rebel mascots compared to the rest of the country. Zeitler (2008) stated that the Rebel name in the Midwest came from the farm riots of 1932-33. Farmers in that area participated in armed protests against farm foreclosures leading President Roosevelt to pass the Agricultural Adjustment Act in 1933 (Shover, 1964). Schools honored these protestors who were neighbors and family by using the Rebel name for their schools. Finally, Southern California also has a high number of Rebel mascots. The region's history includes many Confederate sympathizers that nearly led to the creation of a slave-owning Southern California (McCormick, 2017). The Rebel name still persists in Southern California, but based on the total number of schools in the state, only one quarter of one percent of all schools in the state have the Rebel name.

2.1.3.1 School Names and Identity

Rebel schools divided along lines of public and private are another binary of schools. There are twenty-nine private schools with a Rebel mascot. Seven of those are sectarian, mainly Catholic, while the rest are non-sectarian. The high numbers of non-

sectarian private schools, eighty-eight percent of all private schools, are mostly located in the former Confederacy and were established in the late 1960s and early 1970s as white flight academies. Nationally, twenty-seven percent of all schools are private, but only eighteen percent of Rebel schools are private. The less-than-average number of Rebels demonstrates that Rebel is a popular name, but not among sectarian private schools. Non-sectarian schools consisted of most of the private schools revealing a strong association with the name. Only four of the private non-sectarian schools labeled themselves as “prep” schools while the others adhered to the term “academy”. Eighty-two percent of Rebel schools are public schools where public policy and elected or appointed officials dictate the selection and presentation of mascots. The use of Rebel is therefore not only a selection of the school but also of the taxpayers who fund the school. This community involvement and community representation are both foundational issues of who is represented and who dictates the mascot are issues that will be discussed further in Chapters 3 and 4.

Additionally, Rebel appears to have a notable association with the places that include the compass direction south in their name. Twenty-two of the Rebel schools have “South” in their name. Only seven Rebel schools contain “West” and three “North” with none associated with “East”. The higher than average number of “South” schools shows that South as a term in the American vernacular still has a deep association with the term Rebel. In comparison, there are four schools with a Yankee mascot, none of which have “North” in the name. As an analog to Rebel, Yankee would presumably have a similar number of “North” schools but lacks any schools with North in the name. West is similar in that seventy-five schools have Cowboys as a mascot name, a common association with

“West”, but only four also have West in their name. Only one, Denver West, is in the same district as a Rebel school with South in the name- Denver South.

2.1.3.2 Vernacular Regionalism

The association of Rebel with the term South is a reflection of vernacular regionalism. Use of the Rebel is symbolic of the American South as “Rebel” and “Southern” have become synonymous to some (James 2010). Symbols, markers, and generalizations that give a place an identity and a way to divide and shape vernacular regions like the South. These markers can be as simple as asking a person where he/she lives or analyzing what type of folk house a person lives in (Jordan, 1978; Kniffen, 1965). The issue is that some historical narratives are regionally specific and differ from region to region while other narratives that do not serve the purpose of those who are dictating the main narrative are discarded (Kammen, 1993 and Rieff, 2016). “Rebel” and “South” like “Cowboy” and “West” are images and terms that are tied to the history of the region, but only of one narrative. Yet the American South is a construct, just like the use of Rebel in place of “South”. Use of the Rebel as a marker of “Southernness” is illustrative of a larger issue of how the South is depicted in the American vernacular. South and Rebel are still associated even though 150 years have transpired since the Civil War.

2.1.3.3 Demographics

Demographically, Rebel schools have a higher White student body population than the average American school. This difference is indicative of the racial gravity of the term that is still associated today. Rebel schools had lower percentages of Asian, Hispanic, and African American students in their student body partially because of the

location of these schools. Rebel schools were above average in their location as part of a rural site, leading to higher-than-average White totals with lower-than-average totals for people of color. There were fewer urban and suburban Rebel schools in these findings which are areas with more multicultural groups that have numbers similar to the national average for all schools (Thernstrom and Thernstrom, 1997; Allen, 2005). Rural schools are also typically more White with rural African Americans usually only found in the American South (Sitton and Conrad, 2005). This high percentage of White student bodies can also be affiliated with the name itself. Since the Rebel term is typically connected with the Confederacy, use of the name by non-White groups would be less popular because of the Confederate and White supremacy iconography that follows the term. Only Native Americans fit in the normal distribution of the one sample t-test likely because one school, Ebarb, Louisiana, has a student body that is a majority-Native school, skewing the findings.

Schools with smaller student body populations are more common in rural areas due to the lack of people in a catchment area. These schools average under 100 students per grade and are three times smaller than urban and suburban schools. Rural schools outnumber other schools in sheer numbers because they provide services in places with fewer people and areas that are depopulating. These rural areas are spread across much of the interior of the United States and are more common sites of Rebel mascots. These rural areas are high in White population and Hispanic population partially due to the agricultural nature of most rural areas. Rural areas across the country are overwhelmingly White, yet Hispanics also comprise a large minority of agricultural workers across this particular region. Small towns have a similar demographic make-up as rural areas with

White populations far larger than that of non-White populations. Suburban and urban areas both comprise smaller numbers in the Rebel findings, but present larger and more diverse schools in these areas. Urban schools had triple the African American totals of rural areas while both Asian and Hispanic numbers in urban schools were ten times rural totals in rural areas. White populations in urban schools were nearly half of what they were in rural zones. Suburban and urban schools also had schools that were twice the size of rural schools. Urban areas are more diverse partially due to White flight from the urban core and resettlement by non-White people into these neighborhoods. These findings show that there are demographically two groups of schools- rural/town and suburban/urban. Rural and town groupings are similar to each other while suburban and urban groups are alike but statistically distinctive from rural and town schools.

2.2 Rebel Subsets Study

A cursory search of Rebel mascots to find their existence and evidence of a Rebel mascot began the process of noting the distinctions in Rebel branding. Rebels are interpreted differently throughout the country with some commonalities found in certain areas concerning presentation of the mascot.

2.2.1 *Confederate Rebels*

One of the most common presentations is classified as the Confederate interpretation. The *Colonel Reb* figure, that was a part of the University of Mississippi for six decades, is found in many schools across the country (Figure 9). The figure is presented in a long sport coat, cowboy hat, string tie, prominent Van-Dyke beard, and cane. The mascot of the Confederate general is symbolic of white culture because it serves as a reminder of the slave-holding South (Horowitz, 1998). As a stereotypical

plantation owner, *Colonel Reb* is a high-class officer who is dressed more for a dinner than a battle (Cox 2011). He represents the landed bourgeoisie who defended slavery because it guaranteed income and kept farms economically profitable. The Colonel owned people to acquire his wealth and fought for the Confederacy as an officer to retain it. At times *Colonel Reb* is featured holding a Rebel Flag or other school banner. Some schools used other Confederate presentations that wielded a Confederate flag but were more akin to a cavalry soldier and less like an officer (Figure 10). These lower-class soldiers were more cartoonish in nature and more symbolic of parodied Confederate soldiers. Parodying something removes some of the sanctity of it, allowing people to publically poke fun at it, permitting an additional point of view that publically challenges the weaknesses and faults of the phenomenon (Gretlund, 1999). A few schools utilized a different variety of Confederate officer that was not dressed as *Colonel Reb* but was adorned in Confederate regalia as a decorated high-ranking officer.

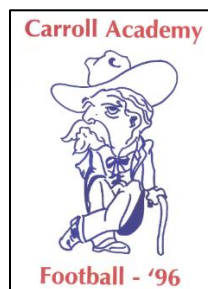


Figure 2.3 Carroll Academy, Mississippi, Football Program



Figure 2.4 Confederate Cavalry Soldier of Franklin High, Tennessee, circa 1980



Figure 2.5 Gladbrook-Reinbeck, Iowa, Rebel Mascot (Gladbrook Reinbeck, 2017)

Attempts to classify all the presentations of mascots are open to interpretation because what may appear somewhat Confederate to one may not appear Confederate to another. A few mascots (see Figure 2.5) were non-descript officers dressed in garb from the mid-19th Century. There was no insignia denoting the mascot as Confederate in nature, but the term Rebel shapes the soldier as Confederate. A Union soldier dressed in that type of uniform would likely never be labeled a “Rebel”, so the conclusion established is that a Rebel that is not classified as one of the other type representations that will be discussed has to be Confederate. This soldier type wields a sword, which was common of 19th Century American soldiers, he wears an oversized moustache, also common of other caricatures of the time, and a flipped bill hat akin to the hat worn by

Colonel Reb. This soldier was not an 18th or 20th Century soldier based on his uniform. Union soldiers who fought against Native Americans in the 1800s would not be considered Rebels as they served as agents of the federal government, removing Natives from Native land and killing those who refused to move.

2.2.2 *Western Rebels*

A second subset of Rebel mascots falls under the Western motif. These mascots are likened to the presentation of UNLV's *Hey Reb*, a pioneer type figure typically featured with a rifle, duster jacket, over-sized mustache, large-brimmed hat with a feather, and large belt buckle. Variations of this type mascot include cowboy-type figures and generic presentations of *Yosemite Sam* from the Looney Tunes cartoon franchise. Most wear cowboy boots, a large mustache, and utilize stars as part of the motif. There have been several iterations of the UNLV *Hey Reb*, so there are several types presented as Rebels (Figure 2.6). These pioneers evoke images of frontiersmen with a slight nod toward the *Colonel Reb* figure, donning a string tie. *Hey Reb* is cartoonish in presentation, never delivered in a sanctimonious way where it honors a specific individual, rather capturing a spirit of independent, strong, and adventurous folk. *Hey Reb* was born at UNLV and makes a connection to the American West but ignores the Native people who were occasionally removed and replaced by these pioneers. *Hey Reb* today is still present in many schools and is the most popular version of the western Rebel.

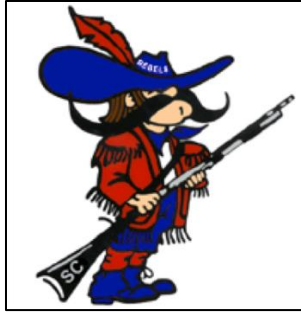


Figure 2.6 Iteration of Hey Reb at Sanborn Central, South Dakota (Sanborn Central, 2017)

2.2.3 Revolutionary Rebels

The third version is the Revolutionary figure. In this representation, the Rebel is rebelling against the English Empire as a Revolutionary soldier. These figures are similar in presentation to *Patriot Pat*, the mascot of the New England Patriots. Figures in this category typically carry a musket and wear a long coat, knickers, hair in a ponytail, and the tri-corn hat that has become a popular piece of headwear in depictions of Revolutionary soldiers (Figure 2.7). These Rebels could also be labeled Patriots because of the historical connection to the Revolutionary War. There are many Patriot mascots that look like these Revolutionary Rebels. These Rebels often are red, white, and blue and are sometimes presented with a Betsy Ross flag. These mascots are different than the first two because the themes surrounding them are very patriotic to Americans. Fight songs that are played by these schools are usually standard Sousa marches. These Revolutionary Rebels also carry the patriotic theme to names of clubs, school newspapers, and the school annuals.



Figure 2.7 Revolutionary Rebel from Altmar-Parish-Williamstown, New York (Altmar Parish Williamstown, 2017)

2.2.4 Other Rebels

Most mascots naturally fell into one of these three categories: Confederate, Western, and Revolutionary, but some did not. Schools that produced anthropomorphic representations that were not one of the three previously discussed were classified into a category of “Other”. This catchall category grouped the wildcard presentations that were not found in other categories and were not repeated with regularity within the category, like Figure 2.8. Rebels were presented as Griffins, Bulls, Lions, Cougars, and Eagles. Two schools used a Scottish interpretation of Rebel as their mascot. Perhaps the most intriguing Rebel representation is the Blue-Tick Hound of Strom Thurmond High School in Johnston, South Carolina. The school was named for Thurmond, a former governor and long-time senator who ran a presidential campaign in 1948 on the Dixiecrat ticket featuring a platform of States’ Rights and White supremacy at a time when the military was being desegregated. The Carolina hound is symbolic of Thurmond who hailed from the state and was synonymous with the state’s political structure for more than sixty years (Johnson, 2017). The hound, whose name is Rebel, replaced a Colonel Reb figure in 2003.



Figure 2.8 Mascot of Laona-Wabeno High, Wisconsin (Laona Wabeno, 2018)

2.2.5 Lettering Only

The final category is one of lettering-only. This group is symbolized only by letters or the word “Rebels”. Like the National Football League’s Green Bay Packers, there are no anthropomorphic representations of the mascot at these schools, just a name and letters. Many schools in this category use the term “Rebels” in a stylized script like Byrnes High in South Carolina. The term lacks any specific allusions or references to the source of the name, just the name “Rebels”. Other schools use the school name and or initials of the school as the mascot and logo. Schools like West Monroe, Louisiana, use “WM” on letterhead, athletic uniforms, banners, and webpages (Figure 15). Bessemer Academy, Alabama, utilizes a Gothic “B” over a pair of crossed sabers but ventures no further in an attempt to portray the Rebel as anything beyond the term. The categories of Rebels are not hard-and-fast, but overlap to a degree as some schools may use a Confederate in some instances but lettering in others. In those cases, a specific physical mascot present overrides “Lettering Only”.

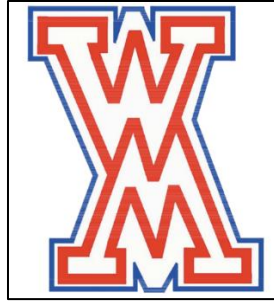


Figure 2.9 West Monroe, Louisiana School Logo (West Monroe, 2017)

2.3 Subset Spatial Findings

The five groups of Rebels were then compared based on descriptive statistics and an analysis of variation, using the same demographic markers used in the study in the first half of this chapter. Finally, the subsets were compared geographically based on the centroid of each data set. Centroid measures give a spatial measurement akin to a measure of central tendency but on a spatial plane. The U.S. Census Bureau uses centroid measures to determine decadal movement of the American population, visually presenting spatial shifts in an easy to interpret manner.

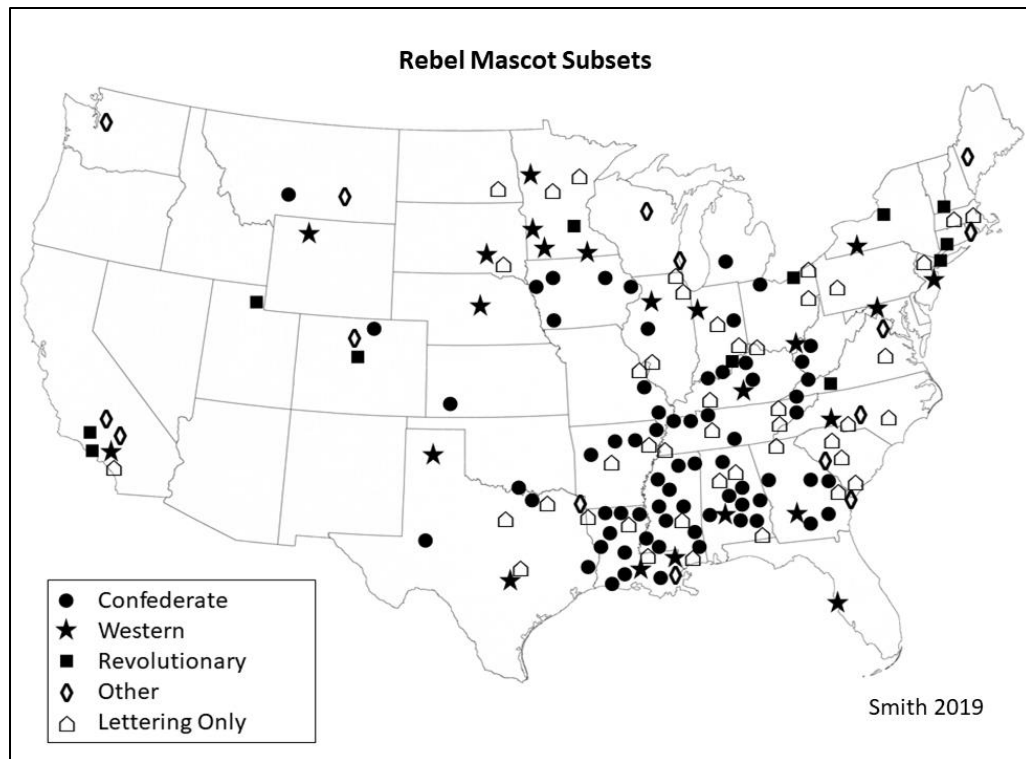


Figure 2.10 Distribution of Rebel Subsets

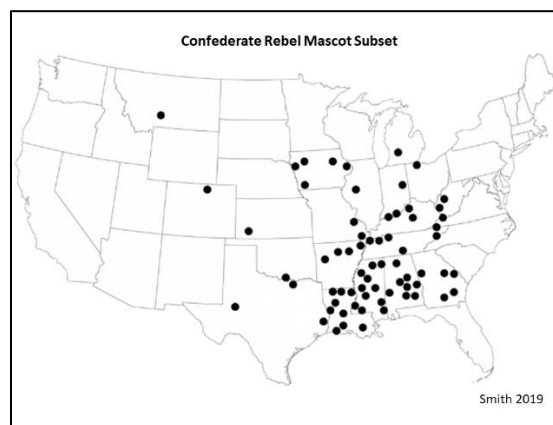


Figure 2.11 Confederate Rebels Map

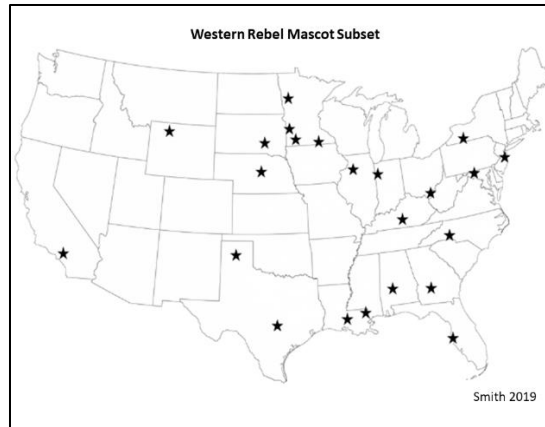


Figure 2.12 Western Rebels Map

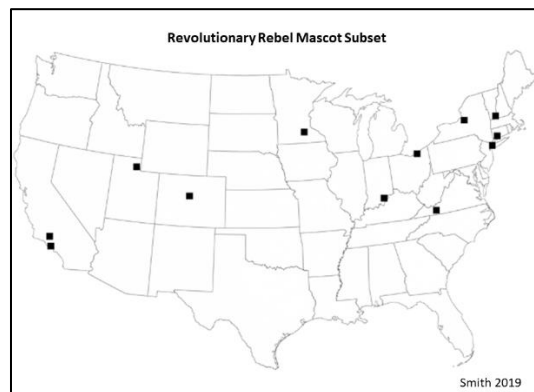


Figure 2.13 Revolutionary Rebels Map

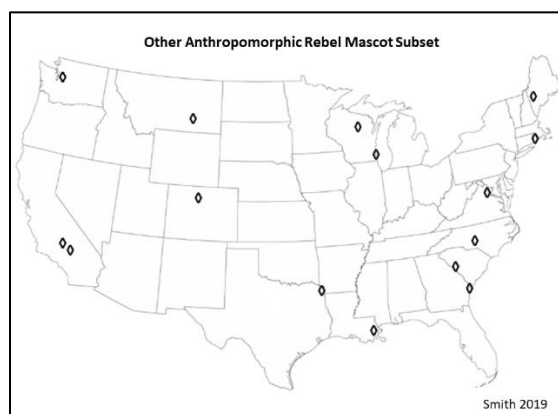


Figure 2.14 Rebel Schools with “Other” Mascot Map

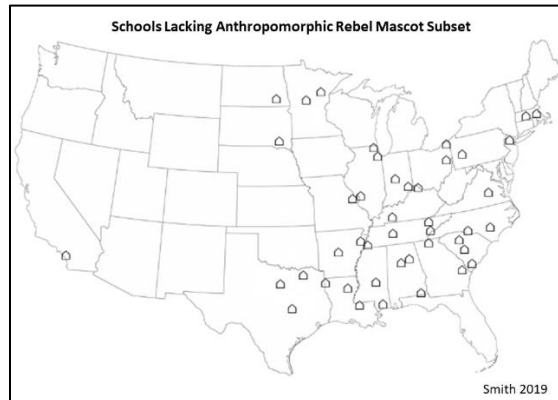


Figure 2.15 Rebel Schools Lacking an Anthropomorphic Mascot Map

The five subsets of Rebels were spread across the U.S. with some regionally specific findings. Many of the Confederate mascots were located in the states of the former Confederacy proving that there is still a deep regional attachment to the name. Yet seventeen of the sixty-eight Confederates were found in states outside the Confederacy. All five of Iowa's Rebels had a presentation that appeared Confederate although not blatantly. These Rebels again were likely named for the Great Depression farm rebels but adopted visual presentations that were Confederate because Confederate Rebels were common and easy to connect at the time of naming. Confederates were also found in Colorado, Montana, Michigan, and Indiana proving that Confederate Rebels are not just isolated to the American South (Webster and Leib, 2015). The core of Confederates is in the Deep South, particularly across Northeastern Texas, Northern Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky and Southeastern Alabama. Western Rebels were located along the East Coast, Upper Plains, and California, regionally appearing not as western as anticipated but more so non-Southern. Revolutionary Rebels were primarily

located in the Northeast while those with “lettering only” were spread across the map. Mascots that could be classified as “Other” are centered in the Carolinas.

	Confederate	Western	Revolutionary	Other	Lettering
N	68	23	12	15	44
African American	6.24%	7.04%	13.80%	17.11 %	10.63%
Asian	0.56%	1.17%	8.83%	6.47%	2.27%
Hispanic	5.74%	13.65%	10.50%	15.81%	8.96%
Native	1.68%	0.17%	0.17%	1.86%	0.32%
White	84.26%	76.13%	63.33%	55.40%	76.84%
Grade Size	93	181	303	232	219
Private	22%	9%	0%	7%	25%
Rural	84%	74%	33%	40%	45%

Table 2.3 Descriptive Statistics of Rebel Subsets

2.4 Subset Statistical Findings

The Rebel schools also yielded statistical findings. Confederates were the largest group followed by Lettering and then Western. Confederate and Western Rebels had the lowest percentage of African American student body population. This is likely because most of those mascots are located in three areas: 1.) Southern private schools, 2.) small, rural, non-plantation area, Southern, public schools, and 3.) schools of the upper Midwest. All three areas typically have higher White populations and lower numbers of African Americans and other minorities. The lowest percentages of African American, Hispanic, and Asian numbers were all in the Confederate category; therefore, White totals were highest in these schools. This reinforces the findings that the Southern landscape has been labeled and marked by Whites, and the Confederate Rebel mascot is no exception (Alderman, 1996). In many instances, the Confederate schools also use the Rebel Flag and “Dixie” as their fight song. United Daughters of the Confederacy and other neo-Confederate groups used and continue to use symbols like the Rebel Flag and

“Dixie” as reminders of the Lost Cause (Cox, 2003). These mascots carry the same message on fields of play and in the classroom in the way they glorify and revere the Confederacy. African Americans and other minorities do not share Confederate symbols, so images like Colonel Reb are not typically found in the places that are minority-controlled (Leib & Webster, 2015). These Confederate schools are Whiter than schools in any other category, which is no accident but further proof of the Whiteness supported by Confederate Rebels.

The highest African American and Asian totals were of Revolutionary and Other schools. Those schools lack the Confederate icons that promote Whiteness and are typically located in the Northeast and more diverse areas of the South like the historically classified plantation South. These areas of the South are more commonly viewed as lowland areas that feature larger African American populations as compared to rural Upland South areas. Schools in these two categories are also more urban and generally more diverse. Natives were very low in most categories with only slightly higher percentages in schools classified as Other and Confederate, but lower percentages in all. Hispanic populations were higher in the Western and Other categories. One school in Southern California, South Bakersfield, shifted the “Other” category with its 77% Hispanic population. Western schools were also higher than average in Hispanic population because there were numerous schools in Texas and Southern California that fit the category. These demographic breakdowns again reinforce the idea that the Confederate Rebel supports Whiteness, but non-Confederate Rebels are not as attached to solitary racial groups.

Schools with the largest student bodies were typically Revolutionary in presentation while Confederate Rebels were the smallest schools. Revolutionary schools were located in the Northeast in more urban areas with larger student body populations because the areas those schools served had more people. More populous areas usually have larger schools so Revolutionary schools of the Northeast would typically be larger than rural Southern schools. Confederate schools were smaller because they were more associated with smaller communities and small towns. In all, eighty-four percent of Confederate schools were rural as compared sixty-four percent of all Rebels. The Revolutionary schools of John Adams, Columbine, and Champlin Park are located respectively in the metropolitan areas of Cleveland, Denver, and Minneapolis where schools would typically be larger. Confederate schools are located in small communities like Zion Chapel in Jack, Alabama, which according to the Census Bureau, has a population under 1,000 and in Thrasher, Mississippi, with a population under 500. Many of the smaller private schools that were rural also had Confederate mascots. Schools like Hancock Academy in Sparta, GA, averaged nine students per grade while North Sunflower Academy in Drew, Mississippi, only had eight per grade. Conversely, larger private schools that did not have a Confederate mascot typically used Lettering.

Category	F	p-value	Significant?
African American	1.85	0.1211	NO
Asian	9.246	< 0.0001	YES
Hispanic	1.978	0.1005	NO
Native	0.576	0.6801	NO
White	5.488	0.0003	YES
Rural/Urban	9.909	< 0.0001	YES
Private/Public	1.946	0.0106	YES
Grade Size	7.768	< 0.0001	YES

Table 2.4 ANOVA of Demographics of Rebel Subgroups

2.4.1 Analysis of Demographics

An analysis of variation of the demographic factors (Table 2.4) found similarities from the observed data with some variation. African-American, Hispanic and Native student body compositions had no significance between groups. Yet percent of student body White did have some significance. Based on Tukey's-B post-hoc analysis, White was only significant between Confederate and Revolutionary, Confederate and Other, and Other and Lettering Only. Asian was significant in Revolutionary and Other only while Students per Grade was significant for Confederate schools. There was absolutely no difference between Confederate and Western schools on any variable. These racial factors mean that race may not be as significant a factor in mascot interpretation as presumed. The real statistical differences were found between Rural or Urban and Public or Private, but the Student per Grade, or school size, carried the most weight in discriminating between subgroups of Rebels. Therefore, demographics do have a role in mascot presentation, but not as much along lines of race as presumed. Location, type of school, and size of the school all had greater influences on what type of mascot was presented.

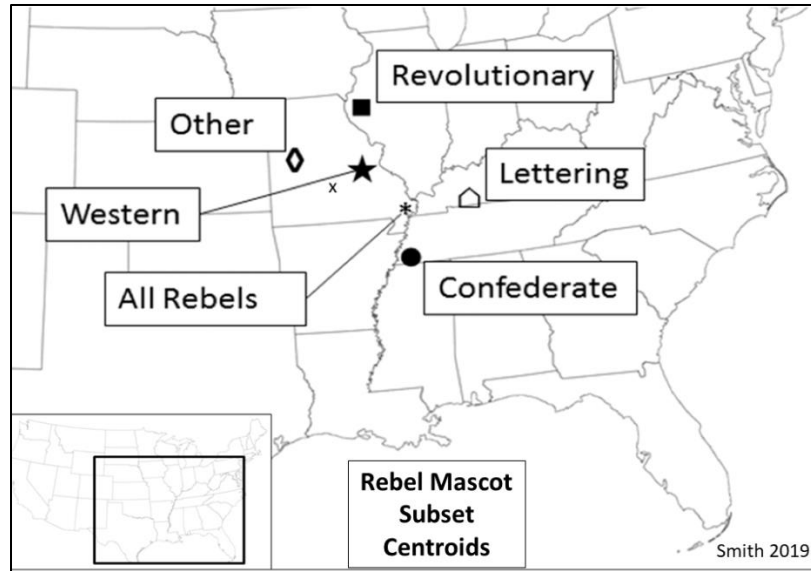


Figure 2.16 Centroids of Rebel Subsets (2010 Census centroid marked by “x”)

2.4.2 Centroids of Subsets

Subsets of Rebels can also be compared spatially to gain an understanding of the size and regional differences in how Rebels are presented. One way to present these Rebels is through data set centroids. Data set centroids are determined by averaging the latitude and longitude of each school in the selection to map a central data point and give an idea of regional specializations. Each school is equally weighted, so a school of 3500 students has the same weight as a school of 75, which may skew the impact of the Rebel, as a larger school would typically receive more press and have more notoriety than a smaller school. Centroids are used by the U.S. Census Bureau to present a decadal trend of American population growth and movement. Here the trend displays the subsets and the total presence of Rebels. This display provides an easy to interpret trend in the subsets as compared to the entire data set and allows for a reasonable comparison of the subsets to each other.

The centroid of the entire data set of Rebels is located in southeastern Missouri, about 200 miles east-southeast of the 2010 Census population centroid for the U.S. (U.S. Census Bureau, 2018) This finding is surprisingly less Southern than would be anticipated but matches the recent shift of population further into the Sunbelt. If Rebel mascots as a whole were normal in distribution, the centroid would be closer to the U.S. population centroid. Confederate Rebels were nearly directly south of the main dataset validating a Southern connection to the symbol still today. The Confederate dataset was centered over suburban Memphis, Tennessee, as large numbers in Kentucky, Louisiana, Alabama, Tennessee, and Mississippi placed it there. Western Rebels were indeed west of the Rebel centroid but also more northward. One reason for this difference is because of the numerous Western Rebels located in the Upper Great Plains, especially Minnesota that had four. Revolutionary Rebels were further north, but further west than the East Coast where such images would typically be found. Historical revolutionary connections would presumably place the centroid in Maryland or Pennsylvania, but the center was instead in Western Illinois. Revolutionary schools were the smallest dataset, so schools in Colorado and Utah, and two in California shifted the dataset of twelve schools away from the Northeast. Schools in the “Other” category are furthest away from the American South, showing a distance-decay of the Confederate symbols. “Other” schools are anchored by several schools in California, two in Wisconsin, one in Washington, and one in Montana. Finally, schools in the “Lettering Only” category are centered more to the east without a major shift north or south. This dataset may be a reflection of schools that were Confederate in the past, but have since dropped their physical mascot, retaining only the Rebel name.

2.5 Overview

Mascots carry powerful symbolism with numerous interpretations. Some symbols are visual while others are just terms that fit a presumed image. Symbols store complicated meanings in condensed forms that can morph and be redefined over time (Rowntree and Conkey, 1980). These symbols can serve as borders and gatekeepers for societies and form boundaries around people and places. Rebel as a term is still very popular in the American South, especially the states of the former Confederacy. However, the Rebel mascot is present outside the South in non-Confederate areas like Minnesota and Iowa. Rebel is typically found in public schools with a small minority of private schools also carrying the symbol. The private schools that are Rebels are typically non-sectarian, built as White-flight schools, and Southern, giving credence to the idea that Rebel is still connected to Whiteness. Statistical findings also support the idea that Rebel and White are connected still today. Rebel schools have a higher-than-average White population and are more rural and smaller. The few urban schools that have a Rebel mascot are more diverse and larger than their rural counterparts.

Rebel also has a strong association with the term “South”. The popularity of the mascot is partially tied to the term South as part of the name of some schools. South still has a vernacular link to the Confederacy, which carries back to the school with images of Rebel flags, cotton, plantations, and Confederate soldiers. South has many immediate national associations like uneducated, poor, racist, and a region of rebellion; however, it is the most recognizable region in the U.S. (Zelinsky, 1980; Jansson, 2007). Recently, scholars have discussed the South losing some of its specificity, becoming a fragmented region (Webster and Webster, 1994). This process means that some of the unifying icons

that served as Southern unifiers in the past are losing their currency because of the inclusion of non-Whites into the narrative of Southern identity (Hoelscher, 2003; Leib, 2007). South is now no longer one definition but an ever-changing set of definitions that mean different things to different people (Hart, 1967; Alderman and Fornier, 1998; Ambinakudige, et al., 2012). Although the South may be fragmenting as a vernacular region, there is still historical evidence that is shaped by the presence of Rebel mascots.

Rebel subsets reveal more evidence of race and place. Rebels can be grouped into five groups: Confederate, Western, Revolutionary, Lettering Only, and Other, which reveal some specific regional trends. Confederate Rebels typically belong to rural southern schools that are Whiter than schools of other categories. Western Rebels are also Whiter and smaller than other groups while those utilizing Lettering, Revolutionary, and Other forms of Rebels are more urban, more diverse, and larger. One reason for this rural/urban divide is because of ideological differences of each region. These small, rural, Confederate and Western schools fall under the traditionalist category that Leib and Webster discussed (2012). Traditionalists are less likely to change and less accepting of changing ideals away from “the way things have always been done”. Modernizers are found more in urban areas and embrace more diverse and cosmopolitan ideas. The difference in mascots supports this traditionalist/modernizer divide that is also a rural/urban split.

Subsets of Rebels reveal a still-deep connection of the Confederate Rebels with the states of the former Confederacy, but there are also Confederate icons outside the region. In the South, Confederate mascots were typically found in Whiter schools in the non-plantation South and in a higher number of non-sectarian private schools. This is

interesting because non-plantation areas leaned more Unionist during the Civil War but today have a deeper affiliation with Confederate icons than do areas that benefited from retaining slavery and fighting the war in the first place. Many of the Confederate mascots were the same, *Colonel Reb*, with a lack of specificity as to who was being honored with the mascot. This is similar to the Confederate monuments in cemeteries and on courthouse lawns that typically lack specificity, provided as a monument for all (Foster, 1987). These monuments serve as reminders for all who fought through a generic, usually mass-produced, symbol that lacks passion and honor. The hearths of Confederate monuments, according to Winberry (1983) were in the Potomac Valley and in the eastern parts of the American South- South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. Noticeably absent of monuments was the Appalachia region that was staunchly Unionist during the Civil War. Confederate mascots, which were typically produced later, do not match this trend, as they were more common in the non-plantation areas with none being found in the Low Country or Tidewater regions of the Carolinas and Virginia. The phenomenon may be caused by a push to unite poor yeoman farmers not under a Lost Cause mentality but one of federal resistance and Whiteness.

Beyond Confederate Rebels, other interpretations of Rebel had varied findings. Mascots modeled after UNLV's Runnin' Rebel were also common and were typically found in rural areas that were also Whiter. Yet *Hey Reb* and other Western mascots were further North and not as common in the American West as anticipated. Revolutionary Rebels were found in more diverse suburban and urban settings that were home to larger schools but lacked the Northeastward direction that would tie the Revolutionary soldier back to the 13 original states. Schools with Lettering are centered more to the east while

Other Rebel interpretations are Northwestward in orientation. Private schools, especially sectarian schools, were more prone to display a Rebel mascot as lettering without a physical form. This may be on purpose as some of these schools desire to keep a low profile with a focus on academics and discipline with less energy spent on branding and publicity distractions.

Rebel schools are varied in presentation and regional specificity yielding demographic and situational differences that highlight distinctions in the Rebel name. Some of those differences are related to historical references while others are unrelated to a specific event or time. Rebels are interpreted in many ways but the three most common anthropomorphic representations were the Confederate Rebel, a Western Rebel, and a Revolutionary Rebel. These three have historic and regional affiliations that reach far beyond other popular mascots like Tigers, Bulldogs, and Hawks. Rebel schools were also found to be Whiter than average and raise questions of race and mascots that are connected to White supremacy and Whiteness. The issue of iconography affiliated with Rebels creates issues of identity and race that can alienate and send mixed messages of who is represented and why the mascot exists. Some of this identity can be attributed to the location of the school, including naming, its directional location, and whether the school is rural or urban. Additionally, the connection to race can be tied to the founding and the history of many of the schools, an issue that will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER III – A HISTORY OF REBELLION

In 1959 the Duval County School District of Jacksonville, Florida, announced that it was opening a new school west of the city. The school was needed due to recent suburban growth in the area that caused overcrowding at schools in western Duval County (Strauss, 2013; Woods, 2013). The school was established as New School 207, but the district proposed three permanent options for naming the school, Westside, Duval County, and Wesconnett. None of the options won favor with the entering student body that proposed a fourth option: Valhalla. Students rallied support around the name and even proposed orange and black as school colors and a mascot, the Vikings, to maintain the Norse theme. As soon as the school year began, athletic teams ordered orange and black uniforms emblazoned with the name Vikings and students began planning other clubs and groups to fit the motif. Two weeks after the school year started, the district board held a vote on approving Valhalla or one of the other three options. After several votes, the board deadlocked and was unable to approve any mascot.

The board was then presented with a fifth naming option, Nathan Bedford Forrest. A woman identified as Mrs. John E. Walker, a representative of the local chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, pitched the idea to the board (Woods, 2013). She stated that Forrest was a, “Distinguished Southern gentleman,” who deserved to be honored with a school named for him (Woods, 2013, A8). Board Chairman Raymond Davis claimed that the meeting to decide on a name and mascot was a waste and suggested that the board immediately approve the proposal of Mrs. Walker. The board approved the selection, naming the school Nathan Bedford Forrest High School. The board extended the Confederate theme by selecting the Rebels as the mascot and the

school colors were changed to red and gray. The selection of Forrest is complicated because he has no direct connection to the Jacksonville area. His name is associated with the Confederacy, a massacre of Union soldiers at Ft. Pillow, and is frequently cited as a founding member of the Ku Klux Klan. Symbolism of the name and the mascot is politically weighted because, “Forrest is many things,” (Woengsvick, 2011). His association with the KKK makes his name even more of a symbol of Whiteness than other Confederate generals and reinforces the idea that symbols have power over people. In Jacksonville, as in other places, race and history melded into a mascot that is selected by a community with a message of subversion and resistance.

3.1 The Issues of Selecting a Name

The selection of Forrest is symbolic of race and class issues. He was raised in rural Tennessee and started as a poor yeoman farmer and later a slave trader (Hurst, 1994). He became a self-made man as he amassed enough wealth to start a plantation of his own. This ascension through the classes allows Forrest to become a symbol to lower and upper class Whites who can both connect to his origins and rise to fame. At the outbreak of the Civil War, Forrest enlisted as a private and quickly rose to the rank of Lieutenant General. His unorthodox fighting style and leadership proved successful on the battlefield allowing his persona as a true “rebel” to grow. After the war, his fame made him a celebrity among soldiers and led many to desire to be affiliated with him. One group of Confederate soldiers formed a veterans’ club and asked Forrest to join as their leader. The club, later known as the Ku Klux Klan, was a group that attacked recently emancipated African Americans in an effort to enforce Jim Crow segregation and remind them of who was in control. Forrest never openly admitted that he was a

member of the KKK, but his name became associated with the group at an early stage in its development. Forrest is now perhaps even better known for being a founding member of the KKK than for his military exploits. He now serves as an icon of White supremacy and neo-Confederate groups because of his association with the KKK (Cobb, 2005; Jansson, 2007; Bohland, 2013). As a symbol of White supremacy and White power, Forrest is one of the common names now being removed in the most recent round of eliminating Confederate memorials from the American landscape, yet there are still many counties and towns that retain Forrest's name and likeness.

Selecting Forrest as a school name is not only historically weighty but also related to the timing of the selection. In 1959, Jacksonville was involved in the early stages of desegregation following the 1954 Supreme Court case of *Brown vs. Board of Education* that started the process of desegregating public schools and other public provisions, in the United States (Woods, 2013). The neighborhood where Forrest High was opened was a White-flight neighborhood, meaning that the people who lived in the catchment area around the school were White people who moved to that specific area to flee integration and integrative activities. This move to avoid desegregation made the neighborhoods around the school a high-demand market for people seeking new living conditions. Most, if not all people who lived around the school were White people who wanted to maintain Whiteness by living in a homogeneous neighborhood. The selection of that area was symbolic of their choice and representational of their desire to get away from non-White people who could possibly attend schools with their children. Additionally, two weeks before the name was selected, the local NAACP chapter of Jacksonville started protesting the racial hiring practices of the Sears store in the city (Woods, 2013). Sears failed to hire

any African American people to positions beyond maintenance, stockers, and janitorial services, and the NAACP led many African Americans into the streets to protest these unfair practices. The selection of the name Forrest, although not explicitly stated in the board minutes, was at least partially a message to all people of Jacksonville that racial integration would not be tolerated in their city. His ties to the KKK served as a reminder to African Americans of the past violence inflicted upon them for testing the waters of freedom and challenging the segregational Jim Crow laws that were instituted after the Civil War to keep African Americans in a place of secondary citizenry. The selection of the Rebel supported this claim and encouraged people to be defiant in preventing integration.

The Forrest Rebels is one of many stories told of schools with Rebel mascots during the Civil Rights Movement. Starting with *Brown v. Board*, which began the process of integrating public schools in 1954 and ending with *Milliken v. Bradley* that established limits to bussing students in 1974, there were other schools that established a Rebel as their mascot. This is not to say that every school implemented a Confederate Rebel in the 1950s, 60s, and early 70s as a symbol of resistance to integration, but there are some examples, like Forrest High, that do reflect this occurrence. The selection of a Confederate Rebel is important to note because of the symbolic power of the iconography associated with the term, like the Rebel Flag. This chapter focuses on selection of Rebel mascots including the symbolic nature of the images affiliated with the term. Messaging is an important part of the selection of a Confederate Rebel mascot, especially in terms beyond honoring the Confederate soldiers in which the Lost Cause is reinforced and later when Massive Resistance to desegregation occurred. The location of these selections is

also crucial to the cultural landscape and the vernacular symbolism of the Rebel in areas where integration was challenged.

3.2 Messaging of a Mascot

There are hundreds, if not thousands, of mascot choices available for a school. Likewise, there are even more names to select for the school itself. Choice of the Rebel as a mascot has certain value that is unlike most other choices. Rebel can mean someone who veers from the norm but it can also have an embedded connection to the Confederate States of America. The issue is the selection of this Rebel name, with its connections to the Confederacy and Whiteness, was still selected by hundreds of schools as the name that would symbolize the student body, teachers, administration, and community as a whole. The message presented is that the administration and student body had a choice to pick any name, but the name they decided to use was Rebel, a name that does have a link to a country that split from the United States and was established for the purpose of preserving slavery. Selecting a school name of a person affiliated with the Confederacy also compounds this idea of messaging. Naming a school for Forrest, Robert E. Lee, or Jefferson Davis sends a message of support for the Confederacy and a secondary message of Whiteness because of the use of these symbols and names as part of the Lost Cause.

The act of selecting a mascot is not accidental but part of a process with a deliberate goal of creating an identity for the school that is unique but also general enough for the entire student body to unite around. Intentionality in naming or selecting names of mascots is crucial to marketability and uniting for school spirit (Radding and Western, 2010). The name of the mascot and of the school may be symbolic or generalized but still has a unique enough identity to connect and create community.

Formation of a community is one goal of a school name and mascot because they are glue that bond people who support the school. People desire community and cohesion for the betterment of society and of each other, and a mascot and name can provide some of that unity through words and symbols (Tuan, 2002). Cheers, chants, mantras, and fight songs are products of mascot choice and additionally support the name through thematic associations. Mascot selection can be ad hoc initially, but at some point, the institution has to make a determination if the symbol or name should apply to it officially.

Selection of a mascot involves three parts that comprise the formation of a public message. The author, message, and presentation of the image have goals and channels that must be negotiated for the item to be accepted (Rose, 2001). After a mascot is chosen, the school may select an outside agency to develop a brand and icons. Many schools use in-house services like the student body to create the image and give some ownership and tradition to the students. Still others co-opt images from other schools and institutions and make them their own. The author of the mascot has a goal of creating a symbol of unity that is also specific and easily identifiable. The unity is subjective because what may be symbolic for a school may not be symbolic for a rival or even people who live in the community of the school. The mascot also has to be mass-produced to the point where it is frequently seen and easy to associate with the school. The issue is that interpretation of the mascot is not always the same as the message (Rose, 2001). Sometimes there are events or crossed signals that create confusion or additional interpretations. One person's idea of a Panther may be a large black cat that is common to Africa and tropical Asia while another may picture the endangered brown Florida panther, third a member of the Black Panther Party, a fourth a Marvel superhero,

and a fifth the National Football League team of Charlotte, North Carolina. These layers of definitions can create confusion, especially if no visual reference is present.

Mascot selection also cannot be too obscure, uncommon, or profane. A mascot has to have a frame of reference or link to maintain a connection with students and fans. An example of this type of reference is the University of Arkansas at Monticello, home to the Boll Weevils. The connection is historical in that the area around Monticello and other parts of the Mississippi River basin were deeply invested in the monoculture of cotton production in the early 20th Century. In the 1920s the boll weevil destroyed cotton crops throughout the American South sending many farmers into ruin. The devastation of the boll weevil led to millions of dollars in damage. The destructive power of the bug made it worthy of commemoration and a reminder of the most vicious foe in the region. Likewise, the Arkansas School for the Deaf competes under the mascot Leopards. The name itself is not historical but the wordplay of the school name and mascot are worthy of mention. The school competes as the Arkansas Deaf Leopards, a tongue-in-cheek reference to the British rock-n-roll band Def Leppard. Even deeper into this wordplay is the idea that a school for deaf students is making reference to a musical act. Offensive mascots, like the Chinks of Pekin, Illinois, and the Arabs of the Imperial Valley, California, were selected due to toponymy and historical connections but were later modified because their presentations were stereotypes that denigrated people (Zeitler, 2008). Many Native mascots perform the same function on a larger scale, presenting Natives as stereotypes that are perpetuated by school after school, leading to widespread changes in the past fifty years.

3.3 Rebel Mascots and History

Choice of a Rebel as a school mascot is complex because of the multiple interpretations of the Rebel, and the choice of a Confederate Rebel includes additional messages that are more controversial. Mascots are symbols that are produced at the intersection of social context and language and are carried forth in classrooms and fields of play (Rose, 2001). Rebel means one who fights against the norm or against the current situation, but also means the Confederacy. The context of the name is sustained by the image of a Rebel flag and the playing of “Dixie” which reinforce Confederate support and Whiteness through the deification of the Confederate cause through the dogma of the Lost Cause. After the Civil War, many military academies in the South retained a Confederate identity wearing Confederate uniforms and retaining former Confederate generals as instructors (Foster, 1987). The school choice of uniform was intentional because in defeat, the soldiers were still validated in their fight. Rebel soldiers were celebrated for their virtues of valor, bravery, and faith in defending their native homeland from Yankee aggressors (Cobb, 2005). The destruction of the South as a result of the Civil War was a constant reminder of the loss endured economically and personally as families lost sons and fathers during the war. Many southern institutions selected Confederate iconography as a living memorial long before Rebel mascots rose to popularity in the Twentieth Century.

3.3.1 Rebels at the Start of the Twentieth Century

The Rebel name took a turn by 1900 as it became more than just remembrance of the Confederate soldiers. The term had been redefined as a failed attempt or a continual fight against tyranny (Foster, 1987). Union soldiers utilized the term as an epithet and as

a term for traitor. As the country moved further from the Civil War both mentally and chronologically, the term rebel became less associated with specific soldiers and more a generic definition. At the same time, the cult of Confederacy gripped the South as many Southerners fully invested in the Lost Cause (Kammen, 1993). The word rebel became not just a soldier from the South but a symbol of continual defiance against Northern policies, politics, and stereotyped speech. Terms, like symbols can be inverted, borrowed, and redefined like the rebel that became more inclusive of Southerners beyond soldiers (Cosgrove and Jackson, 1987). Here the signified and the signifier are related but always in a fluid relationship. Events and parties can redefine the way the term is associated with the definition (Barthes, 1964). Use of the term rebel became a unifier across the region and a reminder of the loss and continued struggle.

3.3.2 Commemorating Rebels

This change of definition again occurred in the late 1930s as the 75th anniversary of the Civil War was commemorated. Typically the 75th anniversary of an event is a last hurrah because there are few people left who retain actual memories of the events (Reiff, 2016). Because memory dies with the people who witness the events, there is a desire to commemorate the last few survivors before they all pass away (Savage, 2011).

Commemorations involve monuments, oral histories, and honors but also pageantry and festivals that reignite nationalism and belonging to the event or group that is honored. As memory ends and memorials carry on, certain narratives become more common and are retold again and again. Politics enters the retelling through monuments but also through the selection of curriculum in schools (Foster, 1987; Cox, 2003; Tretter, 2011). The approach of addressing history like the retelling of the Civil War again reminded people

of the role of the Rebel but temporal distance from the event further discarded certain portions of history while highlighting others.

3.3.3 Rise of the Unreconstructed Rebel

After World War II the term rebel again changed as the unreconstructed rebel became significant because of its symbolic nature. Harry Truman started the process of desegregating the military through executive action challenging the status quo of segregation (Strickland, 2001). Southerners saw this action as another over-reach of the federal government into affairs of the state, as segregation laws were typically local and statewide but were affirmed by the federal courts. Response to this and other federal integrative efforts harkened back to the federal “invasion” during the Civil War in how the American government interfered in the economy of the American South (Jansson, 2007). To remind people of the loss in the Civil War and the role of the rebel, many Southerners re-adopted the icons of the Confederacy as signs of resistance (Inwood and Alderman, 2016). More appropriately, the fight was over federal desegregation, so the icons of the Confederacy became symbols of Whiteness and White supremacy. These symbols became images of States’ Rights groups like the Dixiecrat Party that pushed to maintain state laws of segregation while denying African Americans liberties that were granted by the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments. Unreconstructed rebels still today send the message that they exist to preserve Southern culture and Christian values under the guise of White Supremacy (Webster and Leib, 2002). These Confederate symbols and the term rebel have now been borrowed by White supremacy groups who utilize them as inflammatory statements of hate.

The messaging of Confederate images is not cut-and-dry but a function of the most hateful definition of the images. There are those who celebrate ancestors and who they are with the Confederate flag, and that does have some historical value. The flag symbolized a country that if one could divorce the issue of slavery from it, would be a sign of failed rebellion. If someone could find a way to dissociate the flag from slavery and White supremacy, there is historical significance and value in the banner as a sign of rebellion and of battles that occurred, people that were killed, and land that was destroyed. The flag can mean the Confederacy but is sometimes affixed to people unassociated with the Confederacy. People who identify as hell-raisers or people who desire to be different have used the flag as a symbol of their unconventionality (Horowitz, 1998). The issue is that the flag was used in the late 1800s and early 1900s as a reminder of the rebellious states and a symbol of White loss that led to and became a result of the war. Moreover, the flag found new life in the 1940s as a direct symbol of White supremacy. Judith Butler said that symbols like the flag are a form of “condensed historicity” in that they are present in our society today but are linked relics of history that still tell a narrative (Howe, 2008). This narrative could be of history or unconventionality but could also be one of White power, the lack of context makes the message unclear. The possibility of the White power association places the flag in the offensive category where an entity flying it could be labeled as racist. This issue is also tied to the rebel name, which could be viewed as inflammatory or controversial, especially when connected to the Rebel Flag. When the Houston Oilers relocated to Tennessee in the 1990s, the National Football League stated that if the team chose a new mascot, it could not use the name Rebels (Spindel 2000). The fear was that the flag and

the name were so associated to each other that it would have been difficult to brand the team as non-racist.

3.4 Timeline Study

This study investigates the temporal and spatial reach of the Rebel with a special focus on the selection process and the Confederate version of the term. This is important because of how the Rebel's name and image are placed on the cultural landscape. The choice of the Rebel can send a message that a Bulldog, Charger, or Yellow Jacket cannot because the name is inlaid with history. How the image and name are praised and honored speaks not only of the school but also of the community that supports the school. When the University of Mississippi conducted a study in the late 1990s concerning its mascot, public perception was that the school was racist (Khayat, 2013). These findings were supported by evidence that the school's mascot was a plantation owner, the banner was the Confederate Battle Flag, and at football games fans ended the band's playing of "From Dixie with Love" with the chant, "The South shall rise again!" Here the mascot is more than just a term or word but an army, a war, and a cause. In our ocular-centric society, signals and symbols are very important and entities like schools want the message of their brand to be acceptable to the masses and inclusive of the student body (Brunn, 2011). Alternatives to that name can and will be misconstrued if context is not continually reinforced. To find these Rebel mascots, I utilized the same methods from the study in Chapter 2, adding chat rooms, old state sports records, nostalgic fan pages, news articles and yearbooks from Classmates.com (2018) to confirm my findings.

Yearbooks are also a good source of documented school spirit and serve an important purpose for this research. Yearbooks are an official document of the school and

are published with approval from the headmaster or principal as well as the yearbook sponsor. The images used on the cover are reflective of the school and the photos inside provide insight into the methods used to interpret and display the Rebel mascot.

Yearbook titles and depictions helped me determine if the school used the Rebel name and how it was utilized and interpreted by the school. Some schools had yearbook titles like “The Colonel” or “Sentinel” that signaled a Confederate Rebel was present at the school. Others used a Confederate Battle Flag on the cover to denote Confederate Rebels. Inside the books, were photos of pep rallies, parades, dances, and sporting events that either proved or disproved a Confederate affiliation. Some of the clubs’ names and festivals reinforced Confederate imagery with club names like “The Cavalry” and “The Confederacy” and festivals like “Slave Days”. I checked these yearbooks for accuracy by cross-referencing the ones online to some I could access for Rebel schools and also non-Rebel schools.

There are a few limitations to this study that do arise. It was presumed that schools selected a mascot when established unless otherwise observed. There were a few examples found of schools that may have used the Rebel name for years but due to lack of funding, lack of resources, or intentional vaguery, did not interpret the Rebel in any manner. Likewise, when schools are opened, it is presumed that they produced their first yearbook that same year, so the volume number of the yearbook was used to extrapolate a year of establishment if earlier yearbooks were unavailable. The yearbooks provided by the website matched the ones I viewed, so I deemed the source reliable, but there may be mislabeled or improperly filed yearbooks in the database. Classmates.com does not have a year-by-year of every school, but they did have enough to at least determine decadal

trends, which are used further in this study. The lack of specific dates on all Rebels led to some interpolation of dates in a few instances. I scoured sources to find all Rebels, but there are likely some I missed. I was as thorough in my research as I could be, but there are likely omissions in the listing. Finally, there were five schools that had a Rebel mascot but were so vague in findings that I could not in good faith establish a timeline for them. These five were only 2% of all Rebel schools, and were statistically permissible since it were under the 5% threshold for most reliable data.

3.5 Historical Findings

There were 234 Rebel schools that were discovered. One hundred and sixty-two or 69% of these Rebels are still active as Rebels in 2018. The high number of active Rebel schools is likely due to bias in time, as more recent events and more recent schools would have more of a digital footprint and more evidence of existence than a school that existed seventy years ago. Mascots have also only gained popularity since around 1930, so schools from the 1920s and earlier may have not selected a mascot to accompany school name (Zeitler, 2008). Only five of the 234 were not included in the chronological section of this study due to insufficient data. Schools in this section were all Rebels, but 77% had a Confederate symbol at some point. This is much higher than the 42% that are currently Confederate and demonstrate a significant amount of change that has occurred in Rebel mascot presentation. This change is highlighted by the previous examples of South Burlington and Southside Muncie and will be discussed further in the next chapter. Private schools comprise 22% of all Rebel schools, higher than the 18% for current Rebel mascots and closer to the present national average of just above one in four.

Most schools were named for the city or county where they were located, but some were more directionally oriented or named for people. Only 18% of Rebel schools had a cardinal direction associated with the name of the school. South was the most prevalent direction in school name as over half of all directional schools had “South” in the name, again supporting the idea that South and Rebel are bonded. The other directional schools numbered ten for West, four North, and one East. Only 31, or 13% of Rebel schools were named for people. The most common name was Confederate General Robert E. Lee who appeared four times in the listing. Names associated with the Confederacy appeared in nine of the thirty-one schools proving a link between the Confederacy and the Rebel name. Other schools were named for local educational figures (6), Revolutionary figures (5), politicians (4), and Catholic priests (2). These names demonstrate the diversity of the definition of Rebel and the utility of the term. Not all school namesakes match the mascot though. John Hancock Academy in Sparta, Georgia, is named for the most famous signer of the Declaration of Independence but the school’s Rebel mascot is a Confederate general, not revolutionary like Hancock. Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli Catholic in Indianapolis first used a Confederate mascot because it was a consolidation of Roman Catholic schools on the southern perimeter of the city, but the namesake is the birth name of Pope John XXIII, an Italian priest with no connections to the Confederate States of America.

The timeline of Rebel and Confederate Rebel mascots starts with the year 1930 due to the increase in mascot popularity after that point (Zeitler, 2008). Before 1930 some schools had mascots, but they were not viewed as important or visible as they were after that time. The popularity of mascots grew in the 1880s as the country moved toward a

more industrialized economy and had more time to spend on leisure activities like team sports. By the 1920s mascots had been established at most colleges and universities as inter-collegiate athletics gained traction. In the decade that followed some secondary schools pursued the mascot model of colleges and selected mascots for the athletes and fans to rally around. There were some occasions where schools retained a live animal as a symbol of spirit, but most mascots often were only names attached to a school. These early mascots lacked the modern presentations of a person in a large foam suit performing choreographed dances and t-shirts with “gameday” attire.

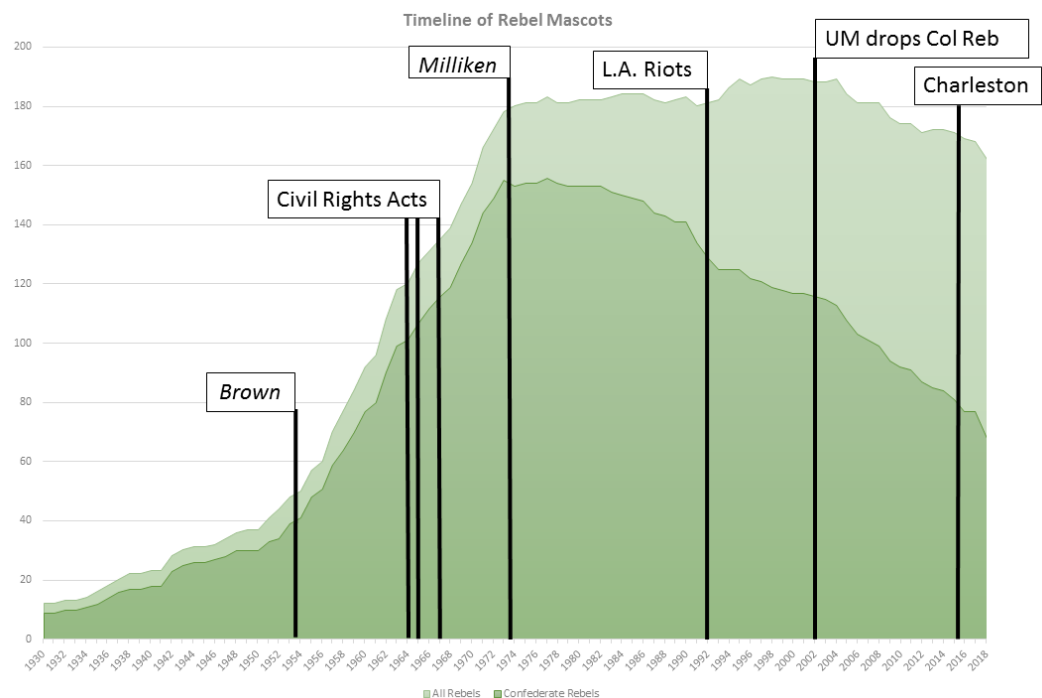


Figure 3.1 Timeline of Rebel and Confederate Rebel Mascots

Rebel numbers peaked at 183 in 1977 before plateauing and peaking two more times in 1985 at 184 and 1998 at 190. Since 1998, Rebels have steadily declined in

number. Confederate Rebels likewise had a steady increase until 1977 when its numbers peaked at 156. Since then, Confederates have steadily decreased to the point where they are below 70 in 2018. These numbers show three trends in Rebels and two trends in the Confederate subset. The first time period for Rebels is the frame from 1930 to 1977 where numbers continually increased. Second is the plateau period from 1977 to 1998 where numbers stagnated. The third phase is the decline in numbers from 1998 to present. Confederate Rebels follow the same path for 1930 to 1977 as a period of steady increase; however, there was no leveling of numbers at any point. Confederates started a decline soon after the 1977 with no signs of relinquishing the steady decline.

3.5.1 Phase 1: 1930-1977

From 1930 to 1977 Rebels and Confederate Rebels gained a great deal of popularity across the country. Schools added Rebel mascots at a rate of 3.6 per year during that period with increases of more than ten in 1961, 1962, and 1970. Confederate Rebels experienced a similar increase of 3.1 per year during the same time period with an increase of more than ten in 1970. From 1930 until 1953, 38 schools added “Rebels” as their mascot. The peak during that period was 1941 where five were added. This growth in 1941 may reflect an increase in school openings as more people moved to cities as part of the increased industrialization linked to fueling the war effort of World War II. Although the U.S. was not officially involved in the war at that time, it was providing supplies and materiel to allies. Thirty-two of the thirty-eight, or 84% of those new Rebels were Confederate in presentation. This shows that the Rebel name was still attached to the Confederacy, especially with the 75th Anniversary of the war squarely placed in this timeframe.

After 1953, Rebels and the Confederate subset became much more popular as a choice. From 1954 until 1972 schools added 138 Rebels, of which 123 were Confederate. This was an increase of 7.7 Rebels and 6.8 Confederate Rebels per year. Confederate Rebels were 89% of all new Rebel mascots during this time period. The most Rebel mascots were adopted in 1970 with 15. Thirteen of those fifteen were Confederate as Confederate Rebel made its imprint on mascots. Eight of the eighteen years in this time period featured 100% Confederate additions on the year in question. The significance of the time period is crucial to the selection of the mascot. In 1954, the Supreme Court handed down *Brown vs. Board*, starting the process of public school desegregation. From 1954 until the early 1970s, schools and states played a cat-and-mouse game with the courts in interpreting and downright avoiding *Brown* and subsequent other integration orders.

Public schools had to follow the ruling of *Brown*, but they did so in various ways. Aiken (1998) claims there were three periods of integration following *Brown*: deliberate speed, token integration, and court action. Deliberate speed is a phrase from the second *Brown* ruling in 1955 that clarified the first case in 1954 by giving schools a timeline to integrate with “all deliberate speed”. The vague deadline allowed states to delay integration by stating that they were preparing to integrate but working on logistics. This time period stretches from the initial ruling in 1954 into the middle of the 1960s. It also allowed segregationists the opportunity to unify a fight against the ruling or find a long-term loophole to avoid integration. The second period, token integration, existed from 1964 until 1969. Many states tried split schedules and freedom-of-choice plans where African American students and White students would attend the same school at different

times or where parents were allowed to select where their students wanted to attend. Those who tried to cross the lines of segregation were usually met with intimidation and threats of violence. Finally, the period of court action started in 1969 when Federal courts began to hand down rulings that forced specific districts to integrate or lose federal funding. From 1969 to 1972 courts gave hundreds of ruling but failed to truly integrate some districts as parents of students found ways to move to other districts or private schools.

Use of Rebel in this time period is a reflection of the segregationalist mentality and the rebellious sentiment expressed by those who opposed federal integrative efforts. The Rebel flag was commonly presented during this time as a sign of resistance and a warning to moderates and African Americans that integration would not be tolerated (U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, 1971). The flag and the image of the Rebel were symbolic of the current fight against federal intervention. Popular sentiment was that Southerners fought to protect their homeland during the Civil War and Rebel mascots served as a reminder to continually defend the South against Northern intervention (Foster, 1987; Forts, 2002; Lowenthal, 2015). This approach used the Rebel as a historical tool to unite efforts of massive resistance (Bartley, 1969). Like the monuments of the Lost Cause, this Rebel mascot was used as beacon against social change, reminding people and linking back to a common historical narrative that had been perpetuated since the late 1800s. The Confederate Rebel with his Rebel flag became a signal for those who opposed integration, standing firm on the principles of the Lost Cause, mythically defending the South at all costs.

Public schools in the early portion of the integration era were the most common destinations for Rebels. From 1954 until 1964, seventy-five public schools added a Rebel while only 19 added one between 1965 and 1972. This jump in Rebel numbers is caused by two factors, resistance to integration and public school consolidation. Before 1954 only one year, 1941, added five or more Rebel mascots, but eight of the eleven in this timeframe added at least five. The peak years for public school Rebel additions were 1956, 1961, and 1962. These years are soon after the integrative order of 1954 and follow the first direct challenges to state segregation laws at universities across the South. The Rebels of the early 1960s were direct messages stating that schools were not going to be integrated and states would fight to prevent such actions like soldiers from the Civil War. Ninety-two percent of the schools in this period selected a Confederate Rebel, fortifying a message of resistance. Industrialization after World War II led to a rural depopulation and an increase in urban population creating new schools (Aiken, 1985). The decline of rural population led many rural schools to close and consolidate into regional or county schools. The growth of urban population caused an increase in the number of urban schools that were needed to provide for the additional people. The new urban and county schools had to select mascots, with many choosing the Rebel as a sign of defiance.



Figure 3.2 T-shirt from Summerfield High, Louisiana

After 1965 Rebel choice took a turn toward private schools. From 1954 until 1965 eight private schools selected a Rebel with only five selecting a Confederate icon. After 1965 thirty-four private schools added a Rebel with all but one selecting a Confederate icon. Private school growth occurred because of the transition to the second phase of integration, token integration. Public schools in many states attempted creative methods to integrate schools in an effort to satisfy federal courts without necessarily integrating classrooms (Bolton, 2005). Public schools that attempted these methods were met with lawsuits and the forgone conclusion that schools would integrate. Court cases in the third phase of integration led to a rapid growth in the number of private schools as public schools had exhausted all efforts to prevent the action. These cases impacted specific districts in 1969 creating a bump in private school Rebels at that time. Before 1969 private schools added roughly one Rebel mascot each year, but 1969 and 1970 were banner years for Rebel expansion as private schools added nine and thirteen respectively.

This shift toward more Rebels in private schools is evidence of the mass exodus of Whites to private schools for the purpose of maintaining segregated schools. These

schools were hastily constructed after public school integration rulings with the explicit purpose of maintaining Whiteness (Munford, 1971; Aiken, 1998; Bolton, 2005). These schools carried forth the banner of White supremacy fueled by neo-liberal, anti-government, free-market ideologies that retained control on a local level and reinforced segregation (Moye, 2000; Fuquay, 2002). The increase in private school Rebels is indicative of a rise in the number of white flight schools at the time. From 1968 until 1970, private school enrollment in Mississippi jumped 170% (Clotfelter, 1976). These schools became bastions of Whiteness and expressed that ideal through the Rebel flag and mascots including and beyond the Rebel- utilizing identities like Generals, Raiders, Captains, Renegades, Colonels, and Confederates. These mascots sent a public message that they were in a fight to protect their children from federal intervention and non-Whites.



Figure 3.3 Mascot at Briarfield Academy, Lake Providence, LA

Decline in public school Rebels after 1965 is a resignation to the fight against integration. In 1969, no public schools added a Rebel while nine private schools did,

denoting a shift in not only the way Whiteness was defended but also the inclusion of non-Whites in the messaging of public schools. When Natchez-Adams High School in Mississippi integrated, the mixed-race student body led to a change in mascot (Davis, 2001). Natchez-Adams was the Rebels, but the newly renamed and integrated Natchez-South dropped the mascot. In the years that followed, Natchez created gerrymandered “neighborhood schools” where Natchez-South returned to a nearly all-White student body and changed the mascot to Generals, bringing the Natchez-Adams Rebel mascot costume and Confederate regalia out of retirement. Federal courts intervened in 1989, forcing Natchez to again integrate. Integrated Natchez High dropped the Confederate icons and became the Bulldogs. The changes at Natchez and the decline in public school Rebels are indicative of the cultural shift at integrated schools. New public schools did not stop selecting mascots after 1965, but the decline in numbers proves an admission of defeat by those defending Whiteness. Public schools that failed to integrate faced the issue of having federal funding rescinded, bankrupting a stalwart school (Bolton, 2005). The shift to private school growth is the function of a redirected plan to retain Whiteness in education. Some private school leaders used curriculum, financial incentives, Confederate iconography, and intimidation to encourage White people to attend white flight academies (Katagiri, 2001). These efforts proved somewhat successful in that continued longevity of many of these schools, even in 2019.

3.5.2 Phases 2 and 3: 1977-Present

Growth of the Rebel mascot and Confederate Rebel subset narrowed to a trickle after 1972. Schools, both public and private, continued to add Rebel mascots, but not nearly at the pace they did before 1972. From 1972 until 1977 numbers slowly climbed to

an apex before Rebels leveled off and Confederates started their decline. After 1973 only three years in this time period added three or more Rebel mascots: 1992, 1993, and 1994. This growth is associated not with Confederate growth but western Rebels, namely UNLV's Hey Reb. When new schools select a mascot, they often select one that is popular in American culture at the time the school is established. In the early 1990s, Jerry Tarkanian's UNLV basketball teams dominated NCAA basketball and placed the school and the mascot in front of the eyes of millions. The school's athletic success translated into a rise in Rebel or Running Rebel mascots in the early 1990s. After 1994, the popularity of new Rebels faded with no new Confederate Rebels selected since 1993.

The decline in Confederate Rebels after 1977 is part of a larger issue of the mascot and the iconography that is associated with it. After 1972 only fourteen schools selected a Confederate Rebel while ninety-seven schools either dropped their Confederate Rebel or closed their doors. This decline, which will be highlighted further in Chapter 4, is based on the role of de-Confederalization and the association with the term Rebel that may be construed as offensive (Alderman, 1996, 57). The stagnation of the choice of Rebel from 1972 until 1998 is also symbolic of this sentiment toward the Rebel mascot. From 1973 until 1998 thirty-six schools added the Rebel name while twenty-three dropped the moniker leading to a net of thirteen Rebels in twenty-five years. The UNLV "bump" of the early 1990s is the only reason that there was any increase during this period. Confederate Rebels have continued a steady drop since the 1970s while the Rebel name started declining dramatically after 2003. In the past 14 years thirty-four Rebel schools closed or dropped the Rebel name while forty-five schools closed or dropped the Confederate Rebel.

3.6 Spatial Findings

Historical distributions of Rebels yield findings similar to the current state of Rebel mascots. A majority of Rebels were found in the states of the former Confederacy. Fifty-three percent of Rebel mascots were located in the Confederate states with sixty-seven percent, or 121 of the 180 featuring a Confederate presentation at one time. In the states of the former Confederacy, 121 of the 125, Rebels, or 97%, were Confederate. A deep historical connection still exists between these states and their association with the Confederacy. The high number of mascots that were also Confederate prove the association with the term is not a mild association but deeply connected and rooted in the history of the region. Outside the Confederacy, the connection fades slightly as only 54% of Rebels outside the Confederacy retained a Confederate identity. This proves that the connection of Rebel and Confederate is not as popular as it is in the South but still common and often related. The distance-decay outside the South proves a lag in the association and provides space for other presentations that are evident in the lower numbers outside the South.

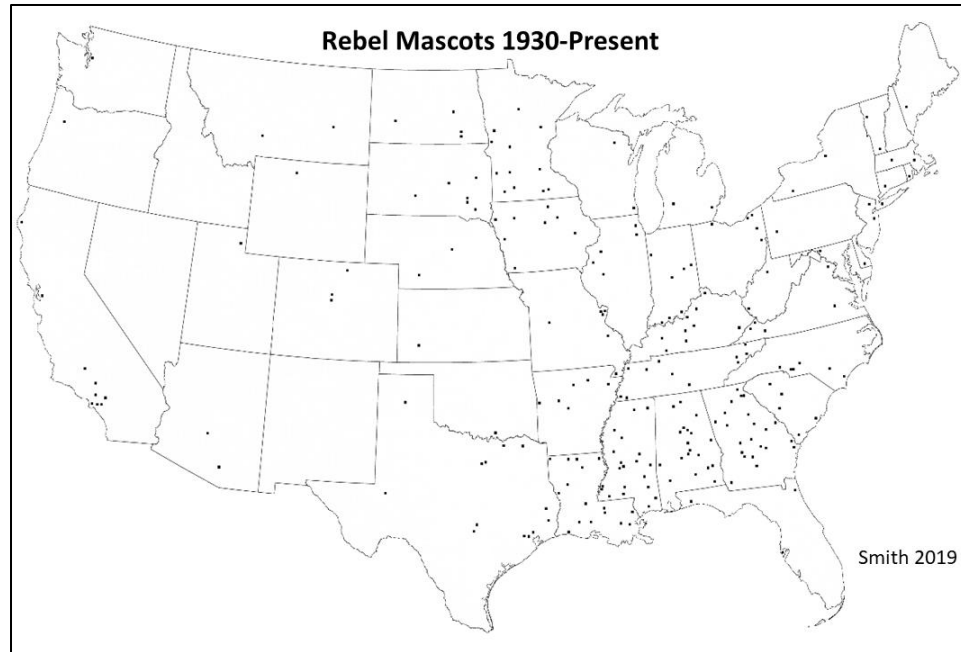


Figure 3.4 Locations of all Rebel Mascots (1930-Present) (One dot is one school)

The states with the highest number of Rebels were Georgia (22), Mississippi (20), and Alabama (19). These three states are typically considered the core of the Deep South and have some long-standing affiliation with the Confederacy and White resistance. These three participated in the strongest opposition to Brown as politicians there continually argued that schools and other public facilities were under state laws not federal mandate (Kilpatrick, 1962). Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett and Alabama Governor George Wallace both had public stands against integration at flagship universities. Mississippi and Georgia both featured the Confederate Battle Flag on their state flags as a sign of resistance and a symbol of White unity. Beyond these three states, numbers began to decrease as the fringes of this region had fewer than some states outside the South. Virginia only had five Rebels and Florida only three. Texas still had thirteen, which is surprising since it is sometimes considered “Border South” depending

on the metric used to measure Southernness (Gulley, 1990; Alderman and Fournier, 1998). Outside the Deep South, Kentucky had nine with eight Confederates; California had nine with four Confederates, and Minnesota had thirteen with only three Confederate. These historical numbers are similar to the current state of these mascots with the number in Minnesota the most surprising. Minnesota had more Rebels than five of the eleven Confederate states but only three schools had a Confederate presentation, again backing the idea that the Rebel term in the Upper Midwest is supportive of the Great Depression farm riots instead of the Confederacy.

3.6.1 Early Adopters

From 1930 to 1953 Rebel and Confederate Rebel mascots were widespread with only 63% located in the states of the former Confederacy. Eighty-four percent of those Rebels were Confederate in presentation with less than ten percent private. The presence of the Rebel here is due to the familiarity with the Confederacy and the continuation of the visual memorials to the Lost Cause. The mascots served as a reminder of the war and a continued support for the last few veterans who were alive in the 1930s and 1940s. A Confederate expansion of Rebel mascots in the Deep South and areas of the Southern fringe like Missouri, Kentucky, and Delaware highlight this period, but places like Denver, Colorado, are also present in this period. In the 1930s the city of Denver's school district expanded from a central high school, establishing schools on the western and southern edge of the city, adopted the name Cowboys and Rebels for each (Meyer, 2009). Rebels of South Denver adopted Confederate icons and the Rebel flag carrying the tradition into the 1990s. Rebel expansion before 1954 was typically in city or community

schools. Very few county or consolidated schools were formed at the time so there were very few Rebels present in those locations.

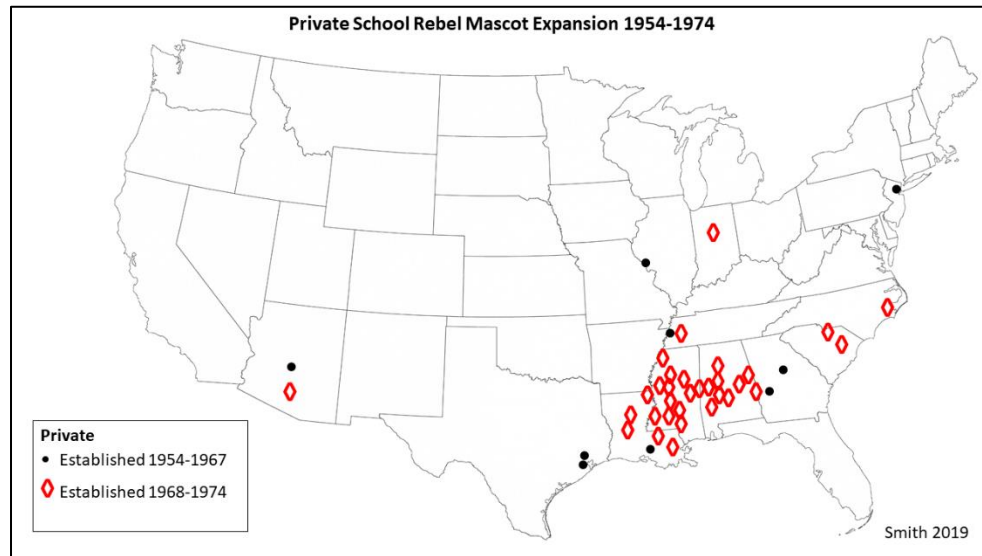


Figure 3.5 Private School Expansion of Rebel Mascots 1954-1972

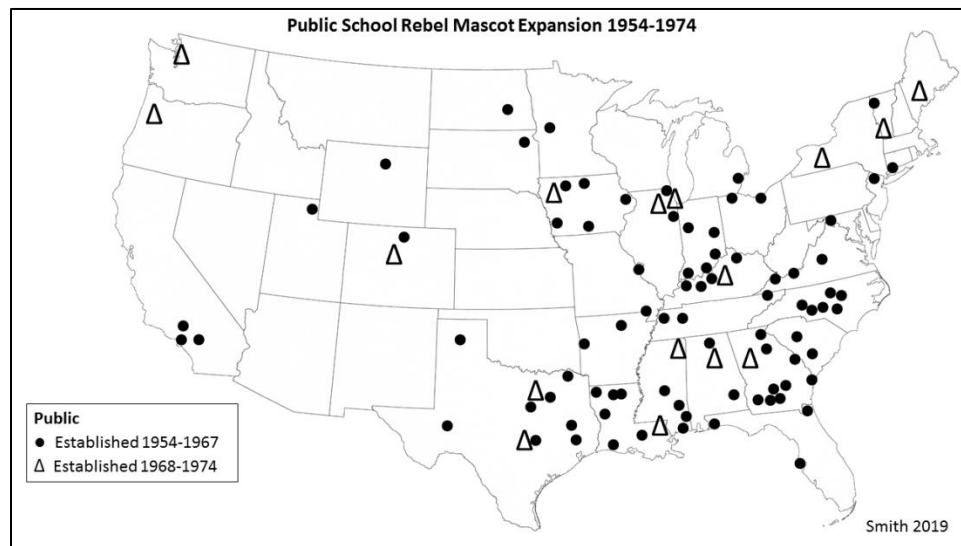


Figure 3.6 Public School Expansion of Rebel Mascots 1954-1972

3.6.2 The Response to School Integration

From 1954 until 1972 Rebel selection remained mostly Southern but included far more rural and county schools. County schools became very popular at the time because of consolidation. In the 1960s, many school districts consolidated rural schools to increase provisions and better serve the students of integrated districts (Bolton, 2005). Consolidation can lead to a better use of taxpayer funds so larger schools typically have better trained instructors and offer better facilities with more specialized courses (Maxcey, 1976; Coleman and Hoffer, 1987). Consolidated schools are also easier to influence and control politically, so consolidation became advantageous for school boards. Public schools in the upper Great Plains, Kentucky, and Indiana all added Rebel mascots at a rapid pace, but the core of public school growth was in Texas, Louisiana, Georgia, and the Carolinas. Public schools were established earlier in the integration period and are common in suburban Texas, rural southeastern Georgia, and rural North and South Carolina. Private schools in Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana also experienced rapid growth during this time. As the stalwarts of White identity, many of these private schools were backed by White Citizens' Council members as sites of indoctrination of White power and centers of White propaganda against integration (Munford, 1971; Katagiri, 2001). The schools formed under the guise of religious freedom or variations in instructional style but were not initially established with educational rigor or workplace preparation in mind.

3.6.3 Post-Integration: 1972-Present

After 1972, Rebels continued to develop but not at the rate or in the capacity that they had in the prior two eras. Only 12% of the new Rebels were established in the period

between 1973 and 2018 in the former states of the Confederacy. This decline is symbolic of the declining grasp of White control in the region and new interpretations of the term. Before 1973 Rebels were primarily Confederate and used to either honor the Confederacy or symbolize resistance to integration. Since 1973, the decrease in the number of new Rebel mascots and the precipitous decline in the number of Confederate Rebels represent an end of resistance and willingness for many to move beyond the Civil War. Many of the new Rebel schools were located outside the South, particularly the eight that were established in Minnesota. Stagflation of the late 1970s and early 1980s and the farm crisis of the early 1980s led to a further depopulation of the agriculturally rural areas of the country and fueled another round of consolidation of rural schools (Mississippi State Educational Finance Commission, 1985; Ramirez-Ferrero, 2005). Legislation in the late 1980s and early 1990s incentivized school districts that consolidated their depopulating school districts, easing the financial burden of building new facilities and transporting students to new schools (Minnesota House of Representatives, 2018). This consolidation caused many districts to form a new high school from two or three old schools leading to the selection of a new mascot. The popularity of UNLV's mascot is evident here and the Rebel name may also be a tongue-in-cheek reference to the confederation of districts that united to form a new district.

3.6.4 Long-term Trend of Rebels

One final way to represent the trends in Rebel mascot choice and change over the years is through a map. Mapping centroids of each decade shows a progression in the trends of Rebel names and the diversity of the term. It also gives a comparison of how the Confederate subset influences and varies from the entire Rebel group. Starting with 1930,

I created decadal listings of schools with Rebels and those with Confederate Rebels. I acquired the coordinates of each school, approximating the coordinates of the schools that are now closed by using the city coordinates of the city where they were located. I then computed the average or centroid of each decade and mapped all of them from 1930 until 2018 on a map for both Rebels and Confederate Rebels. The data was compared on a decade-by-decade basis and compared to the additional data set with reference to the centroid for American population provided by the U.S. Census Bureau. The Census centroid is a frame of reference of American population movements and can be used to compare trends in the development of the data.

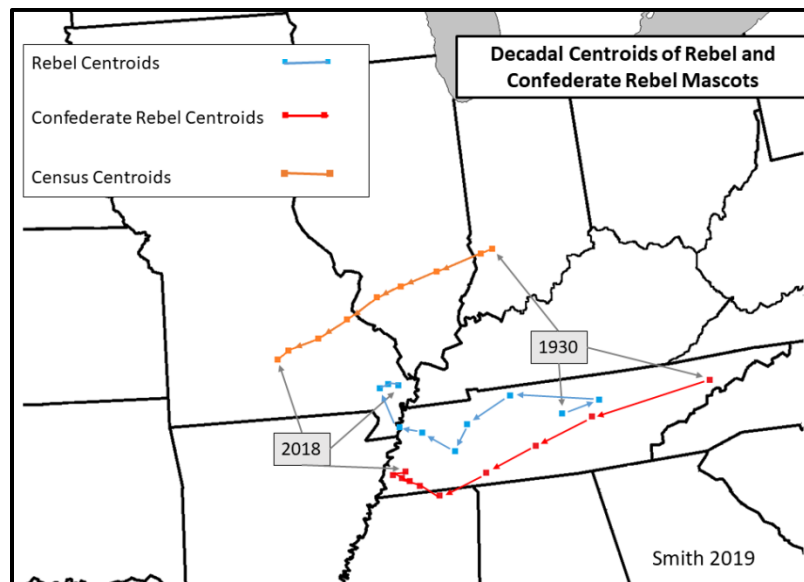


Figure 3.7 Decadal Centroids of Rebels and Confederate Rebels (1930-2018)

Starting in 1930, we see the progression of Rebels and Confederate Rebels that is surprising. The Census centroid from 1930 until 2010 is almost linear in its southwestward movement across Southern Illinois and Southern Missouri. Neither Rebel

dataset matches that trend although they both demonstrate a westward movement similar to that of the Census. Here we see the Southern association with the Rebel presentation as both lines remain completely south of the Census line for the duration of the period. The Rebels centroids amble around central Tennessee for the first three decades before starting a dip to the South and West in the 1960s and 1970s. Confederate Rebels are more straightforward in their pattern as they move westward with a Southern dip in 1970 that is duplicated by the Rebel dataset. This 1970 dip is a reminder of the use of the Rebel as a sign of resistance against integration in the 1960s and 1970s. By 1980 both datasets relinquished their Southern vector as they shifted northward yet still continued a Western swing. After 1980 Confederate Rebels started a spiral centered in suburban Memphis, symbolizing the lack of expansion in Rebel mascots. By 2010 Rebels started the same spiral, losing their expansion as the term began to fall out of favor with schools. The spiral trend of both datasets in the past few decades is symbolic of the lack of pull factors and the shrinking numbers of Rebels. Schools dropped the name while no schools added the name, leading to losses that did not directionally move the dataset to the same degree or trajectory as it had in the past.

3.7 Overview

The first point to highlight in this chapter is the similarities and differences of public and private schools. Public and private both adopted Rebels and Confederate Rebel mascots in great numbers, especially after 1954. The timing was important because of the growing threat of integration to the White hegemonic culture that had been in place since the colonial days. The Rebel became a symbol of defiance to federal intervention and an icon of Whiteness that was publically displayed as a symbol of the school. Public

schools selected the Rebel immediately after Brown vs. Board but started admitting the inevitability of integration by 1965. Private schools did not fully embrace the Rebel until the White-flight schools of the late 1960s and early 1970s were established in the Deep South. These White-flight schools incorporated the Rebel and his counterparts Raider, General, Colonel, and Confederate as reminders of the Confederacy. Adoption of the Rebel in both cases is a result of the perceived inferiority of the South that led to the selection of Confederate icons (Alderman, 1996). Harkening back to the legends of the Confederacy is a response to the stereotyping of the South and the reversion is symbolic of the acknowledgement of social change that was evident in the South (Foster, 1987). After 1972, both types of schools slowed their efforts of Rebel adoption; particularly Confederate icons, leading to a sharp decline in the number of Confederate Rebel schools after 1978. Rebel numbers remained constant over the next two decades but started a downturn after 1998.

The Rebel became a symbol of massive resistance against integrative efforts and a message of maintaining Whiteness in schools. Choice of a Rebel instead of a Lion or a Bear is a method of reasserting Whiteness through a form of White resistance (Pulido, 2000). The Rebel wielding a Confederate Battle Flag served as code that the administration and headmaster of the school would do everything he/she could to continue segregation. Use of the Rebel flag as a school banner at athletic events was a reminder that resistance was still present and non-White people were not accepted. Adoption of the Rebel meant White people were in control of the school and Whiteness would be defended to retain that control. The image also served as a tool linking to the past. Lowenthal stated that people retain the history we like so it can be used and

implemented in a manner where, “The past renders the present recognizable,” (2015, 86). At these schools the Rebel represents the continual fight against federal intervention, especially in the attack against White power, White ownership of others, and White economic advantages.

There is also the idea of messaging, where the image selected is key to the message that wants to be presented. Here the image is produced based on a name and a theme. Others see the image and the audience reacts to that image. A Revolutionary Rebel evokes feelings of patriotism and sends the message that the people of that school can unite because they are in the United States. A Western Rebel signifies an adventurous person with an independent spirit. Schools that only present their form of Rebel in “lettering only” lose some of this clarity as an “H” or the term “Rebels” leaves a vague interpretation of the institution and fails to fervently unite a group. A Confederate general or Confederate soldier still sends a message that a loss a century and a half ago has not been forgotten and the symbols from that time still have relevance because of the recycling of them for more sinister causes. The messaging of Confederate schools renders a conflicting narrative because the losers of a conflict are honored. This conflict is true in many schools, including Nathan Bedford Forrest High. In 2013 Duval County Schools announced that the school, which had transitioned from all-White in 1959 to predominantly African American, would no longer use the Rebel mascot or the name of Forrest (Pearson, 2013). The district claimed that the message of the Rebel and Forrest were not indicative of the school district, school, or students, so the names were dropped and the school became the Westside High Wolverines. This change is not an isolated

event, but one of a series that has occurred since the late 1960s. The next chapter will discuss this change and the reasons for such measures.

CHAPTER IV – FROM REBELLION TO REBEL LION: CHANGING MASCOTS

Today Fairfax, Virginia, is an exurb of Washington D.C. that is diverse and metropolitan but has a history deeply affiliated with the Confederate States of America. Fairfax is in close proximity to Arlington, the antebellum home of Confederate General Robert E. Lee. Lee's home was in Arlington, a section of the county that was ceded to Washington D.C. when the district was formed, but was returned to Virginia as an independent city. Before the Civil War, the city operated a bustling slave market that was threatened by the prospect of abolition. The county is also home to Manassas, also known as Bull Run, home to two important battles during the Civil War. Fairfax County Courthouse was also the site of adoption of the Confederate Battle Flag by the Army of Northern Virginia (Coski, 2005). This location is significant because the flag has carried deeply symbolic value since the Civil War. The birthplace of the flag is revered by neo-Confederates and White supremacists as the genesis of one of the most iconic symbols of their causes. Finally, Fairfax is also in the center of one of the hearths of the Lost Cause monument craze of the late 1800s and early 1900s (Winberry, 1983; Foster, 1987). Proximity of the area to Maryland and Washington D.C. led to fervent adoption of Confederate monuments as a reminder of the continued resistance against federal laws that may impact and influence the way of life in the former Confederacy. This wave of Confederate support was high in 1936 when the city opened Fairfax High School and adopted the Rebel as its mascot (U.S. Fourth Circuit, 1987).

Fairfax High adopted the Rebel in the 1930s and retained Confederate iconography through the 1970s when changes slowly began to occur in the school. In 1978 the school began to tone down use of the Confederate Battle Flag as an official

banner of the school (U.S. Fourth District, 1987). The school district was met with mild opposition due to the official muting of the flag but students were still allowed to wave it and the school continued utilizing a Confederate general, named Johnny Reb, as the symbol of the school. In 1986, several African American students petitioned Principal Harry Holsinger asking him to remove all Confederate flags and Johnny Reb because they were symbols of neo-Nazis and White supremacists and were not representational of all students at the school. Principal Holsinger removed Johnny Reb and banned the Confederate Battle Flag from campus, sending students home who continued to wave or wear the flag. Holsinger's decision was met by a petition, rally, and eventual lawsuit that was appealed to federal court. That court supported Holsinger stating that the mascot was a stamp of approval from the district and administrators had the right to remove controversial symbols from the school in the name of civility.

The federal court appeal process took several years and held the mascot in limbo, but a final ruling was established that approved mascot removal. The final ruling that supported Holsinger cited a 1971 case of the Confederate Flag used in Covington, Louisiana, in public school as a sign of resistance to integration (U.S. Fifth Circuit, 1971). The flag was deemed by the court as a symbol of racism that was not protected under First Amendment "Freedom of Speech" clause because school speech was not the same as individual speech. Schools have a special role as a service to people of their catchment areas and are responsible for providing sites of education free of oppressive symbols and elements of overt racism (U.S. Fourth Circuit, 1987). The mascot was a choice of the school district and subject to change by administrators who found the mascot no longer symbolic of all students or properly fitting the motif of the educational

environment. By 1990, the court ruling allowed the district to drop all Confederate symbols from the school. The school retained the “Rebel” name but converted the Rebel into a small powder-puff type figure named the Rebel Rouser (Jordan, 1988; Heath, 1990). Another alteration of the mascot in the 2000s removed Rouser and adopted the term “rebellion” that was dissected into “Rebel Lion”. The school adopted the Rebel Lion name and Lion iconography that it retains as its mascot in 2019.

Fairfax is one example of many schools that changed their mascot to mute Confederate overtones. Muting of mascots is one example of avoiding mascot controversy; another is outright mascot removal. Schools like Nathan Bedford Forrest and South Burlington avoided Rebel controversies by fully removing the Rebel as the mascot. This chapter investigates the changes of mascots determining timelines of muting and removal and asking if there are spatial patterns to such actions. Typically to make changes like removal or alteration, there has to be some form of motivation, like the students who approached the principal at Fairfax. The change of these mascots also changes the message of the institution. Removal of a Confederate motif, or “deconfederalizing” is not only common of mascots but also school names, parks, flags, and monuments (Alderman, 1996; Leib and Webster, 2012; and Hardin, 2017). This action is not only a recent occurrence, but a series of alterations that have occurred since the 1960s and possibly earlier. The next section will discuss this deconfederalization and how it impacts the psychology of change upon the cultural landscape. Then this chapter will turn to the research question of muting, removal, and spatial-temporal relationships followed by a discussion of findings.

4.1 Deconfederalization

To frame the idea of deconfederalization, there was the event of “confederalizing”, or adding Confederate icons to the landscape. Soon after the Civil War, Southern veterans and widows were unable to officially commemorate the loss of war. Monuments were added in cemeteries and later city parks and courthouse squares to remind people of the suffering and loss from the Civil War (Foster, 1987). Ruling Democrats in the South co-opted these commemorations as a way to remind all Southerners of the pain of war. These reminders reinforced Whiteness stating that the Democratic Party was the only one who fought to prevent African Americans from taking control of the South. These efforts were a method to prevent poor Whites from shifting allegiances to Republicans and Populists, abandoning the Democratic Party. Success of this movement continued as Confederate names and figures became common on the public landscape (Inwood and Alderman, 2016). These signs and symbols were emblems of Whiteness and resistance and reflected the ruling party that shaped opinions and policies for nearly a century (Harvey, 1973). Confederate names, statues, and mascots all became symbolic of the power structure in the South serving as constant reminders of resistance and Whiteness (Hoelscher, 2003; Jansson, 2007). Confederate icons permeated the landscape and supported the power structure through Whiteness that created a common, nearly banal appearance of Confederate images.

4.1.1 The Process of Deconfederalization

After 1965, Confederate icons started losing their social impact and slowly began to fade from the landscape. There are two reasons for this decline: time and cultural change. After the centennial anniversary of the Civil War, the value of the symbols of the

Confederate States lost some of their reverent value. Those who were raised in the heart of the Lost Cause movement were aging and losing their influence upon the American South to younger generations who served in the military with African Americans and witnessed more of the plight of African American desire for equality. As the symbols of the Confederacy, namely the Confederate Battle Flag, became more associated with White supremacy, the direct association with the Confederacy became less apparent and held less emotional attachment to the states (Leib, 2007.) This generational change became more apparent as some White people opted for the removal of the flag from certain places due to the more evident link between Whiteness and the flag (Watts, 2006). The social change primarily came as a result of the Civil Rights Movement. The movement added African American voices to public commentary on the symbols and recent guarantees of the Civil Rights Acts of the 1960s encouraged them to speak up against the symbols without as much fear of retribution (Fausset, 2015). The Lost Cause as a whole ignores the voice of African American people as it treats them as outsiders and aliens in their own land (Webster and Leib, 2001; Dwyer and Alderman, 2008; Alderman and Dobbs, 2009). New input from African Americans spurred change and began to alter Confederate icons.

Removal of Confederate icons was tied to more inclusive narratives and a need to address the prevalence of these icons across the U.S. The Rebel Flag and Confederate imagery alienated people who do not associate with the country or the ideals it stood for, so common displays of Confederate images, especially public ones, did not serve the entire public. An example of this is “Southern” heritage that is tied to the rebel name (Jansson, 2007). During the mid-Twentieth Century, popular Southern identity was

connected to the rebel because being southern meant being opposed to the Union, thus in a prolonged state of resistance and rebellion. The memory of the rebellion faded and the rebel name lost some of the association with the South. Migrants and African Americans found no connection to the term, further diluting the value of the term. The prevalence of Confederate icons across the country serves as a constant reminder of the willingness to unite people in the name of Whiteness. Attempts to remove these symbols lead to a more inclusive landscape that allows non-White people to possess a stake in what is displayed and serve as reminders of who they are (Bohland, 2013). African Americans, Hispanics, Asians, Natives, and others who remove Confederate icons find ways to replace them with their own markers on the landscape, creating their own imprint and reminders of history (Alderman, 1996). An example of this was the movement in the 1990s by members of the African American community in Atlanta who petitioned the city to remove the name Confederate Drive. These new markers are multicultural and celebrate diverse groups of people more adequately symbolizing the entire population.

4.1.2 Resistance to Deconfederalization

Opposition to Confederate removal is typically centered around preserving heritage while fighting political correctness. Since the 1970s, attempts to remove Confederate icons have been met with cries of preservation to defend heritage and tradition (Said, 1989; Alderman and Fournier, 1998; Watts, 2006; Crisp, 2010). White supremacists typically lead the charge in defending Confederate icons delicately stating that symbols are harmless and lack any real value (Hoelscher, 2003). These groups contradict themselves by showing up at rallies en masse to preserve Confederate monuments and images and state that they are defending the moral decline of America

with their lives (Hague, 2008). Sociologist John Shelton Reed joked that all other racial issues must have been solved if debates are ongoing over symbols (1990). His ignorance, like that of neo-Confederate groups, misses the value of these symbols as constant reminders of Whiteness and White nationalism (Said, 1989). Cries of “political correctness” are common of groups opposed to deconfederalization because their myopic point of view only includes their own opinion of what is Southern and what is history (Webster and Leib, 2001). Presence of the KKK and skinheads at rallies against deconfederalization reinforces the racial gravity of the symbols giving the symbols more racial value and supporting the idea that these symbols are racialized.

Deconfederalization started in the 1960s and 1970s but gained substantial momentum in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The term hate crime was coined in the 1980s and was commonly attached to crimes committed by people affiliated with racist groups (National Institute of Justice, 2018). Iconography attached to these groups was sometimes also attached to Confederate images, linking the two and leading to a desire to create a cleavage between the two. The early 1990s transitioned from a period of racial awareness into the time period known as “Post-Racial America” where people believed that the country had moved beyond racial issues (Gretlund, 1999). A handful of racially charged murders, the L.A. Riots, and church burnings across the South reminded people that race was still present as an issue and the country had not moved beyond race. Confederate monuments and icons still remained, reminding people of the racial past and present. After South Carolina lost the Mercedes plant bid to Alabama, the state continued more proactive deconfederalization in the name of economics (Webster and Leib, 2001). Other states followed suit, including Georgia’s removal of the Battle Flag from its state

flag and the failed attempt in Mississippi to do the same. After the Charleston Shooting, the issue again came before the public as the nation questioned the number of Confederate icons across the country, not just in the American South (Webster and Leib, 2016; Hardin, 2017). These questions of Confederate icons altered the mindset of the American people and began another phase of landscape change across the country.

4.2 Landscape Change

The cultural landscape is important because it serves as a reminder of history and power. Part of the role of monuments and memorials is to inscribe narratives of public memory on the land and in the minds of people who daily encounter these elements. Memory reminders are created by agreements and compromises that adjust wording, presentation, and site (Karacas, 2010). The geographer J.B. Jackson said that monuments and other pieces of design and architecture are part of the landscape that is, “History made visible” (Lewis, 1998, 523). This process of the “read landscape” is modeled after geographer Carl Sauer and viewed and translated by people. The messaging can be interpreted as intended or misconstrued; however, landscape does not only serve as a reminder of history but also as a reminder of power. The state uses texts and symbols to shape young minds and forge ideals of patriotism at an early age with the repeated presentations and frequent symbols of country (Tuan, 1991). Reminders of who is in control may be subtle but are frequent and ingrained in the public mind through national anthems, parades, holidays, and pledges. Landscape also reflects this obedience through flag presentations, monuments, memorials, and toponyms that remind people of who was in control and those still seeking control.

Change on the cultural landscape is like any change, not always welcome. Sometimes challenges to present icons on the landscape are viewed as affronts to a specific regime of power and are framed as “attacks” or “forced coercion” (Lowenthal, 2015). If a person has an allegiance to a specific regime, removal of an icon affiliated with that regime is similar to admitting defeat and recognizing a transition to a new structure of power. The transition is not always peaceful and can be met with protests or worse. Transitions mean shifts in power and can mean changes in governmentality as part of a progression toward a different ruling party or entity (Schwanen and Kwan, 2009). Alterations of symbols, however minute, can hint at these changes and further remind people of larger occurrences such as demographic change or new freedoms to specific groups. Name changes also denote these shifts as changing a name changes a place (Tuan, 1991). It also changes a perception of a place and reframes what that place is and what it means. A change in a place name can mean that a new entity is in power and desires to erase the old one or new information has come to light to highlight the negative qualities of the honored party.

4.2.1 Motivators of Landscape Change

Demographic change is one of the most common reasons for cultural landscape change. As demographics change in cities, and more African Americans became prominent, we see more African American memorials and street names present on the landscape (Dwyer and Alderman, 2008). Some view these shifts in a higher presence of African American names and faces on the landscape as a racialization of a place, but they fail to see that all space was racialized from the beginning. In most early American cities, Whites were in control and inlaid White names and White memorials in those cities,

reminding people of their Whiteness. These racializations encourage domination and exploitation serving as a reminder of White supremacy and White control (Inwood and Yarbrough, 2010). When African Americans, Latinos, or Asians rise to power, they inscribe their names upon the landscape, noting control and an influence over land. Many White people see these additions of new names as political correctness and cultural erosions of their history and heritage that shapes who they are and why they exist (Cobb, 2005). These additions and removals are not erosions but fuller inclusions of all people. The diverse cultural landscape is a snapshot of the place and the people who live in that place, thus cultural landscapes become a way to describe the people who interact with the local culture on a daily basis.

4.2.2 Processes Behind Landscape Change

Documenting change is not enough for scholars. We are called to look behind the curtain at the processes making the change (Harvey, 1973). We must question the signs and symbols we encounter and reflect on the ruling parties that selected these symbols. We confront thousands of symbols daily but give little value to their history or symbolic nature. Addressing the acts that led to a Confederate monument or Confederate mascot will lead back to power and usually an avenue of reinforced Whiteness. Inwood and Alderman (2016) stated that we need to address the foundation of symbols and investigate their original and current purposes. They claim that removing a symbol from the landscape, particularly a racist symbol, does a disservice to history but leaving it upon the landscape prevents the act of reconciliation over past racial issues. Allowing a racist symbol to remain as an emblem of honor continues to drive a wedge between people

groups and prevents real open dialogues over why the symbol is present and why it even matters.

4.2.3 Fluidity of Landscape

Alterations to the cultural landscape are a continual process. A landscape is fluid, and so are the elements upon that landscape. Karacas (2010) gives the example of Yokoami Park in Tokyo that houses a memorial to the loss of life from the 1923 Great Kanto Earthquake. The park memorializes the nearly 40,000 people who died from a fire that resulted from the earthquake. During World War II continual bombings of Tokyo claimed the lives of 100,000 additional Japanese who were laid to rest in a new memorial in the park. The shared space of the two memorials has led to conflicting narratives of the history of the area and of the two disasters that occurred at different times. New events can add memorials while other events can change the name of a place, making it distinguishable. Robert Kruse (2012) brings to light the Piano Key of Biscayne Bay, Florida, as an example of where an event changes a name. A piano was placed on a sandbar in the bay as an art installation, altering the character and referent name of the sandbar. Here an event and unique feature changed the name of the place demonstrating the fluidity of cultural landscape.

4.3 Research Methodology

The alterations and changes to the landscape as part of mascot change of Rebels and the controversial subset of Confederate Rebel mascots starts with a review the establishment of these mascots. The history of these mascots is traced through the archival processes in the studies of Chapter 2 and Chapter 3. Rebel findings were observed in secondary schools across the United States tabulating alterations to mascots,

muting of Confederate iconography, and closures of schools that possess the Rebel name. These three categories classify declines in Rebel schools numbers since the 1970s.

4.4 Research Findings

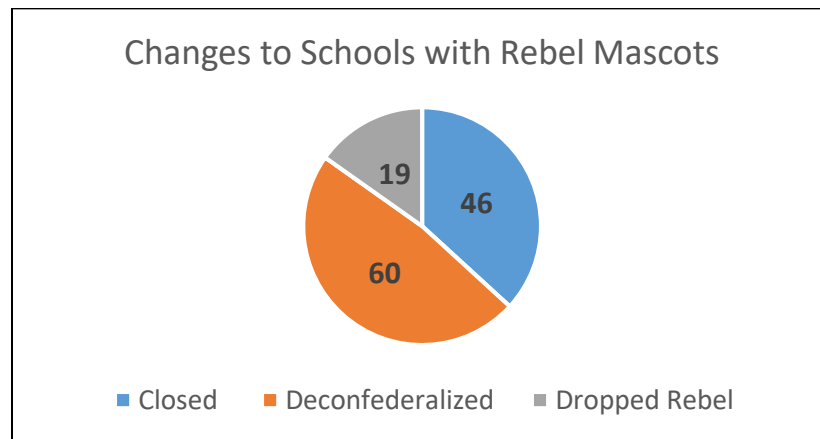


Figure 4.1 Causes of Decline of Rebel Mascots 1950-2018

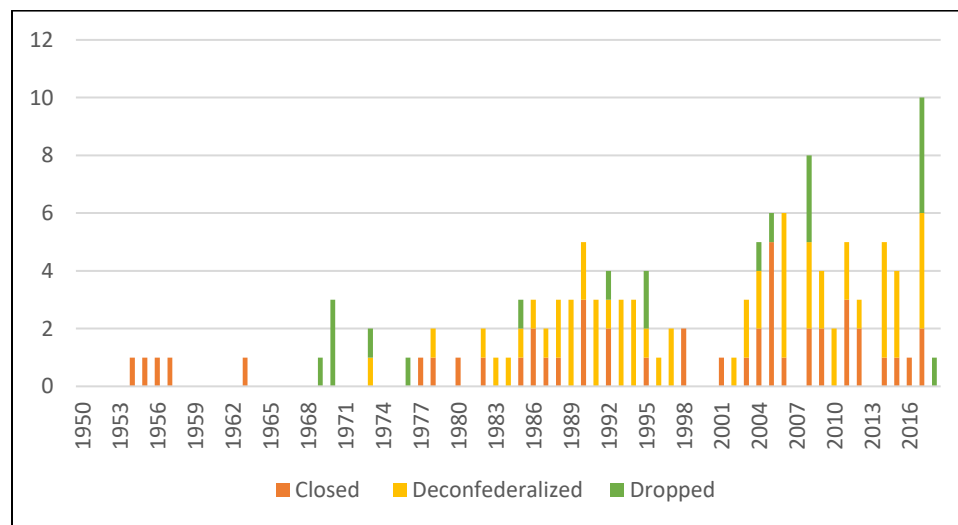


Figure 4.2 Timeline of Mascot Changes 1950-2018

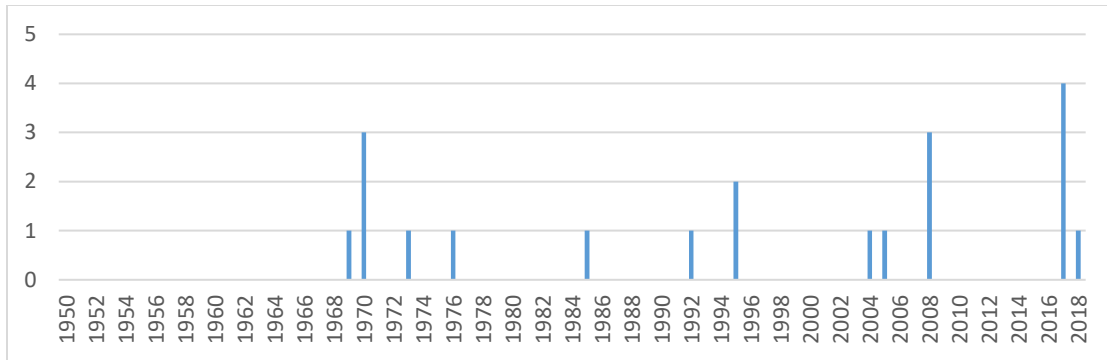


Figure 4.3 Mascot Removals 1950-2018

4.4.1 Mascot Removal

Rebel mascot removal had the least occurrences of the three categories as only twenty schools since 1950 dropped their Rebel mascot. Removal occurred in four time periods, the 1970s, the late 1980s to early 1990s, mid 2000s and mid-2010s. These four time periods reflect different phases of racial relations in the United States. The 1970s was the time after the high tide of Civil Rights Movement when schools integrated and dropping of the Rebel mascot was a reflection of the change in demographics of the school and the inclusion of non-Whites, namely African Americans, into the choice of mascot. The late 1980s and early 1990s were the supposed start of post-racial America, when race was allegedly not an issue (Gretlund, 1999). To remind people of the evolving opinions and to distance the mindset from the post-Rodney King race riots of Watts, schools dropped mascots that were racial in nature. The third period was the mid-2000s after the very public removal of Colonel Reb from the University of Mississippi. This time period was highlighted by the publicity and messaging of the mascot and how schools could be perceived due to their icons. Finally, the mid-2010s was the time after the Charleston shooting. The event reminded people of the power of racialized images

and terms. These schools wanted to distance themselves from these terms and images, so they dropped their Rebel names as presented in Figure 3.1.

The twenty mascot removals occurred in nineteen different schools; however, one school dropped the Rebel mascot twice, Escambia High. Escambia County High School of Pensacola, Florida, opened in 1958 as a result of consolidation of community schools in the rural parts of the county (U.S. Fifth Circuit, 1973). Since school formation was just years after the integration ruling of Brown, the school selected a Rebel as its mascot- a symbol of resistance at the new all-White school. Escambia used the Rebel Flag and Confederate imagery as symbols of school spirit and a reminder of White power. The school was integrated in 1968 and friction developed between African American students and the Confederate iconography that symbolized the school and White supremacy. African American students appealed to the principal, asking him to remove the icons (King, 1976). Racial tensions grew at the school in late 1972, so the principal acquiesced in 1973, changing the mascot from Rebels to Raiders. White students held a protest vote to return the Rebel as mascot (U.S. Fifth Circuit, 1973). The principal refused to acknowledge the vote, so the students sued. The federal court ruled that school principal had the right to suspend the mascot because it interfered with the educational process.

The three years that followed contained a lot of racial animosity and change in the area surrounding the school. Racial tensions rose as some White residents saw the court ruling as an over-extension of federal oversight throwing additional fuel onto a racially charged region (King, 1976). Those residents appealed the court ruling, stating that the student body should have a say in the choice of mascot. Following the shooting of an unarmed African American man by a deputy sheriff, African American residents began a

boycott of businesses in downtown Pensacola. In 1975, the appeals court found that the school board had done well enough to maintain racial peace and ordered an end of the previous order (U.S. Fifth Circuit, 1975). This allowed the student body to hold a new election to reinstate the Rebel. In early 1976 a vote was held but failed to reach the required approval threshold (King, 1976). The close vote and the fallout of the election led to a protest march that devolved into a full-scale riot. Over 2,000 students were involved in the riot that spilled into the streets of the city. Two homes of prominent African American leaders were burned and several students were shot while others were injured. The Ku Klux Klan arrived to show their support for the Rebel mascot and protested the result. Some students still used the Rebel name as the mascot remained in limbo over the next few years (Newby, 2018). In 1978 the school board removed both options, Rebel and Raider, opting for Gator as the new mascot. This diminished the option of reversion and symbolizing a movement forward, past the Rebel mascot.

Forest Hill High School of Jackson, Mississippi, also changed mascots. The school opened in the 1920s on the southwestern fringe of the city and adopted a Rebel mascot soon afterward. In the 1950s the school adopted the University of Mississippi's Colonel Reb icon to accompany its Rebel name. In 1970 federal courts integrated Jackson's public schools through a pairing process of White and African American schools to force integration (Horn et al., 2016). The school integrated and continued to use the Rebel flag and Colonel Reb into the 1980s. The catchment area of Forest Hill generationally shifted through 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s as younger White families preferred to move to suburban Jackson instead of the city itself. Younger African American families filtered into the Forest Hill area changing the demographics of the

school from 100% White in 1969 to 2% White by 2010 (NCES., 2017). In 2008 the school decided that the Rebel mascot was not symbolic of the school or its students, so it dropped the name, replacing with the name Patriots and using a Revolutionary War soldier icon. One anonymous White alumnus from the late 1970s expressed to me his lament for the removal of Colonel Reb, calling the move “political correctness.”



Figure 4.4 Forest Hill High Old and New Mascots

4.4.2 Rebel Mascot Deconfederalization

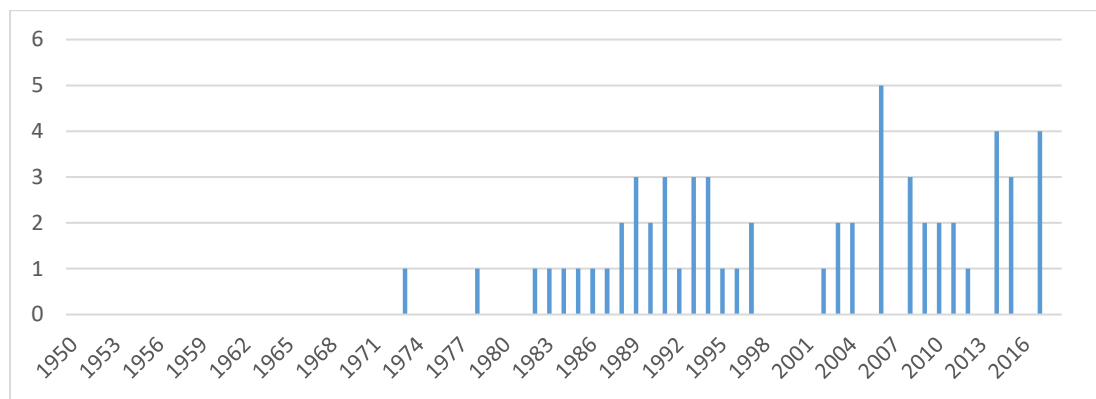


Figure 4.5 Deconfederalized Rebel Mascots 1950-2018

The second type of mascot alteration involves retaining the mascot name but removing Confederate icons, or deconfederalization. Sixty schools in these findings acted

in some way to remove Confederate icons. Deconfederalization occurred in three time frames: 1950-1980, 1981-2000, 2001-Present. In the first thirty years of this time frame, only two schools saw fit to remove all Confederate icons from their mascots. Some made concessions by dropping the Confederate flag, but they retained a Confederate soldier or continued to play “Dixie” as a fight song. After 1980, schools started a more progressive movement to address their Confederate iconography. In the twenty years from 1980 until 2000, twenty-seven schools dropped their Confederate icons. From 2001 until present thirty-one schools dropped Confederate icons but maintained the Rebel name. Most of them retained “Rebels” but muted the Confederate icons to the point where there were not any recognizable semblances of the mascot present. Many now use an “R” for Rebels or an initial of lettering of the school like Effingham County High, Georgia, using an “E” or Maryville, Tennessee, using an “M”.

Schools deconfederalized in various ways. West Monroe High, Louisiana, had a Confederate Rebel until 1989 (Tedford, 2012). The school used a Confederate flag and Confederate general as symbols of its athletic teams since at least the 1950s, but the school started feeling the pressure of possessing a Confederate Rebel. In 1989 the school hired Don Shows as its new football coach. He stated that the Confederate iconography limited the school’s ability to unify and was not symbolic of him or his team. Shows started a campaign to remove the Confederate symbols including using a rug to cover the Confederate emblem on the school office floor. The coach met strong opposition for his actions, but soon quelled the opponents by winning multiple state championships. Athletic success cooled the opposition to change because new traditions of winning state

championships out-shone past traditions at West Monroe. The school now uses an overlapping “WM” as its logo.



Figure 4.6 Deconfederalized mascot of South Albany, Oregon

Denver South similarly dropped its Confederate icons in 2009 (Meyer, 2009). The school opened in 1925 and adopted a Confederate soldier as its Rebel mascot as a play on the school name “South”. In the 1980s, the school began having debates and incurred negative feedback from the community concerning the mascot. Denver South immediately started the process of removing the Confederate flag from view, but it maintained the soldier as its emblem of Rebel pride. The student body determined that removal of the flag was not enough, so it petitioned the principal who asked the school board to remove the soldier. The board approved the removal, finding a unique compromise that retained the Rebel name. The school adopted a griffin as a symbol of its Rebel spirit while remaining the Rebels. The griffin has been a piece of the school’s

edifice since it was constructed, so the choice created a more unique identity that was special to the alumni and the students because of the ever-present connection.

Deconfederalization, or a muting of Confederate imagery has many approaches, but one of the most common was dropping Confederate icons yet retaining the Rebel name. This process kept the term “Rebel” allowing alumni and supporters to still make connections to past school history. This form of rebranding is a compromise between leaving the mascot as it is and dropping the name completely. Effingham County High School in Springfield, Georgia, dropped its Confederate iconography in the early 2000s but retained the rebel name (Abraham, 2015). All Confederate iconography was replaced with a stylized black and white “E” termed the “Power E”. After the Charleston Shooting of 2015, questions of the mascot name arose again, but were put down by parents and board members who stated that dropping the Confederate icons in the previous decade was enough of a move away from offensive items that a further change was not necessitated. Numerous schools have taken the same approach, dropping the images and using only words and lettering, as evinced by the large “Lettering Only” subgroup of Rebels that were discussed in Chapter 2.

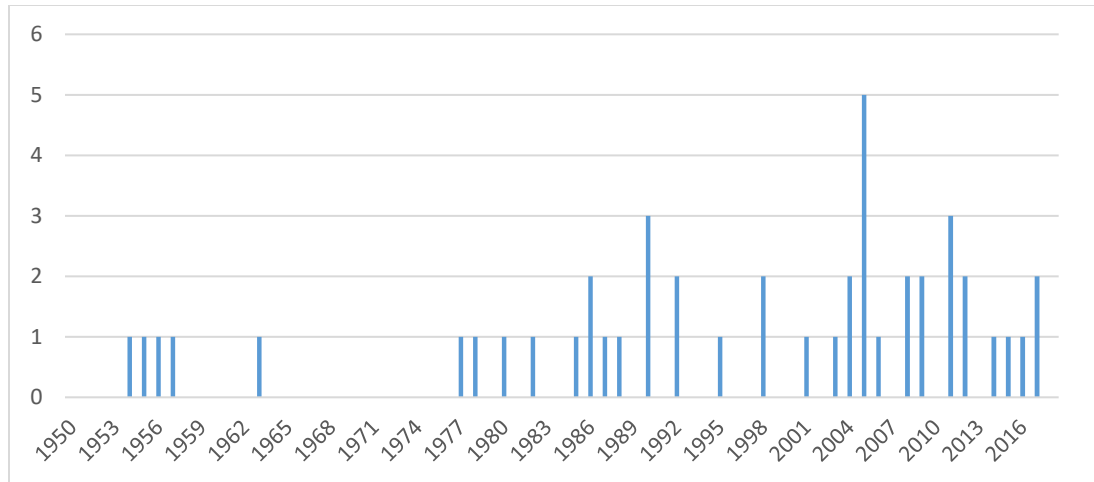


Figure 4.7 Timeline of Rebel Schools that Closed

4.4.3 Closed Rebel Schools

The last category of changes was not necessarily changes but a surprising finding, closures of schools with Rebel mascots. According to the National Center for Education Statistics (2018), school growth, related to number of schools, has nearly stagnated over the past decade with roughly the same number of closures as openings. Yet the number of Rebel schools continues to decline demonstrating a dénouement to the popularity of the Rebel name. Rebel schools closed at a very slow rate from 1950 to 1983 with roughly one every other year. The mid-1980s into the early 1990s experienced numerous closures, eleven, within a decade. From 1993 until 2002 the number of Rebel schools closing again fell to one every two years. After 2003 closures experienced a significant boom in number as half of all closures in this study occurred during this period. There is perhaps some time bias in this finding as more recent closures would be more present in the news leading to more coverage and ease in finding for this research.

4.4.4 Spatial Patterns of Removals, Alterations, and Closures

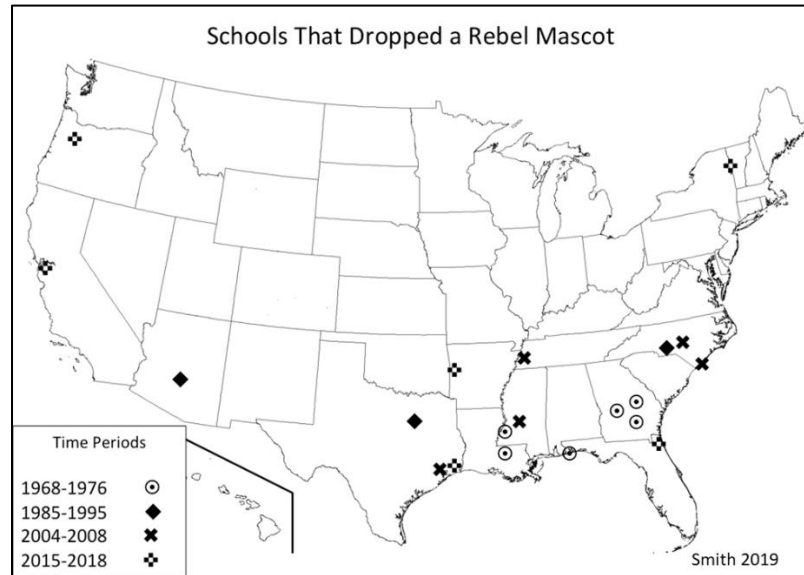


Figure 4.8 Map of Schools that Dropped Rebel Mascots

The spatial patterns of closures, removing Confederate icons, and dropping Rebel mascots reveal some specific trends. Rebels that were dropped occurred with great frequency in the Deep South in the late 1960s and early 1970s. In 1970, three county schools in Georgia, Crisp County, Macon, County, and Montgomery County, integrated and dropped their Confederate Rebel mascots. Dropping the Rebel served as a concession to integration and was symbolic of the curtain of segregation falling. Outside of Georgia, other schools in the 1970s that dropped the Rebel name were in Alabama, North Carolina, Florida, and Texas, all Southern states. In the early 2000s schools in the South continually dropped the Rebel name but the phenomenon expanded to more fringe areas of the South and California. In the past three years Rebel drops were more common away from the Deep South. Schools in Vermont, California, and Oregon all confronted the Rebel name and decided to drop the mascot instead of continually attempting to find

ways to separate themselves from Confederate images and ideals that are so commonly affiliated with the name.

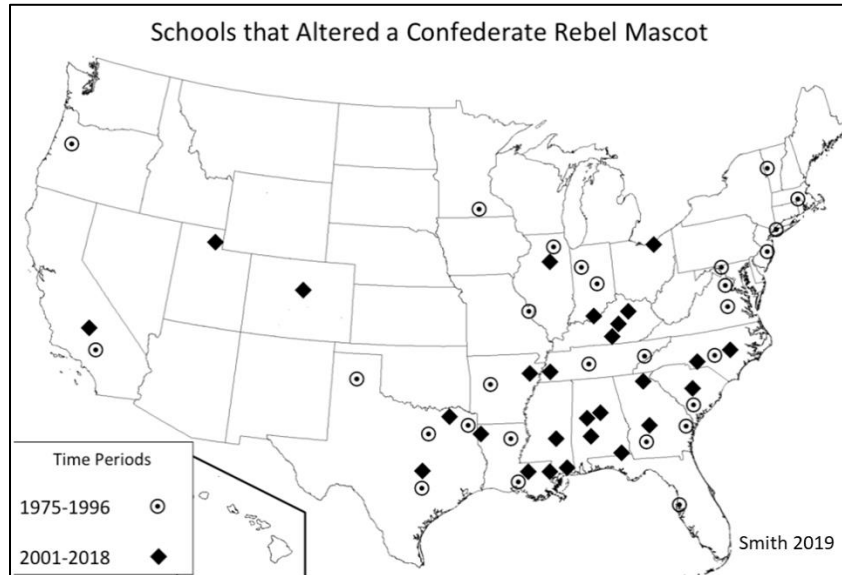


Figure 4.9 Map of Deconfederalized Schools

Schools that dropped their Confederate icons but retained the Rebel name follow a different pattern. Early adopters of deconfederalization were sporadic but mainly outside the Deep South. These schools saw the issue of the Rebel mascot but decided to compromise on change, retaining the name but removing the images. Before 1990 only a few schools in the states of the former Confederacy sought to change their Rebels because of the relic deep attachment to the symbol and what it meant. After 1990 the “Solid South” began to crumble from the outside as schools in Tennessee, Louisiana, and Texas began to replace Confederate soldiers with other Rebel symbols or lettering. After 2000 schools in the Deep South began to see the merits of having a less controversial mascot. An example of this is Bessemer Academy in Bessemer Alabama. The school was

established in 1969 and selected a Confederate Rebel mascot in 1972 (Peters, 2005). By 2000 the school had outlasted its original purpose as a refuge for White people in Bessemer and found itself on the brink of closure. The headmaster knew he had to get creative to keep the school open, so he decided to recruit African American students to the school, namely, African American athletes. Bringing in athletes would hopefully bring athletic success and lead to more enrollment through the *Flutie Effect* (McCormick and Tinsley, 1987). The *Flutie Effect* is the phenomena of increased enrollment in an institution directly related to athletic success. It was coined after Doug Flutie's success at Boston College in the 1980s led to a significant bump in enrollment at the university. To provide a more inviting environment to athletes, Bessemer Academy toned-down its Confederate imagery leading toward athletic advancement and enrollment increases.

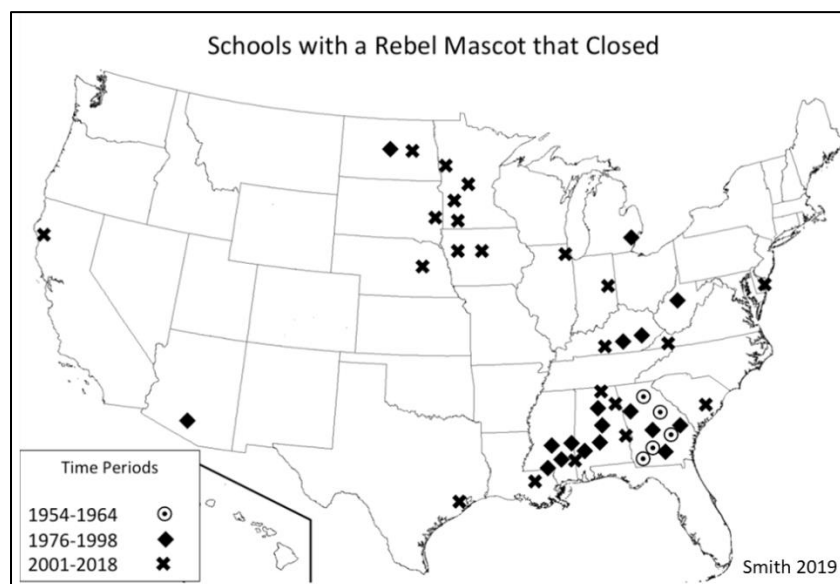


Figure 4.10 Map of Rebel Schools that Closed 1954-2018

Finally, the spatial distribution of closures reflects a larger demographic pattern across the country. Early Rebel closures were located in the Deep South among schools that consolidated community schools into a unitary county school or city school. This was especially common in Georgia where nearly a half-dozen community schools closed between 1950 and 1984 in an effort to consolidate and integrate public schools. From 1985 until 1999 closures were predominantly of private white-flight schools that had lost their base due to generational shifts where people with the means moved to other school districts where they could invest in a home that would be a long-term investment (Aiken, 1998). The depopulation of many of the rural areas, particularly of White people, was fueled by desegregation and continued for the next few decades. Graduates of White flight academies moved away after graduation, finding homes in suburban and mostly White areas instead of living or returning to their hometowns, draining the academy of a student population base. Other areas where these academies formed eventually integrated schools when the parents realized that integration was cost effective and not a terrible occurrence (Curry, 1996). These private schools started failing in the late 1970s as a whole because white flight schools were built pell-mell without considering the ability to transport rural students to these rural private schools.

Another reason for private school closures in the 1980s was due to public school districts serving the purpose of private schools without the need for private tuition. Lawrence County Academy, or LCA, was constructed in 1969 in Monticello, Mississippi, as a response to *Alexander v. Holmes*, a ruling that integrated the bulk of Mississippi's school districts (Bolton, 2005). The academy served the same role as many other White-flight academies, a refuge for Whites from integrated public schools. LCA served that

role in Lawrence County, selecting the Rebel as its mascot when it opened its doors in 1970. The county's population was only one-third African American, but some Whites still sent their children to LCA. In 1974 the Supreme Court ruled in *Milliken v. Bradley* that school districts did not have to integrate across district lines so schools in one district would not have to integrate and be as racially balanced as neighboring districts (Thernstrom and Thernstrom, 1997). This ruling of the conservative Warren Burger-led Court took a hands-off approach to federal intervention in school integration, formally placing limits on the reach of the court related to school integration. Lawrence County School District retained six community schools after integration and promoted token integration over the next two decades (U.S. Fifth Circuit, 1986). These schools were still predominantly of one race, reflecting residential patterns in the county, stripping LCA of its purpose. Low enrollment at LCA forced the school to close in 1987.

After 2001 there is a surprising increase in school closures in the upper Great Plains and other rural areas of the country. One example of this is Rockwell-Swaledale School, built in 1960 with a Rebel mascot (West Fork School, 2017). The neighboring school of Meservey closed in 1983 due to declining enrollment. Five years later the remaining schools, including Rockwell-Swaledale, began a grade-share agreement where students were shuttled to different schools at different grades. Due to continually declining enrollment, Rockwell closed its doors in 2010 and the schools united into West Fork Combined School District. According to a study by Iowa State (2013), the schools that today comprise West Fork had 1,062 students in 1997. By 2016 the district had declined by 342 students to 720 (NCES, 2018). West Fork is not isolated in this event as the neighboring schools are also experiencing rapid rural depopulation. The adjacent

districts had 12,864 students in 1997 but only had 10,686 in 2016, a decline of 17% over that time period. Rural depopulation is also evident through closures in Minnesota, South Dakota, and North Dakota as a function of the continual fall-out from the 1980s farm crisis (Ramirez-Ferrero, 2005). This region has been hit especially hard as people graduate high school and never return to the community where they were raised as corporate, mechanized farms and the stress of farming drive people away from the field.

4.5 Discussion

The first pattern of these findings is again the theme of change, in particular the reason for change. A common reason for altering or removing a mascot is linked to messaging and the optics of the school. Territory is shaped by the symbolic communication of the cultural landscape and schools are not immune to this phenomenon (Wagner, 1975; Lehr and Cipko, 2000). Rebel mascots, namely Confederate Rebels, either intentionally or unintentionally present a message of Whiteness with their mascots presenting conflicting messages of inclusivity. Schools utilizing the Confederate flag complicate the heritage versus hate binary that is frequently associated with the symbol because they present a third option, that being school spirit (Forts, 2002). In some places, the use of Confederate symbols reinforces Whiteness that may be associated with a school name, which is tied to a history of White flight and suburban refuge (Openshaw, 2015). Whiteness may not appear evident in mascots, but African Americans and migrants generally show little, if any, connection to Confederate mascots (Leib and Webster, 2015). Schools change to avoid conflict with the students and faculty of the school but also to avoid mixed messaging with opponents in competitions where school spirit is presented (Connolly, 2000). A school waving a Confederate flag or using the

name Rebels sends signals of exclusion and race that may not be intended but are sometimes read. Rivals utilize conflicting messages to brand a school “racist” and rally non-White students against the school (Horowitz, 1998; King and Springwood, 2000). These conflicts make it hard to defend retention of the name.

4.5.1 The Process of Change

Changes to mascots do not magically occur, but is the result of multiple steps and actions by change agents inside and out of the school. There are numerous stakeholders in the mascot and name, so some group who feels left out of the decision process usually meets change with opposition. The student body and administrators daily encounter the mascot on athletic fields, walls, uniforms, letterhead and publications. The everyday encounters remind these parties of the symbols yet without historical context they frequently fail to remind of the history of the icons. When students determine that they want change, they typically petition administrators and involve parents in their petitions (Meyer, 2009; Gile, 2017; Robinson, 2017). Some students use media to promote their change, particularly social media and school publications (Whitaker, 2016). Alumni use the mascot as a reminder and a symbol of nostalgia. Their movements for change are typically less common and affiliated with student choice (McCormick, 2017). It is also typically alumni who are most opposed to mascot change (Moody, 2017). The psychological investment of alumni in the old symbols leads many to view a mascot change as a challenge to their history and memory. Some administrators also spur change as a desire to promote inclusive educational centers and, “Stand on the right side of history,” (Morgan, 2017, 1). Outside of the school, one of the most active agents of change is the NAACP (Horowitz, 1998; Abraham, 2015). It promotes racial equality and

addresses racial inequalities in fields like employment, housing, and even mascot presentations. Finally there are some with political aspirations and motivations that see the mascot as a firebrand and a possible political springboard (Hunter, 2015; DeSmet, 2017c). In both Fort Smith, Arkansas, and Burlington, Vermont, people utilized mascot change for political purposes, one to promote an ongoing campaign and another to make a name for himself in the hopes of building a campaign.

Response to mascot change is varied depending on history, location, and attachment. At the University of Mississippi and Escambia High School, the Ku Klux Klan appeared when there was a possibility of Confederate mascot removal (King, 1976; Khayat, 2013.) The association of the KKK with the mascot discouraged some from supporting the mascot and further motivated mascot change because many people did not publically want to be viewed as standing on the same side of an issue as the Klan. In more recent change events, people voice their opinions in editorials or at school board meetings (Naughton, 2015; Techo, 2015). Their responses usually include claims of political correctness and liberal agendas and include a defense of the mascot as a local issue, not part of a national problem. Petitions are another approach when a change is proposed with one usually supporting the change and one against the change (AP, 2017). The opposing petitions rally online support from the community and agents outside the community. A common plank of the platform against change is cost. At South Albany High in Oregon, the district estimated that the cost of change would be \$251,000 (Moody, 2017). Yet the 2009 change at Denver South only costs the school \$15,000 (Meyer, 2009). Opponents of change try to use cost as a straw man in the argument, ignoring the real issue of racism presented through a mascot. Estimates of the cost of

change usually include annual uniform modifications that would occur even if there were no change. Some argue that mascot change is an example of wasteful spending (Webster and Leib, 2002). Others state that the country must have solved all the poverty and hunger issues if mascots are the most important battle (Reed, 1990). These arguments avoid the non-financial cost of retaining the mascot. There is always a cost to change and a cost to not change (Savage, 2017). Keeping a Confederate mascot continually reminds people outside of the school of Whiteness represented through a mascot.

Changing mascots brings up the role of the victim and the assumption of victimhood. Those who propose change state that Confederate icons restrict and prevent unity among a population (Gretlund, 1999). The desire of the change groups is to unify the student body and rid the school of controversy. The Rebel mascot has become an albatross for many schools, serving not only as a symbol of the school but also an emblem of shame and regret. Schools and administrators who support change see the removal or alteration as relief from the poor branding and controversial feelings among the students related to the icons (Wainright, 2013). Opponents of change also play the role of victim as they sometimes harden their lines and utilize more coded language in their stances for White supremacy and Confederate icons (Gretlund, 1999). These actions are common tactics of people who support Confederate symbols as they use heritage as a crutch to support Whiteness and unify the Southern narrative around White “Southernness” (Bohland, 2013). Whites maintain these icons to retain a racial group identity and utilize Whiteness for its advantages (Taylor, 1995; Johnson & Coleman, 2012). People who support Rebels may not necessarily be White supremacist, but the symbols and terms used by them blur the lines of school support and racism. When

groups unify to prevent change of mascots, they find themselves in alignment with White supremacy supporters who claim that these removals are attacks on their heritage.

The aftermath of change is similar to the final step of grief, acceptance. For the agents of change, the change is a victory over a burdensome term and removal of a weighty symbol. It is never an easy win because of the number of people involved and the amount of numerous memories tied to the term and the mascot of the school. Those who lose the mascot removal battle may respond with xenophobic responses again reminding those involved of the racial ties of the mascot (Alcoff, 1998). Removal of insensitive and non-inclusive mascots is similar to the removal of monuments in that there are racial implications and ties, but also because change is ongoing (Savage, 2017). Removal of inflammatory mascots and monuments is not new to the 21st Century, but an ongoing process that has been occurring for many years. Removing controversial and perhaps insensitive mascots will not automatically remove all racist feelings in the school (Connolly, 2000). Yet retaining the images and names does not help the school put forth a positive image. Schools are primarily tasked with providing an educational environment with extra-curriculars like athletics and mascots all serving as secondary outcomes (Khayat, 2013). It is helpful to remember the words of Rick Cleveland, columnist of the *Clarion Ledger* of Jackson, Mississippi, who remarked of the University of Mississippi's mascot change, "It's only a mascot," (2010, 6C). The mascot is only that, an image. Companies rebrand every day, and schools modify their presentations to avoid copyright infringement or create a new unique image. New mascots will not end the world, nor will changes and removals of old ones.

4.5.2 Demographic Shifts and Change

The second theme of demographic change is the generational shifts of the Rebel name and image. Evolving opinions, generational time, and demographic transitions have all reframed the way Rebels are presented and viewed. After the Civil Rights Movement, some Confederate icons lost their reverence, becoming less dignified (Stanonis, 2008). These symbols became ridicules of the past and representative of the old in a new way. There was an assumption that Civil War heroes needed to be commemorated by all, but that opinion has been replaced by one that questions the constant appearance of Confederate icons more than 150 years after the war (Jansson, 2004). This change in opinion has impacted the cultural landscape with removals and more accurate contextualization of the people and events commemorated. People make a choice with patronage and which school they decide to utilize, so school selection is a vote evidenced by the number of students who enroll and attend (Gemello and Osman, 1984). Parents who have the means may decide to not live in a catchment area of a school with a Rebel mascot while others may decide not to send their children to a nearby private school that has the Rebel because of controversy surrounding the name.

Generational shifts are also deeply tied to memory and how history is presented. Time alters meanings and memory has a mutability that changes the way images and names are framed, vilifying formerly honored parties and venerating some who had been marginalized in history (Lowenthal, 2015). Memory is also eventually lost to all, given enough time (Reiff, 2016). Names and images are often discarded as the societal attachment to the feature is viewed as less and less bonded. Memory is shaped by power and politics that form public memory where alterations reflect new opinions and the

fading away of old names and connections to those names. This form of social amnesia occurs on the landscape when new regimes and time cause certain old names and images to fade away (Kammen, 1993). The same could be said of the Rebel mascot that is now a symbol of a time and a group of people who are no longer alive and no longer have vivid memories of the events of the time. The Rebel icon has lost some of its historical significance and specific definition because of new definitions that can blur the association of the term and crowd the term with competing definitions of Rebel. People who support the Rebel and petition to keep it are not necessarily racists, but they support the same side as those who are. This guilt by association is enough motivation for many schools to remove the offending icon, but it is not the only reason for change. Change is also driven by a desire to create a new narrative of how a history is viewed. This change can also be associated with time-distance decay (Jordan and Domosh, 1999). Users of the symbol move further from the source time and place, and the mascot loses some of its value. Loss of value makes it easier to alter or remove mascots.

The demographics of a place and the features of a location also shape the present, which is defined by how we see our past. Places and names that are associated with a specific racial group or racial cause carry great significance with that group but may have little if any attachment to other groups of people. Race and memory are still tied to each other in who is commemorated and how they are remembered creating sources of pride and identity (Alderman, 1996; Leib, 2012). In the geography of memory these symbolic representations are crucial battlegrounds over who controls a place and who has influence over a place. Street names are a common area of debate related to this topic as place involves both the past and present (Tuan, 1975). Who is commemorated and how they are

commemorated is also symbolic of the place where the commemoration occurs. Rebel mascots were most common in rural areas partially because of the agrarian nature of the antebellum American South and the history of rebellion in rural areas of the Great Plains. In the rural areas of the country, we see a disappearance of Rebels due to outmigration and suburban expansion. Rebels were a popular selection for mascot, but many of those schools closed as rural areas lost people and schools consolidated (Aiken, 1985; Webster, 1998; Ramirez-Ferrero, 2005; Roscigno, et al., 2006). Rural population decline is tied to economic and cultural factors where family farms were replaced by corporate farms and children of farmers decided to move to urban and suburban areas to seek more economic opportunities beyond agriculture.

4.5.3 Spatial Mutability

Finally, there is the topic of spatial mutability in that the degree of change is also connected to place. The Rebel mascot has a deep affiliation with the American South because of the historical connection of the region with the Confederacy. As cultural landscape is read in an effort to define a region, Confederate icons like the Rebel flag are significant as markers and reminders of Confederacy (Wagner and Mikesell, 1962). The use of these symbols in the region are prompts of loss and later served as symbols of segregation. Because the Civil Rights Movement had some of its most momentous occasions in the South, the use of the Confederate flag served a dual purpose as a cue to the past and present. As a piece of the past, it united people in a loss and utilized the unity to push forth a message of resistance. In the present of the Civil Rights Movement, the flag was used as a symbol of Whiteness to directly oppose integration (Aiken, 1998). Rebels were removed first in the Deep South through integration and consolidation but

Rebels that were altered but retained started outside the South with the trend slowly migrating southward.

When the University of Mississippi deposed its Colonel Reb mascot, the chancellor received hate mail from as far away as Maine, Michigan, and Montana, demonstrating a deep attachment to the Confederate icon far from the American South (Khayat, 2013). People outside the South called him a traitor and called for him to resign. In Vermont, the removal of the Rebel mascot at South Burlington was met with a bomb threat and racist language that reminded people of the racial attachment to the term (DeSmet, 2017c). People typically associate White supremacy with the South, but it is quite present in states like Vermont (Vanderbeck, 2006). Mascot removal outside the South is met with the same opposition that it contains inside the South. The language is the same, although the locations are disparate (Robinson, 2017; Turpen, 2017). Although Rebel removal was more common in the Deep South in the 1970s, Rebel alteration occurred more frequently outside the South because there was less historical connection to the term by people outside the South.

4.6 Overview

Mascots continually change. In some instances like the National Basketball Association's Washington Bullets, association of the term bullets to gun violence led the team to reconsider the name, opting for the mascot "Wizards" instead. The issue of misinterpreting the mascot as an endorsement of violence led to change. When Major League Baseball's Montreal Expos moved to Washington D.C., the mascot no longer fit the motif of the 1967 World's Fair, so the franchise selected a name more closely tied to the city, the Nationals. Mascots have connections to place and history but are also subject

to alteration when opinions change or teams relocate. Changes similar to Rebel mascots have occurred in schools with Native iconography- some dropping the Native mascot while others modified the mascot to present a more accurate, less stereotypical presentation (Zeitler, 2008). Native mascots were altered and removed through many of the same processes as Rebel mascots but with an alternate approach. Native mascots typically stereotyped many different nations of people through atlats, tomahawks, war bonnets, and teepees. White people used these symbols to lump various groups into one stereotypical motif and reinforce Whiteness through control over symbols and lampooning people. Rebel mascots are different in that they were established to honor and remember a losing war effort (Gretlund, 1999). The icons used were initially symbols of dignity and reverence utilized for the purpose of supporting the Lost Cause, but have now diverged into some groups that use Rebel in a tongue-in-cheek manner.

Rebel mascots have been removed and muted, especially over the past six decades. Rebel removal was rare in the 1950s and 1960s but gained steam in the early 1980s. The first removals were in the Deep South and slowly expanded outward to non-Southern areas. Most Rebel removals occurred in the last three decades as the questions on the intent and history of the mascot were brought to light and schools decided to remove the mascot. Removals were met with opposition as the mascot symbolized a school and time from the past that carried a great deal of nostalgia and identity. Mascot muting served as a compromise to the outright removal of the mascot as the school retained the name but ridded itself of a great deal of controversy. Muting of Confederate mascots was still met with some opposition, but creative measures to retain the Rebel name reduced the amount of protests and retained the school's character. Muting of

mascots fervently began in the 1980s in areas outside the South. The trend found its way to the South by the late 1990s and became commonplace by 2010. Confederate muting was an easier pill to swallow than removal since semblances of the Rebel were retained but issues related to the Confederacy and the Confederate Battle Flag were eliminated, creating a more inclusive identity.

School closures have also been notable in this study. Rebel mascot schools closed at a slow rate over the 1950s and 1960s then rose in number in the mid-1980s and early 1990s followed by a lull and then a period of increasing closures in the 2000s and 2010s. Closures reflect demographic shifts of student body composition and declines in rural population. Early Rebel closures were community schools that were victims of consolidation, particularly in small communities across the rural South. In the late 1970s and early 1980s the closures became occasions where private schools closed due to low enrollment or lack of necessity. After 2000 Rebel school closures were predominantly in the Northern Great Plains and symbolic of the decreasing populations of rural areas. These closures and the lack of new Rebel mascot schools prove the decreasing popularity of the Rebel name as a choice of a school mascot due to the controversy surround the icons and symbolism of the term.

CHAPTER V – THE END OF THE REBEL?

Racialized actions like the 2015 Charleston Shooting placed racialization in the mindset of many and began to frame additional questions of who and what is/was being honored. In 2017, San Lorenzo High School in San Lorenzo, California dealt with these same questions concerning its Rebel mascot. The school opened in 1951 selecting a Confederate Rebel as its school emblem utilizing Confederate icons including the Confederate flag and naming the school yearbook *The Confederate*. In the late 1970s the school stopped using the Confederate flag, and it dropped the name of the yearbook in the 1980s. The school adopted a version of UNLV's *Hey Reb* in the 1990s after it deposed its Confederate mascot. In 2016 the students of the school petitioned the school board to remove the Rebel mascot from the school (Moriki, 2018). The board overwhelmingly supported the removal, expunging the mascot from the school in June 2017. During the 2017-18 school year, San Lorenzo was just known as San Lorenzo High or SLZ, affectionately nicknamed "the Sleeze". Administrators introduced several new options for mascots including the Phoenix, which would be framed as a symbol of rebirth (Ramos, 2018). A student body vote selected the Phoenix, but the district encountered an issue with the Phoenix because it is also a symbol of the Aryan Nation, so the board opted for the second-place mascot, the Grizzlies.

5.1 History and Regionalism

In the realm of mascots, terms can age so that definitions that were deemed as acceptable in the past are now viewed as unacceptable. Native mascots like Redmen, Orangemen, Redskins, and Savages are all variations of Native referents that were accepted at one time but are no longer acceptable (Connolly, 2000; Zeitler, 2008). The

reason for the change was due to the presence of Native voices that helped viewers understand the derogatory nature of these terms. When oppressed and marginalized groups are able to voice their displeasure concerning labels and typecasts it makes people aware of the harm in the presentations. These terms also reflect the power structure that established them. A Native caricature is determined and established by White people in power who deem Natives worthy of lampooning. Native mascot removal acknowledges the power of the issue and connotes how absurd the representations are/were (ibid). Native mascots still encounter challenges and changes daily as they are modified and/or removed to better represent people and remove stereotypes from the cultural mindset.

Like Native mascots, Rebel mascots also carry a historical weight, but in a different capacity. Many Rebel mascots are or were symbolic of the Confederate States of America, so the images and icons used by schools that use the Rebel name continue the Lost Cause mentality by honoring and memorializing the CSA. A fight song of “Dixie” and the Confederate Battle Flag further embrace this memorialization almost creating a feeling of victory for the Confederacy, which is a core belief of the Lost Cause. Yet the reason for establishment of the CSA and the continual reason for waving the Confederate flag are rooted in racism. The country and the flag are both symbols of slavery and bondage of African American people who were brought to this country against their will and sold into servitude. Black skin became a symbolic badge of slavery and the Confederacy was established to preserve that status. Rebel mascots and their affiliated Confederate regalia were symbols at some schools that reinforced this sentiment. During the public school integration period of the Civil Rights Movement, the Rebel became a sign of resistance as well as a reminder of the Civil War. Symbols of the Confederacy

today may still remind African Americans of White supremacy as they are utilized by neo-Confederates for that purpose. Confederate images are used by some to connect and unite around a cause, employing historical items to build narratives in support of segregation.

Spatially, Rebel mascots possess a degree of directionality in where they are located and how they are named. The high number of rural Southern Rebel schools reflects the idea of rural areas being less prone to change and typically retaining older ways of life as places where as the song “Dixie” states, “Old times are not forgotten,” (Leib and Webster, 2012). The term “South” has also been associated with the Confederacy and ingrained in the American vernacular. To be Southern is typically viewed as being White and additionally part of the resistance, meaning a rebel (Jansson, 2007). Rebel has very little connection to non-White groups as a symbol of pride, so the appearance of the Rebel is not revered by non-White people, as some Whites believe it should be. Some southern Rebels are tongue-in-cheek nods to the linkage between the terms South and Rebel but some still hold the terminology and the iconography as valuable parts of rural southern memory. South as a name of a place that links back to the American South demonstrates the deep connection of the term and definition in mental mappings.

Changing and removing Rebel mascots reveals these historical and geographical connections to a place and a time. Some schools select a nondescript mascot like Tigers or Mustangs that may not have any specific connection to the school’s culture or history, but the mascot builds history and becomes linked to a place. Mascots can build community and identity so that shared experiences with fans and students create a shared

definition through time spent in classes, sporting events, dances, and other school activities (Appleby, et al., 1994). If tomorrow the National Football League's Detroit Lions announce that they are renaming themselves the Detroit Sturgeon, there would be significant opposition because even if the Lion had been selected as a mascot without any geographic or historical link to the city, the identity of the team is so intertwined with the Lion name that there is a history present. Mascot removal and alteration is complex because changes can occur due to changes in political correctness, but some will respond with the sour grapes sentiments of, "It was just a mascot," (King and Springwood, 2000). Most responses to a mascot change include protests and demands of votes from the community, verifying the deep historical connection to the mascot.

5.2 The Harm of the Rebel

On the surface, the killing of nine parishioners at a church in South Carolina should not lead to the alteration of mascots at a dozen schools across the country. A deadly shooting was not caused by a mascot- the Rebel did not make him do it. However, the massacre at Mother Emanuel in Charleston highlighted the racial hate still present in our society and revealed just how these relics of White power still linger in our culture. This tragedy and others serve as flashpoints and times of reflection in which people ask, "Why did this happen?" In seeking the roots of the shooter's motivation, the country has uncovered a deeper issue of widespread, state-supported racism through monuments, toponymy, and mascots. The involvement of a shooting and the murder of nine innocent people to start a new active dialogue concerning racism in the United States is terrible because horrific occasions should not be the reason why we suddenly start thinking about the issue of race. Some argue that removing these symbols is a knee-jerk reaction, stating

that the flag and Confederate images are innocent symbols that did not kill anyone (Naughton, 2015). It is true that these symbols did not necessarily cause racism, but they serve to reinforce racism, so stamping out these symbols limits the spread of racist thoughts through association. Racism is still an issue in the 21st Century, and mascots are just one vector of this power-politics-representation network that is still evident (King and Springwood, 2000). It is true that a Confederate Rebel mascot at a high school did not make a young man enter a church and shoot parishioners, as the title of this dissertation addresses in a tongue-in-cheek manner, but the rampant racism present in our society is something that still needs to be addressed.

Rebel mascot alterations make the 6:00 p.m. local news but are minute in a world where hunger, crime, oppression, and poverty are all issues. This dissertation may not seem related to any of these topics on the surface, but it details how messaging and race are interrelated with schools, specifically school branding and athletics. Mascots are symbols that are part of a cultural landscape and reflect power, including the power to rewrite narratives and glorify the losing side of a conflict (Wagner, 1975; Ashutosh and Winders, 2009). They remind people of events, famous figures, and institutions through everyday encounters. Those tied to history like the Rebel are also symbolic vestiges of a time and perhaps even a place. As time marches on mascots remain present although the referents become contextualized in new ways, presenting them at times with more accurate definitions and narratives that help people realize the possibility that their mascots could be offensive. In an effort to avoid controversy, many Rebel schools dropped or altered their mascots instead of facing possible unrest and pigeonholing as a school that harbors racist sentiments (Khayat, 2013). The process of change of mascots

and the conversations surrounding these mascot presentations fueled this research and will continue further discussions related to this and other relic symbols.

Some of the Rebel mascots were selected as specific instances of explicit messaging of Whiteness and White supremacy. Schools in the 1950s, 60s, and 70s selected the Rebel mascot with Confederate regalia to broadcast the message that they did not want to participate in integration and they did not want African American people in their schools. The use of the Confederate flag by these schools duplicated use of the flag by segregationists who wanted to keep public facilities segregated. The flag today still holds these messages leading to unresolved issues of its display in public as well as privately (Webster and Webster, 1994). This issue of explicit racism concerning the flag and the Confederate icons did not fade in the 1970s; it just found new avenues and means of production through a smaller and more covert audience as racism became less widely accepted. Racism is a complex social construct rooted in history and built by environments that reinforce sentiments (Kobayashi and Peake, 2000; Price 2010). Racism cannot just be mentioned, pointed-out, or noted, it has to be eliminated so that humanity can more peacefully exist (Harrison, 2012). To address these issues, we as scholars have to address racism where it is located, even if it is on gym walls or school uniforms. Racism is present in many things and many places in everyday life, so discussions need to occur concerning these everyday experiences (Peake and Kobayashi, 2002). Today explicit racism is much less common because people are now aware that words have power and people experience more frequent encounters with people of other races, helping them realize their own predilections towards people of other races.

Schools that use Confederate imagery are no longer only sites of education, but places of reinforced Whiteness. Use of Confederate imagery spreads a message of White supremacy and splits populations along the axis of power concerning race (Schein, 2002). Schools become racialized places with constant reminders through iconography, names, uniforms, and fight songs that control student thoughts through mindless allegiance (Burk, 2006). These semi-public spaces are under control of an administration that continually allows this reinforcement. Some administrators retain these images to “represent the people” or protect their own political lives, but they ignore the harm of retaining the images and names (Abraham, 2015; Hunter, 2016). Visible materiality of the mascot and related iconography remind observers of state control and the reflective power of the landscape on those who possess the power for change (Burk, 2006; Cresswell and Hoskins, 2008; Savage, 2011). Landscapes possess power to influence through constant reminders but also are subject to change when context is applied to certain elements. The material of these spaces and the symbols inlaid upon them contain significant value as evidenced by the reactions to change (Mitchell, 1996; DeSmet, 2017). Connections to the location, the reinforcement of imagery and terminology accompanied by the value of nostalgia and control create a complex negotiation of landscapes and messaging that exhibits Whiteness that may or may not be intentional but serves a purpose in transmitting racial identities, the Lost Cause, and resistance (Rubenstein, 1996). Landscapes and created places are constant reminders of our own identity in how they are formed, presented, and reinforced, particularly concerning how we act and react to them.

Racism, in the 21st Century has not been eliminated but has found new homes in coded speech and dual interpretations. Racism is subtler than it was in the past because it is not as socially acceptable as it once was (Bobo, 1997). Now racism commonly resides underground in the form of implicit bias. It is an unconscious process that many of us adhere here and do not realize our involvement (Greenwald, et al., 2006; Jolls and Sunstein, 2006). Implicit bias is a largely unnoticed act of racism or stereotyping where we categorize a group of people or subscribe to forms of bias of which we are unaware. In this form of racism we may think we do not see race but we tend to cling to our wallets or purses more tightly around certain people than we do around others simply based on their race. It is the foundation of why fans of Native American mascots do a “Tomahawk Chop” or a mock war cry. It is also the reason that fans chant, “The South shall rise again” at the University of Mississippi. Although the theory of implicit bias may appear as trying to find the bad in people or delving into the minutiae of the details, studying it can unearth the roots of more noticeable but more deeply embedded forms of racism. Implicit bias also finds itself in mascots as South Burlington’s administration cited implicit bias as one of the reasons for the removal of the Rebel in 2017 (South Burlington, 2017). This form of bias can be counteracted through exposure to diverse groups, affirmative action, positive images of the marginalized groups, and the elimination of hostile environments (Jolls and Sunstein, 2006). Removing a controversial mascot aids in reducing the tension of a hostile environment that may be perceived through the Rebel name.

5.3 The Power of Symbols

Mascots are complicated in that they are symbols, representing an entity but also carrying historic meanings. Symbols and terms blur, mix, and conflict; definitions and associations can be confused leading to misinterpretations (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). Mascots also are currency because they symbolize a school and those affiliated with the school. “Rebels” gives power to these associated people as it unites and forms a social identity that can be used in athletic and academic competitions and focuses symbolic meanings in the institution (Tuan, 1994). These words can also have consequences because language is never neutral (Tuan, 1991). Therefore the term “Rebel” needs closer analysis as a selected mascot. To rebel against something is to turn against it, even take up arms and fight against it. This idea of a Rebel as one who veers from the norm or standard can be innocuous in the sense of mascot selection in granting qualities to students that they stand out from “normal”. It is similar to selecting “Bulls” as a mascot in that the symbol is one of size and strength that strikes fear in the opponents. The school and student body create attachments to the mascot with constant reminders of Bull imagery and clever word play related to the Bull motif that results in club names and publications with names “The Horn”, “Stockade”, “Herd”, and “Bull Ring”. The issue is that “Rebels” typically utilizes analogous images and terms that are also used to reinforce White supremacy. These conflicting terms and images create issues with defining who or what is actually symbolized and who places these images in this official capacity.

Symbolic value spans beyond mascots to also include all types of symbols and the significance of them. Symbols can shape our thoughts and remind us of who is in control and what power those in control wield over our lives; additionally these symbols remind

us of the ways they are adopted and what interpretations are utilized (Harvey, 1973; Foucault, 1980). People must look beyond the symbols to see the social processes of adoption and specifically who plans these decisions and for what purpose. Some symbols develop cult-like followings through branding and popularity where people so identify with them that they place them on their walls, vehicles, clothing, and bodies representing the bond created through symbols and the value of their power (Howe, 2008). Created landscape environments shape perceptions because the landscape is a constant reminder of who is in power and what message is presented to the audience. Representation has many forms and changes at various points, but there is great value in materiality as evinced by some reactions to change like removal of Confederate statues (Harvey, 2017). One of the most important connections a symbol makes is to race and reinforcing racism. The Frito Bandito and Aunt Jemima are icons utilized by food companies to sell products through racial stereotypes (Behnken and Smithers, 2015). Racism and symbols become so commonplace that some see the brand instead of the symbolism that is evident in the icon. Racialized icons are examples of inclusiveness and exclusiveness that are defined by different groups in various ways (Knoebel, 2001; Anderson, 2002). The Confederate Battle Flag is another example of an icon with racial value that is viewed differently by various groups- some see it as a sign of heritage while others view it as a symbol of racism. Likewise, a Rebel mascot can also hold multiple interpretations that range from tongue-in-cheek sarcasm to celebrating the Confederacy.

5.4 Social Context

Images are also affixed to the name and serve as a constant reminder of the context of the mascot. If most Rebel mascots were of Revolutionary soldiers instead of

Confederate soldiers, presentation and appearances would not be nearly as controversial or as debatable. Rebel mascots with the Confederate Battle Flag and Confederate soldier or Colonel Reb connect the name with racism and give the school a racial identity that it may or may not desire to possess in 2019. This link of race and place establishes connections of racialized identities to the people who work at, cheer for, and attend the school, possibly leading to unwanted assumptions concerning their character (Inwood and Yarbrough, 2010; Karacas, 2010; Khayat, 2013). From inside the institution, these constant reminders form emotional attachments creating banal nationalism through symbols (Billig, 1995; Webster, 2011). Imagery affiliated with a school contains not only racial identity but also power in the significance and reverence bestowed upon it and the debates that take place when it is challenged. Many schools that assumed their mascot was benign have now started reconsidering the history they are reinforcing through their images and names (Alvarado, 2017). These reconsiderations have been met with opposition by some and racist language by others who opposed the challenge to their hegemony of power through mascots and on a larger plane, symbolic landscapes.

Another issue present in mascot change and broader changes to icons that represent the Confederacy is the growing alteration to the context of these elements. Many Rebel mascots were established as symbolic representatives of resistance and preservation of segregation. Whiteness was defended and preserved through the icons that were cultural inscriptions that shaped a culture area (Sauer, 1931). They denoted White areas and commemorated White hegemony reinforcing Whiteness as the race that possesses power over all other people (Pulido, 2000). These White symbols were present in schools, on flags, on courthouse lawns, in parks, and in cemeteries, racializing all these

sites and declaring them “White” (Pulido, 2002). These identities were deemed normal because those in powerful positions were White and had networks and agents who supported and forced obedience to the ideal that White is normal. Commemorations were typically of White people or were framed to make White people more heroic and were located in places where people encountered these symbols daily- streets, buildings, toponyms. Who is remembered and how they are remembered matter because they remind viewers of the past- history, and the present- who has the ability to place the name or figure where it is (Tretter, 2011). These landscapes also structure and reproduce individual identities as participants interact with the feature and reflect on who they are (Inwood and Yarbrough, 2010). Landscapes that are White or mostly White not only connote ideals of White supremacy but remind non-White people of secondary status.

There is memory affiliated with every mascot, a memory that is tied to how it was selected and who it represents. This memory is built and negotiated over time for use in the present (Romano and Raiford, 2006). Memory over a mascot unites fans in support of the school and can have the power to shape opposing sentiment against the school. This symbol gives value to the past through present representations and traditions (Confino, 1997; Stone, et al., 2016). Yet where there are things remembered, there are elements that are lost. We all suffer from some form of social amnesia where we may forget the original selection of a mascot or specific people from whom a school would want to create some distance (Kammen, 1993; Alderman, 2012). This issue of forgetting is key to a great deal of the Rebels that still exist across the American landscape. Rebels are present, wielding Confederate flags but people forget the offensive interpretation of the icons because they only see school spirit. The decay of time or new research can lead to a

new reinterpretation or a reminder of the origins of a mascot creating debate over its display (Tuan, 1974). Memory is redefined through these interpretations, as identities and commemorations of the past are challenged (Alderman, 1996). Opposition to these challenges leads to protests and petitions to voice the opinion of those opposed to the challenge to their memory.

In the past five decades, these cultural landscapes have changed, including new voices that have led to the creation of more inclusive sites of public memory. The Civil Rights Movement and the American Indian Movement both added new voices to the public narrative creating a need for more inclusive landscapes. Whenever people began ceasing to see White as normal, the commonplace became questionable as markers, from monuments to mascots, were re-evaluated concerning their purpose and message (Bonnett, 1997; Zeitler, 2008). Newly maligned Whites labeled this new multi-cultural approach as “political correctness” because it challenged the White privilege mentality that had been present in the U.S. since colonial times. Because, “Space is a resource in the production of White privilege,” places that acquired new non-White names and images began to elucidate more positive ideals of overlooked people groups (Pulido, 2000, 30). This occurrence also began to blur the racial identities of the landscape as new elements and context provided more accurate depictions of honored parties. Monuments and names were added that appropriately esteemed African Americans, women, Latinos, Natives, Asians, and members of the LGBT community creating new and diverse cultural and mental landscapes.

Changes and additions to memorials and the cultural landscape at large have created more accurate histories but also muddled narratives and vilified many so-called

“heroes”. Ongoing racial changes have challenged the dominant ideology that deified many of the memorialized as new voices have led to alterations (Leib, 2007). New points-of-view remove the label of “normal” from Whites and provide new narratives and perspectives on historical events (Kobayashi and Peake, 2000) Because of Charleston and the protests in Charlottesville, race and monuments have moved to the forefront of the national discussion concerning race and history and have led to many monument removals. Sauer (1941) calls on researchers to consider the cultural processes that force change on a landscape, and Peirce Lewis (1985) states that geographers need to have an accurate description of alterations to the cultural landscape and need historical references to place these changes into a context. Culture, however, is not a singular item nor a forthright answer to why change is occurring; instead the change inside of a culture, like demographic shifts or the extending of rights to oppressed and marginalized peoples, is the answer to why such changes are happening (Mitchell, 2004). Changes are not brought about by some mysterious interloper who inexplicably wills change but by Foucauldian notions of power, knowledge, and governmentality that fuel alterations (Schwanen and Kwan, 2009). Cultural shifts and demographic inclusion have framed these icons more appropriately as symbols of an old regime and an incorrect ideology. Tragic events magnify their importance because of who or what they represent and how historical reinforcement still encourages some to act and believe as they do.

5.5 The Role of Schools

Rebel mascots are not just monuments or street names, but are symbolic of a wider audience of people reinforced and reflected upon often. Where monuments become forgotten or overlooked, mascots are presented over and over in newspapers and on

television as brands and worn as uniforms and t-shirts. Schools are centers of education that shape thinking and form identities of who we are and what makes us alike or different (Peet, 1975). These institutions carry this formation further as brands and mascots aid in creating identity shaping allegiances and create early forms of nationalism. Likewise, they are marketable entities that shape identities that are then placed on the people associated with the school. Updates and modifications to the mascots may modernize a brand but chip away at the history and nostalgia that is signaled by the old mascot. Nonetheless, schools retain a mascot partially due to identity and partially because athletics can be a highly lucrative avenue for schools in revenue through branding and in building additional student body through success (Pope and Pope, 2009). Successful campaigns yield more coverage and additional eyes on the brand by fans, opponents, and neutral onlookers who view the school and its icons.

Another issue of the messaging of mascots involves the entity and the approach. The school is not a private entity because it involves hundreds, if not thousands of people, especially taxpayers who support the school. Even private schools are not private in this sense because they are available for all to see and they represent people of an area or affiliation. The public nature of the school separates it from individuals because school speech is not the same as individual speech (U.S. Fifth Circuit, 1971). These public institutions, in the sense of being constantly viewed in the public, have limits to what they can say and believe because entities are held to higher moral standards than people alone. A person who spouts racist and hateful speech may be ostracized and/or ignored, but a company or school that puts forth a racist message can be boycotted, picketed, or forced to rebrand and restructure. As continuously visible elements these public figures

cannot go into hiding and become reclusive or they will cease to exist. The public speech of a school has to meet the standards of the administration/board/advisory as well as the parents and students or there will be dissention and discord over such issues.

Schools also serve a role as centers of messaging and indoctrination of various dogmas and political agendas. Elected board officials and state legislators primarily decide student curriculum and deem what is important to students and what content needs to be avoided. These entities also ensure that tax dollars are utilized in a manner where students are taught basic skills and possess an understanding of how the political system works so these students will be supporters and future banner-carriers for the causes on which they stand. Children serve as these standard-bearers through their involvement in commemorations, plays, and rituals that reinforce citizenship (Cox, 2003). An example of this is the use of the Rebel Flag and a photo of Robert E. Lee that were placed in many schools as a form of indoctrination into the mythos of the Lost Cause which is easier to imbue at an early age. Through these events, recitations, and allegiance, children are taught patriotism to the Confederacy and are reinforced that this history is “true history”. Behind the scenes of these events, groups like the United Daughters of the Confederacy were authoring history books that rationalized slavery as being everywhere or as a service to Africans where Southerners Christianized and civilized slaves. Indoctrination is also found in Rebel mascots that reinforce a support of the Lost Cause and revere those icons of the Confederacy.

Educational institutions serve as centers of learning and creating identities and sites of proselytization of certain themes and beliefs, but schools also have to maintain civility regarding themselves as safe spaces. When Escambia High School deposed of its

Rebel mascot in 1973, the court ruled that the principal had a right to prevent a disruptive environment (U.S. Fifth Circuit, 1973). The court also supported Principal Harry Holsinger's removal of the Confederate mascot from Fairfax High, Virginia, stating he had to provide a place of safety (U.S. Fourth Circuit, 1986). According to the oft-cited Abraham Maslow (1954), for other needs like self-actualization to be met, basic needs like food, shelter, and safety have to be provided. In this case, for education to be successful, schools have to provide safe spaces and broadcast a message of safety to prospective students and parents. The learning environment needs to be inviting and one that fosters self-expression while also promoting inquiry and thinking. If students sense that they do not feel welcome because those who support White supremacy share the icons and symbols of the school, they are less likely to participate in class or even focus on lessons because those symbols and causes reside in the back of their minds. Finally, we see the motivation for change rooted in this idea of a safe zone and the fact that many schools want to avoid conflict so they change mascots (Connolly, 2000). Avoidance may seem like a cop-out excuse, but it saves schools from the grief and confusion that they may face later due to the mixed messages of the Rebel mascot.

5.6 Further Implications

The rise and fall of the popularity of the Rebel mascot is symbolic of a larger trend of removing offensive, even potentially offensive, items from the cultural landscape. Critiques of Rebel removal and critiques of scholarship analyzing such removal attempt to dull the severity of the issue but instead these criticisms further underline the importance and value of the subject (Martin, 2004). Now that the public has become more aware of the issue of the Rebel name and mascot, there is no delineation of

where the limit of removal resides (Savage, 2017). Like monument removal, the last mascot removed may be the next or it may be until every last one is deleted and the term is scratched from athletic fields and school names. The current trend in mascots shows that as the number of schools has plateaued, the number of Rebel schools has slowly decreased while the number of Confederate Rebel schools has sharply fallen. Some are replaced while others are redefined creating new definitions of what it means to be a Rebel. Rebels that were Confederate are now Revolutionary soldiers, cowboys, griffins, bulls, lions, and landsharks, to name a few. This begs the question, when is a Rebel no longer a Rebel? The answer to that question is found in interpretation, memory, and branding. Only time and student body opinions will eventually decide that (Toporek, 2015). Until then, Rebels will still be questioned and observed.

Some schools have addressed this issue, while others may not have brought it to an administration but have had to confront the legacy of the symbols. In 1969, a movement at the University of Mississippi to remove the mascot started but did not come to fruition until 2003 (Cohodus, 1997; Cleveland, 2010). At that point, the removal was just the Confederate general who served as a mascot, not the Rebel name. Then the university proceeded without an official physical mascot for six years. The Rebel Black Bear was introduced in 2008 but shelved a decade later. Now the university uses a shark as the physical manifestation of school pride while retaining the Rebel name. The University of Southern Mississippi dropped its Confederate icons, known then as “The Southerners”, in the early 1970s much to the chagrin of fans and alumni (Cohodus, 1997). The school became the “Miners” for a year before adopting “Golden Eagles” as the official mascot. Forty years after the fact, very few even remember the school had a

Confederate icon, fewer still the Miner, yet the school still exists and still plays athletic events. Mascot removal and mascot change are common and will continually occur as schools rebrand to embrace changing social values, attach to new trends, or avoid lawsuits.

Some may see mascot change as a lesson in hypersensitivity and a splitting of hairs related to plush symbols of school spirit. Rebels sometimes have Confederate symbols but sometimes do not. For those who have not and do not possess these symbols, do they have to alter their mascots to avoid offending people? If this is true, what does this say about teams like the Anaheim Angels? (Rhode, 1994). Should pagans or atheist people find offense with Angels or the New Orleans Saints? What about the Duke Blue Devils or Arizona State Sun Devils? Should Catholic priests hit the streets in protest? Will Native American groups now start protesting the Oklahoma State or Dallas Cowboys? Will short people boycott the New York and San Francisco Giants? The absurdity of the idea is not lost on some who see mascots only as symbols of a team; however, mascots are much more. They are spatial-historic links to places and people. They are markers of history and geography that link a fan base back to a place and an identity. In some instances, like the Washington Redskins, the symbolism and name used needs to be updated and modified to be more accurate and less denigrating to Native people. So, perhaps we should not venture as far as to state that short people need to boycott the Giants, but we do need to address some of the common mascots we see as issues. Madsen (2002) claims we need to engage in everyday occurrences, and mascots seem like a good starting point.



Figure 5.1 Logos of the Confederates of Caledonia High School, Mississippi

Finally, the research leads to more questions and further research. Rebel mascots fit into the larger scholarship of symbols, places, history, and landscape. The Rebel mascot serves as a bellwether of Confederate symbols across the country marking a precipitous decline in their number and significance. One question is, what other type of iconography of this type is hidden in plain sight? There are other schools that have Generals, Colonels, Raiders, and even Confederates as mascots. Ridding a landscape of the old markers of Confederate glory keeps them from being rallying points for radicals who still possess racist ideals (Hardin, 2017). What type of removals are occurring and what does it do to the cultural landscape? What is replacing the images? Is there a trend of specific replacement? Where is opposition the strongest? Who are the change agents and what is their primary role? This notion can expand to other forms of landscape that still glorify the Confederacy including city names, county names, and street names. As Rebel mascots disappear, the sway of Confederate iconography over the landscape fades away and new, more modern interpretations of the term “rebel” rise. What are these terms and what influences their selection? Finally, the change of these mascots is part of a

larger trend of generational shifts. The question, “how do generational shifts impact cultural landscapes?” is one that would take a lot of work but is indeed worthy of study.

The primary question from the prologue asks, “How do schools with a Rebel mascot represent themselves?” The answer is, it varies. Some schools selected a Confederate icon as a symbol of Massive Resistance while others chose the symbol as a relic of the Lost Cause. Some utilized a tongue-in-cheek approach as an interpretation of the term “South”, yet others employed western or revolutionary versions of the term. The primary follow-up question asks how do schools utilize the Rebel without using Confederate imagery. Many schools selected one manner of presentation but altered their appearance after a specific racialized event or by following the lead of another school. Others get creative, establishing new designations for the term Rebel. Study 1 reveals that the spatial distribution of these icons is not isolated to the American South, home of the Confederate states, but is distributed across the country. Confederate Rebels are more common in the Southeastern United States, while Western Rebels are located more in the Great Plains and Western United States and Revolutionary Rebels are more prevalent in the Northeast. There are occasions of Confederate rebels in Iowa and Western rebels in Tennessee and Louisiana, so region does not always define what type of Rebel will be presented. Many schools have altered their Rebel name by redefining the term “Rebel”, dropping all visual interpretations except for lettering, or by removing all Rebel elements- utilizing a new name. To answer the main research question more appropriately, school mascot representation is subject to change.

Study 2 traces the history of Rebel choice, finding that Rebels that were chosen as mascots in the 1950s did not appear offensive because the people who were impacted

were left out of the choice. The popularity of Rebels coincided with school integration cases, so the mascot and terminology became symbolic of White resistance. Public schools were the most common adopters of the rebel name early in the period of public school integration. Private schools that were built to subvert integration efforts adopted the term later as court cases forced more integrative action in public schools. There were many schools that were not Southern but did adopt Rebel mascots, especially Confederate Rebels. These outliers varied in how they selected the Rebel with some using the same symbols and reasoning as many of the schools of the South- to resist integration. Others utilized a different definition of the term, like Revolutionary soldiers or Great Depression militia.

Study 3 revealed change in several ways. Some schools dropped the term to avoid controversy or become more inclusive. Some altered their Rebel mascot to appear less offensive. The changes on a large scale started outside the American South but made their way into the region by the 1990s. Confederate Rebels were the most often to be dropped because of the iconography affiliated with the motif. Events like the Charleston Shooting of 2015 added additional calls for change of mascots because of the racial gravity of the icons and terminology; however, even in 2019, there are still schools that use a Confederate banner, and Confederate soldier.

Seventy years from now mascots that we view as commonplace in 2019 may gain a new definition or a clearer interpretation rendering them possibly offensive. Then institutions will have to adjust and change, going through the same processes that have occurred with Rebel mascots. Changes to mascots will occur in the future, even if they occur through re-branding or modernizing a look. Traditionalists will decry the

alterations as catering to others or trying to find something unique, erasing history. There will, however, still be photographs, histories, and narratives that will tell of the past. But one day relics will also disappear. The past is always due to be erased. As memories fade and new names are added to records, references to former mascots will eventually be lost. Photographs will be shoved into the back of the archives, and all commemoration will one day be replaced by something else.

APPENDIX A– LISTING OF SCHOOLS

Adams County Christian School (Natchez, MS) was founded in 1970 as a white-flight academy as a response to the Alexander v. Holmes case that forced the integration of many schools in Mississippi. The school was a result of the merger of three smaller church-based private schools that had been established in the five years prior to the founding of ACCS. The school adopted the Rebel as a mascot at its founding. The mascot is a *Colonel Reb* figure similar to the one previously used by the University of Mississippi.

Alexander Stephens Institute (Crawfordville, GA) was named after native son, state legislator, U.S. Representative, Georgia Governor, and Vice-President of the Confederate States of America, Alexander Stephens. The school was founded in 1826 as Crawfordville Academy. It was named Alexander Stephens Academy in 1886 soon after his death. The name was altered to Alexander Stephens Institute in 1920 when it became a public high school. The school was closed in 1955 when county schools were consolidated to Taliaferro County High School. The school selected the mascot of a Confederate Rebel at its founding and remained until the school was closed.

Allen Central High School (Eastern, KY) was formed in 1972 due to the consolidation of several community schools. The school closed in 2017 as it was consolidated into Allen County-Scottsville High School. The school adopted a Confederate Rebel at its founding and retained it until it closed.

Altmar-Parish-Williamstown Junior/Senior High School (Parish, NY) was formed in 1956 through the consolidation of community schools in the three communities of

Altmar, Parish, and Williamstown. The school selected a Rebel mascot like that of a Revolutionary soldier that it retains in 2018.

Amite Center School (Liberty, MS) was opened in 1968 as a white flight school for people avoiding integrated schools in Amite County. The school selected a Confederate Rebel mascot at its founding and still displays a Confederate Battle Flag on its welcome sign.

Arcadia-Loup City High School (Arcadia, NE) was formed through a consolidation of schools in Arcadia and Loup City in 2012. Loup City was one of the core areas of farmer rebellions during the Great Depression (Shover, 1964). The united school selected the Rebel as its mascot. The visual depiction of the mascot is similar to a bandit or cowboy, wearing a handkerchief over its face, similar in style to the latest variation of the University of Nevada-Las Vegas's *Runnin' Rebel* mascot.

Artesian-Letcher School (Artesian, SD) was founded in the early 1990s through a unification of Artesian and Letcher Schools. The school was dissolved in 2004 when it became part of Sanborn Central Schools of Frostburg, SD. The mascot was a Rebel but was not Confederate in nature.

Astoria/Vermont-Ipava-Table Grove (Astoria, IL) is also known as Astoria VIT or South Fulton Co-op is a group of schools that compete under the banner of South Fulton in athletic events. The Co-op retains the mascot of Astoria, which was founded in the early 1950s. The Rebel is a Confederate soldier in presentation.

John McDougal A THERTON High School (Louisville, KY) was founded in 1924 as a girl's school but became co-educational in 1950. The school's mascot is a Revolutionary soldier.

Atkinson County High School (Pearson, GA) was established in the mid-1950s and selected a Confederate Rebel as its mascot. The school retains that mascot in 2018.

Berrien County High School (Nashville, GA) was opened in 1954 and selected a Confederate Rebel as its mascot. The school remains open in 2018.

Bessemer Academy (Bessemer, AL) was opened in 1969 as a white-flight segregation academy. In 1972 the school adopted a Confederate Rebel mascot and retained it until the mid-2000s when it phased out the Confederate mascot replacing it with a Gothic “B” over crossed sabers.

Boone County High School (Florence, KY) was formed in 1954 from the consolidation of community schools in the county. The student body adopted a Confederate Rebel mascot after a meeting with the principal where he stated that they were a group of rebels (Reinert, 2017). The students liked the idea and the connection to the recently released movie Rebel Without a Cause. The physical manifestation of the Rebel was *Rebel Man*, a mustachioed gentleman who looks somewhat similar to *Colonel Reb*. In 2017 the school board moved to remove the Confederate mascot, replacing it with a blue “B”.

Edward Leslie BOWSHER High School (Toledo, OH) was constructed in 1962 and named after the former Superintendent of Toledo Public Schools. The school is located on the south side of the city and has a cartoonish Confederate soldier on horseback (Elms, 2017). In 1992 the district removed the mascot’s Confederate Battle Flag. In 2017 the school and district began the process of possible changes

to the mascot by asking for feedback from the student body and community. At the beginning of 2018, the district still had not made a decision on changes.

Boyle County High School (Danville, KY) was built in 1963 due to the consolidation of community schools in the county. The school selected a Confederate soldier on horseback as its mascot.

Brandon Academy (Brandon, MS) was a white-flight academy established in 1971. The school selected a Confederate soldier as its mascot. It closed in the early 1990s.

Briarfield Academy (Lake Providence, LA) is a white-flight academy established in 1970. It selected a Confederate mascot similar to the University of Mississippi's *Colonel Reb*. It still retains the mascot in 2017, displaying it on the school's travel bus.

Joseph Emerson BROWN High School (Atlanta, GA) was opened in 1924 as Brown Junior High and was named for Atlanta's first Superintendent of Education and former Governor of Georgia. In 1947 Brown was converted into a high school that used a Confederate soldier donning a kepi as its mascot. The school retained the mascot until it was relegated back to a junior high in 1992. It is now Brown Middle School, and its mascot is the Bulldog.

Samuel Riley BUTLER High School (Huntsville, AL) was built in 1951 for the growing suburbs of west Huntsville. The school selected a green version of *Colonel Reb* as its mascot. The school's use of *Colonel Reb* led to friction between it and the University of Mississippi with threats of a lawsuit over use of the university's mascot. The catchment area slowly transitioned from growing suburb to

depopulated old suburb. The school was closed in 2015 due to flagging enrollment and the property was sold to a church.

James F. BYRNES High School (Duncan, SC) was built in 1955 and named after former Senator, Supreme Court Justice, and Governor of South Carolina. He served as governor during the start of public school segregation and fought to preserve the dual school system. The school selected a Confederate soldier mascot as its symbol until the 1990s when it phased out its Confederate iconography. The school is now represented by the word “Rebels” laid over a saber.

California Academy of Mathematics and Science (Carson, CA) was established in 1990 and is located on the campus of California State University- Dominguez Hills. The school selected a Rebel as a mascot that is presented as a Revolutionary soldier.

Cape Fear Academy (Wilmington, NC) was established as a white-flight academy in 1968. It selected a Confederate Rebel as its mascot. In 2005, Cape Fear dropped the Rebel, replacing it with the name Hurricanes (Staff Reports, 2005).

Carroll Academy (Carrollton, MS) was established in 1969 as a white-flight academy. The school selected a *Colonel Reb* mascot that it retains in 2018.

Casey County High School (Liberty, KY) was founded in the mid 1940s. It initially selected a Confederate Rebel as its mascot, but has since retired him. In the mid 2000s the school opted for a Rebel similar to UNLV’s *Hey Reb* mascot.

Central Alabama Academy (Montgomery, AL) was a white-flight academy established in 1971. The school had a Confederate Rebel mascot until it closed in the early 1980s.

Central Private School (Baker, LA) formed in 1971 as a white-flight academy. The school selected a Colonel Reb Confederate mascot. In 2014 or 2015 the school removed Colonel Reb from the school's sign and the logo became an overlapping "CP".

Central R-3 High School (Park Hills, MO) was founded in the early 1950s and selected a Confederate mascot similar to *Colonel Reb*. The school retains that mascot, prominently displaying him on the school's home webpage.

Chambers Academy (LaFayette, AL) was founded as a 1969 as a white-flight academy. It selected a Confederate Rebel as its mascot.

Champlin Park High School (Champlin, MN) was formed through the merger of Brooklyn Park and Champlin High Schools in 1992. The new school selected an American Revolutionary patriot as its mascot.

Chula School (Chula, GA) was a school in the early 1900s. There are not enough records to adequately trace the history of this school, but the school did have a Rebel mascot.

Claiborne Academy (Haynesville, LA) was built in 1969 as a white flight academy. The school selected a Confederate Rebel as its mascot.

Clarence-Lowndes School (Clarence, IA) was started in the early 1970s and closed in the mid 1990s. The school had a rebel mascot but it was not Confederate in nature.

Columbine High School (Littleton, CO) was opened in 1973. The school selected the Rebel as its mascot and chose an American Revolutionary Patriot.

Coosa Valley Academy (Harpersville, AL) was opened in 1972 as a white flight academy. It selected a Confederate Rebel as its mascot. A *Colonel Reb* figure is present on the school's website.

Cornelia School (Cornelia, GA) was founded around 1930 and selected the Confederate Rebel as its mascot. The school was closed in 1954 when it was consolidated into South Habersham High, which also selected the Confederate Rebel as a mascot.

Crestview High School (Columbiana, OH) became a high school in 1996. It selected the Rebel as its mascot. The school at one time used a black and gold flag designed in a similar fashion to the Confederate Battle Flag. The school now uses a "CR" for "Crestview Rebels" as its emblem.

Crisp County High School (Cordele, GA) was opened in 1954 as a consolidated all-white school. The school selected the Confederate Rebel as its mascot. In 1970 the school was integrated with all-black A.S. Clark to form a new Crisp County High School and selected the Cougar as its mascot.

Cuba-Rushford High School (Cuba, NY) was founded in 1994. The school used a *Yosemite Sam* type character but now uses a character more akin to UNLV's *Hey Reb* as its mascot.

Custer-Hysham Co-op (Custer, MT) is a combination of Custer County and Hysham Schools that coordinate for athletic purposes. The agreement was forged in 2012 and the co-op selected Rebel as its mascot. However, the co-op selected the Cougar as the physical representation of that Rebel.

Denver South High School (Denver, CO) was founded in 1925 (Meyer, 2009). The school dropped its Confederate image in 2009, replacing it with a Griffin. The

Griffin was selected because it was specifically symbolic of the school as part of the facing of the edifice on top of the school.

Dilworth-Glyndon-Felton High School (Glyndon, MN) opened in 1994. The school selected a Rebel mascot similar in presentation to the UNLV *Hey Reb*.

Dixie Academy (Louisville, AL) was established as a white flight academy in 1967. The school selected a Confederate Rebel as its mascot and even featured a Confederate Battle Flag on its football helmets. The school closed in 2011 due to low enrollment.

Eagle Valley High School (Eagle Bend, MN) was formed in 1995 through a consolidation of Eagle Bend and Clarissa. The school selected the Rebel as its mascot. The Rebel's presentation was similar to UNLV's *Hey Reb*. The school closed in 2011 and merged with Parker's Prairie to become Prairie Valley.

East Hardin High School (Glendale, KY) opened in the early 1940s and transitioned into a middle school in 1990. The school's mascot, the rebel, was first selected to represent the coal miners who rebelled against the coal companies (Hart, 1967). Yet when the school selected a physical representation, it used a Confederate Rebel mascot during its time as a high school.

Ebarb School (Nobile, LA) opened in the early 1940s. The school utilizes a Colonel Reb type figure which is prominently displayed on its website.

Eclectic Academy (Eclectic, AL) was a white flight academy that was opened in 1972. It used a Confederate Rebel mascot. The school closed in 1977.

Edgely-Kuhn-Montpelier High School (Edgely, ND) was created in 2012 as a merger of Edgely- Kuhn and Montpelier Schools. The new school selected the Rebel as a mascot. The school uses “EKM” as its logo.

Effingham County High School (Springfield, GA) was established in 1955. The school selected a Confederate Rebel mascot but dropped Confederate figure in mid 2000s (Abraham, 2015). In 2017 an initiative was proposed to drop the Rebel name, but it was defeated. The school is represented by an “E” called the “Power E”.

Ervinton High School (Nora, VA) was established in 1947. The school closed in 2012 due to declining enrollment. The school was represented by a gray-coated Confederate general who was painted in the middle of the football field.

Escambia County High School (Milton, FL) was built in 1958. It selected a Confederate Rebel as its mascot. In the early 1970s, racial tensions at Escambia increased due to integration efforts. To quell the unrest, the school replaced the Rebel with a Raider in 1973 (United States Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, 1975). The court ruled that the school should keep the Raider to maintain the peace. A higher court overruled the temporary ruling to maintain the Raider, and the school reverted back to the Rebel in 1976. After the 1977 school year, massive school riots broke out and the school replaced the Rebel with a Gator (King, 1976).

Evadale High School (Evadale, TX) was opened in 1958. The school selected a Confederate Rebel as its mascot. The school still uses a Confederate Battle Flag in its emblem.

Fairfax High School (Fairfax, VA) was founded in 1936 and selected a Confederate Rebel as its mascot. The mascot was Johnny Reb- a short, chubby Confederate soldier carrying a Rebel flag. The principal banned the Confederate flag and the Confederate soldier in 1985 (U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals Fourth Circuit, 1987). Students sued the principal claiming that banning the flag limited their freedom of speech. The court agreed with the principal that the flag could be viewed as “hate speech” and the principal had the right to band the flag to maintain a civil learning environment. The mascot was transformed into a small creature that looks like a dust bunny and called it the Rebellion. Later the school split the word Rebellion into Rebel Lion and adopted the lion as its physical mascot.

Fairmount-Campbell High School (Campbell, MN) was formed in 1961 as a merger of Fairmount and Campbell Schools. The school adopted the rebel name, but it was not Confederate in nature. The school closed in 2015 as it merged with Rosholt and Tintah High Schools to become the Rosholt-Fairmount-Campbell-Tintah High School. That school plays as a co-op under the name “Tri-State Tigers”.

Fannin County High School (Blue Ridge, GA) opened in 1975 and selected a Confederate Rebel carrying a Confederate Battle Flag as its mascot. The school dropped the Confederate image in 2015 opting for an “F” over a pair of sabers.

Flintridge Preparatory School (La Cañada, CA) was established in 1933. When they began athletics, they selected the Rebel name but did not immediately select a physical representation. The school finally did select an image in the 1980s or 1990s of a male and female who look similar to park rangers or members of Royal Canadian Mounted Police- Mounties.

Forest Hill High School (Jackson, MS) was opened by 1915 and had a Confederate mascot. The school dropped the Rebel in 2008, replacing it with the name Patriot, using an eagle and Revolutionary patriot as new emblems.

Franklin County High School (Winchester, TN) was built in 1950 through a consolidation of community schools. The school selected a Confederate mascot similar to *Colonel Reb*. The school also sells clothing in its “spirit store” that features *Colonel Reb*.

Franklin High School (Franklin, TN) was built in 1941. The school’s mascot was named the Rebels after the Confederate soldiers who fought and lost the 1864 Battle of Franklin. The battle was the beginning of the end for the Army of Tennessee which lost this battle and the ensuing Battle of Nashville (Symonds, 1997). The battle also took the life of General Patrick Cleburne, regarded as one of the most skilled generals of the Confederacy. The city is marked with several parks and cemeteries that honor the Confederacy. The school originally selected a short, chubby, Confederate-flag wielding mascot, but removed it in the 1990s. The mascot was replaced with an “F” that is now the official symbol of the school.

Douglas Southall FREEMAN High School (Richmond, VA) was built in 1954 in suburban Richmond. The school was named for Robert E. Lee’s biographer, Freeman. The school originally selected a short, fat, Confederate soldier bearing a Confederate battle flag as its mascot. In the late 1980s the school dropped the Confederate imagery, opting for “DSF” as the school logo.

Freeman Junior Senior High School (Freeman, SD) was formed in 2015 from the merger of several community schools. The merger now plays in a co-op as the

Flyers/Rebels, depending site of the sport. Basketball plays as the Flyers, but wrestling is the Rebels. The co-op logo is “Freeman” without any additional visual representation.

George County High School (Lucedale, MS) was built in 1956 as a merger of the community schools in the county. The school selected the Confederate Rebel as its mascot. The school uses *Colonel Reb* as its symbol which is displayed on a sign on the football stands.

Gladbrook-Reinbeck Community School (Reinbeck, IA) was formed in 1988 due to a merger of Gladbrook and Reinbeck schools (Naughton, 2015). The mascot is mustachioed, saber-wielding soldier in a blue uniform styled like that of a Confederate general.

Gordon Ivey Independent High School (Gordon, GA) was a white-flight academy built in 1970 and closed in 1980. The school used a Confederate Rebel as its mascot.

Grove Hill Academy (Grove Hill, AL) was a white flight academy formed in 1970 and closed in 1998. The school used a Confederate Rebel

Robert W. GROVES High School (Garden City, GA) opened in 1958. The school selected a Confederate Rebel as its mascot, but transformed it into a Scottish Rebel in the early 1980s. The Scottish Rebel is featured on the school’s website.

John HANCOCK Academy (Sparta, GA) is a white flight academy built in 1966. It selected a Confederate Rebel as its mascot. The school was named after American Revolutionary statesman John Hancock. The *Colonel Reb* mascot is prominently featured on its website.

Haralson County High School (Tallapoosa, GA) was formed in 1970 through a consolidation and integration of community schools. It selected a Confederate Rebel as its mascot. The school features a *Colonel Reb* figure on the school's sign.

Harrison Central High School (Lyman, MS) was formed in 1957 through the consolidation of community schools in the rural areas of Harrison County. The school selected the name Red Rebels and used *Colonel Reb* as its Confederate mascot. For years the school had a large Colonel Reb on a sign in front of the school. In 2008 the school dropped the Confederate Rebel using only "HC" as its logo.

Jack C. HAYS High School (Buda, TX) was built in 1968. The school selected a cartoonish Confederate soldier as its mascot. The school dropped the Confederate flag as an official banner in 2000 (Toporek, 2015). Hays shelved the Confederate soldier and banned fans from waving the Confederate flag in 2012 and dropped "Dixie" as the fight song in 2015. The school now uses a large red "H" with "Rebels" written across it.

Heidelberg Academy (Heidelberg, MS) opened in 1970 as a white flight academy. The school selected a Confederate Rebel as its mascot that is visually akin to *Colonel Reb*. The school closed in 2017 due to declining enrollment.

Patrick HENRY High School (Glade Spring, VA) opened in 1960. The school was named after Revolutionary Era statesman Patrick Henry and selected the Rebel as its mascot. The school uses a revolutionary soldier as its physical representative.

Hephzibah High School (Hephzibah, GA) opened in 1925. The school selected the Rebel as its mascot and by the 1940s started using a Confederate soldier as its Rebel mascot. The school uses a *Colonel Reb* on its welcome sign.

Hickory Flat Attendance Center (Hickory Flat, MS) was founded in 1952 and selected the Confederate Rebel as its mascot. The school uses a *Colonel Reb* as its physical mascot.

Highland High School (Hardy, AR) opened in 1962 and selected the Confederate Rebel as its mascot. The school displays Confederate Battle Flags on its school sign in front of the campus.

Highmore/Harrold High School (Highmore, SD) was a school in the 1950s or 1960s. There is not enough data to properly construct the timeline of the school's existence, but it did use a Rebel as its mascot.

Dixie M. HOLLINS High School (St. Petersburg, FL) was opened in 1959 and named for the first superintendent of Pinellas County Schools. The name "Dixie" led the school to select Confederate Rebels as its mascot. In the 1971 the school district utilized busing to move African American students to Hollins (Patrick, 1971). Parents and students who opposed busing used the flag as a symbol of school spirit and a sign of opposition. The school broke out in fights forcing a temporary closure of the school. The local NAACP called the actions and flag oppressive so the school banned the Confederate flag. In the 1990s the school dropped the Confederate imagery, selecting a Rebel like UNLV's *Hey Reb*. The school now uses a logo and color scheme with a large "D" similar to that of Duke University.

William HORLICK High School (Racine, WI) opened in 1946 and was named after a local inventor and entrepreneur. The school adopted the North Star as its official logo. One of the earliest basketball coaches was a man named Rebbie, so the student body selected the Rebel as the name of the mascot and used a Confederate soldier as an unofficial mascot. The school has made efforts to phase out all Confederate images, but only officially supports the star as the representative of Rebels.

Howell High School (Farmingdale, NJ) was originally named Southern Freehold Regional High School but dropped its Confederate icons in 1986. (Hochron, 2011). The school now uses a version of UNLV's *Hey Reb* on the gym wall as the school symbol.

Hubbard-Radcliffe Community School (Hubbard, IA) opened in 1993 from a merger of Hubbard and Radcliffe schools. The school selected a rebel mascot but it was not Confederate in nature. The school closed in 2008 when it was merged with other community schools.

Humphreys Academy (Belzoni, MS) is a white flight academy established in 1968. The school uses *Colonel Reb* as its mascot and still displays the Confederate flag as a banner of school spirit.

Hurley High School (Hurley, VA) opened in the early 1950s and selected a Confederate Rebel as its mascot. The school still uses a Rebel flag as its school banner.

Inglennook Academy (Birmingham, AL) was opened in 1970 as a white flight academy. It used a Confederate Rebel as its mascot. The school closed in 1978 due to declining enrollment.

Jakin School (Jakin, GA) opened in the mid-1930s and selected a Confederate Rebel as its mascot. The school closed in 1963 when the county consolidated the community schools into Early County High School in Blakeley, GA.

Jefferson Davis Academy (Meridian, MS) opened in 1969 in the old Vimville School facility. The school used a Confederate Rebel as its mascot and remained open until 1990 when it closed due to declining enrollment and competition from other nearby public and private schools. The campus was reacquired by Lauderdale County Schools and now houses Southeast Lauderdale Middle School.

John Adams High School (Cleveland, OH) opened in 1923 and closed in 1995. The school reopened in 2006 as the John Adams Rebels. The school uses an American revolutionary soldier mascot similar to the hometown Cleveland Cavaliers.

Johnson Bayou High School (Cameron, LA) opened in 1961 and selected a Confederate Rebel as its mascot. The school still uses *Colonel Reb* in its yearbooks.

Jones County High School-Murdo (Murdo, SD) was a school with a Rebel mascot but the history is unclear.

Juanita High School (Kirkland, WA) opened in 1971 and uses an eagle as its visual representation of its Rebel mascot. Eagles are common to the region and Rebels represents the scheduling approach that the school chooses, using the “Juanita Concept” style- which features students attending seventeen 20-minute modules instead of specific classes.

Laona-Wabena High School (Laona, WI) opened in 1982 with a Rebel mascot. The visual interpretation of the Rebel is similar to the West Virginia University Mountaineer or the University of Tennessee Volunteer donning a coonskin cap.

Lawrence County Academy (Monticello, MS) opened in 1970 as a white flight academy. The school selected a Confederate Rebel as its mascot, even painting a Confederate Battle Flag on the gym floor. The school closed in 1987 due to low enrollment.

Leake County Academy (Madden, MS) opened in 1970 as a white flight academy. The school uses *Colonel Reb* as the symbol of Rebel spirit.

Lee Middle & High School (Wyoming, MI) opened in 1923 and selected a Confederate mascot. It was named for Confederate General Robert E. Lee. The school still uses a Confederate soldier as well as “Lee” and “LH” as logos for the school.

Leland & Gray High School (Townshend, VT) was established in 1970 and uses an American Revolutionary soldier as its symbol of Rebel spirit.

Lincoln Public High School (Ivanhoe, MN) started in 1956 and closed in 2012 when it merged with Minneonta School. Before it closed, it utilized *Hey Reb* as its Rebel mascot.

George W. LONG High School (Skipperville, AL) opened in 1978 and selected a Confederate Rebel as its mascot. The school still uses *Colonel Reb* on its school banner.

Lowndes Academy (Lowndesboro, AL) started in 1966 as a white flight academy. The school selected a Confederate Rebel mascot but now uses an overlapping “LA” like that of the Los Angeles Dodgers. The baseball team also uses a Gothic “L” over two crossed muskets. The school now displays a UNLV *Hey Reb* on its football press box. It appears to have dropped the Confederate imagery in the early 2000s.

Lyman Hall School (Gainesville, GA) opened in 1934 and used a Confederate Rebel as its mascot. Lyman Hall was a representative from Georgia who signed the Declaration of Independence in 1776. The school closed in 1957.

Macon County High School (Montezuma, GA) opened in 1958 as a consolidated school for whites in the county. The school selected a Confederate Rebel as its mascot. The school discarded its Rebel mascot in 1970 when it consolidated with majority African American D.F. Douglass High School. The school now uses the Bulldogs as its mascot.

Maryville High School (Maryville, TN) was formed in 1936 and used a Confederate Rebel as its school mascot. In the late 1990s the school dropped the Confederate icon, opting for a version of UNLV's *Hey Reb*. In the past decade the school has moved away from that mascot, using a large "M" as the symbol of school spirit.

Mattole-Triple Junction School (Petroia, CA) opened in 1993 and did not use an image to symbolize its Rebel spirit. The school closed in 2016 and was replaced with Mattole Valley Charter School.

McKenzie High School (McKenzie, TN) was established in 1942 and selected a Confederate soldier as its mascot. *Colonel Reb* adorns the wall of the school's gym.

Mid-Carolina High School (Prosperity, SC) opened in 1959 and has always maintained the Rebel name with no visual Rebel representation. The school uses "MC" on all its uniforms and fields of play.

Midland High School (Midland, LA) opened in 1956 and selected a Confederate Rebel as its mascot. The school uses *Colonel Reb* as the mascot.

Midway Vocational School (Milledgeville, GA) was created in 1830s and remained open until 1956. The school used a Confederate mascot from the 1930s until it closed.

Midwest Minnesota School (Clara City, MN) used a Rebel mascot during its tenure, but there is not enough evidence to trace the history of the school to a specific set of years.

Azariel Blanchard MILLER High School (Fontana, CA) was named for the founder of Fontana when it was established in 1991. The school uses *Hey Reb* as its mascot.

Monroe High School (Monroe, NC) opened in 1926 and used a Rebel mascot since at least the early 1930s. The school used a Confederate mascot until it changed to “Red Hawks” in 1995.

Montgomery County High School (Mt. Vernon, GA) opened in 1956 as an all-white school and used a Confederate Rebel as its mascot. The school integrated in 1970 and dropped the Rebel name, replacing it with “Eagles”.

Montpelier High School (Montpelier, ND) opened around 1950 and closed as a high school in the 2005 when it merged with Kensal-Pingree. The elementary is still open and uses the mascot “Martins”.

Moose Lake-Willow River High School (Moose Lake, MN) opened in 1984 as Willow River High. The school used “WR” on its athletic uniforms with no other symbols of Rebel spirit. The school united with the Moose Lake High School Lakers in 2008 and retained the Rebel name. It now uses an “R” for Rebels on most of its athletic gear.

Mount Carmel Catholic High School (Houston, TX) opened in 1956 and used a Confederate mascot. The school dropped the Confederate Rebel in 1978. In 2008 the school closed due to financial constraints. Many students from the school transferred to Mount Carmel Academy. The original facility was purchased and renovated to form Cristo Rey Jesuit College Prep of Houston.

Mullens High School (Mullens, WV) was opened in 1952 through a consolidation of several community schools. It selected a Confederate Rebel as its mascot. The school was relegated to a middle school in 1998 due to school district consolidation.

Murray County Central High School (Slayton, MN) formed in the mid-1990s through a consolidation of community schools. The school selected a Rebel as its mascot and uses *Hey Reb* as the symbol of the school.

Natchez-Adams High (Natchez, MS) was formed in 1937 through a consolidation of White schools in the county. The school selected a Confederate Rebel as its mascot. The school was integrated in 1969, renamed Natchez-South, and dropped the Confederate mascot (Davis, 2001). Seven years later, the school reverted to a Confederate “Colonels” that it retained until a federal court required additional integration in the late 1980s. After that integration, the school dropped the mascot and became the “Bulldogs”.

Nathan Bedford Forrest High School (Jacksonville, FL) was formed in 1959 and was given the name New School 207 by the Duval County School District (Strauss, 2013). In the first months of operation, the student body selected Vikings and petitioned the school board to name the school Valhalla. At the board meeting to

approve naming the school, a member of the United Daughters of the Confederacy asked the board to name the school after Forrest and use the mascot “Rebels”. The board approved the name Forrest and retained it until the school board changed the school’s name in 2017. The school is now known as Westside High and its mascot is the “Wolverines”.

New Fairfield High School (New Fairfield, CT) opened in 1973 and uses an American Revolutionary soldier as its mascot.

North Caddo High School (Vivian, LA) started in 1959 and used a Confederate mascot until 2010. It now uses “NC” over a pair of crossed sabers.

North Duplin High School (Calypso, NC) adopted a Confederate mascot when it was formed in 1956. The school dropped the Confederate mascot in the mid-2000s, opting for an interlocked “ND” similar to what is used by the University of Notre Dame and the University of North Dakota.

Northeast Community Middle & High School (Goose Lake, IA) was formed in 1962 and selected a Confederate mascot.

North Sunflower Academy (Drew, MS) is a white flight academy that was formed in 1968. It selected a Confederate flag waving *Colonel Reb* as its mascot.

Notre Dame Academy (Worcester, MA) is an all-girls’ Catholic school that was established in 1951. The school uses an interlocked “ND” similar to what is used by the University of Notre Dame and the University of North Dakota.

Notre Dame Catholic High School (St. Louis, MO) opened in 1934 and uses an interlocked “ND” similar to what is used by the University of Notre Dame and the University of North Dakota.

Obion County High School (Troy, TN) was formed in 1962 through a consolidation of community schools. The school selected *Colonel Reb* as its mascot.

Ore City High School (Ore City, TX) was founded in 1962 and used a Confederate icon through the mid-1990s. The school now uses a pirate-like figure that is similar to the former logo of the Ottawa Rebels lacrosse team of National Lacrosse League.

Owen County High School (Owenton, KY) started in 1959 and used a Confederate icon since it was established.

Padre Pio Academy (Garden Grove, CA) was named after an Italian Saint of the Catholic Church when it opened in the early 1980s. The school ended its Rebel affiliation in the late 2000s.

Parkwood High School (Monroe, NC) was established in 1961 and used a Confederate mascot until 2008. The school now uses a flag on a saber with a “P” to represent Parkwood.

Pearl River High School (Pearl River, LA) opened in 1968 and used a Confederate mascot until the early 2000s. The school now uses *Hey Reb* and “PR” as its mascot and logo.

Pineville High School (Pineville, LA) opened in the early 1950s and selected a Confederate Rebel as its mascot.

Pingree-Buchanan High School (Kensal, ND) was a school from 1967-2009, but it did not utilize a Confederate icon.

St. Louis PRIORY School (St. Louis, MO) was established in 1955 and used a Confederate icon. In 1990 the school dropped the Confederate mascot, now only using a “P”.

Quartz Hill High School (Quartz Hill, CA) was established in the 1960s (McCormick, 2017). Rebel mascot selected in part due to the fact that the school site was moved to the west side of town instead of the initial site on the east side. The Confederate flag was banned from the school in 1995 and the school transitioned the Rebel mascot to a Revolutionary Patriot. A Patriot in a tri-corn hat is present on the gym wall.

Randolph Southern High School (Lynn, IN) opened in 1967, selecting a saber wielding Confederate soldier as its mascot.

Red Lake County Central High School (Oklee, MN) selected the Rebel as its mascot when it opened in 1985. In 2008 the school joined a cooperative with the Red Lake Falls Eagles but still retained the Rebel name. The school uses only an “R” as its logo.

Reeltown High School (Notasulga, AL) opened in 1950 and selected *Colonel Reb* as its mascot.

Rehobeth High School (Dothan, AL) started in the late 1920s and selected a Confederate mascot in the following decade. The school dropped its Confederate mascot in the mid-2000s, replacing it with an “R” over crossed sabers.

Richardton High School (Richardton, ND) opened in 1963 and retained a Confederate mascot until it closed in 1985.

Rich County High School (Randolph, UT) started in the late 1950s and used a Confederate soldier as its mascot. In 2017 the school altered the Confederate general’s presence, rebranding him as an American Revolutionary War Rebel (Henline, 2017).

Richland Hills High School (North Richland Hills, TX) was opened in 1961 and used Confederate regalia until 1991. The school now only uses an “R”.

Richland R-1 High School (Essex, MO) opened in 1956 and selected *Colonel Reb* as its mascot.

Richton High School (Richton, MS) was established in 1957 and selected *Colonel Reb* as its mascot.

Ridgewood High School (Norridge, IL) opened in 1960 and used a Confederate icon for the next decade. By 1973 the school had dropped the Confederate images, only utilizing “R” as its icon.

Ritchie County High School (Ellenboro, WV) was established in 1935 and selected a cartoonish Confederate soldier as its mascot.

Rivercrest High School (Bogata, TX) opened in 1966 and selected a Confederate icon. Around the mid-2010s the school dropped their Confederate soldier, replacing it with an “R”.

Riverdale Academy (Coushatta, LA) is a white flight academy that was opened in 1970. The school has used a Confederate icon since it opened.

Riverdale High School (Jefferson, LA) was established in 1964 as an all-female school (Riverdale, 2018). The school adopted a Scottish “Lassie” as its original mascot. When it added male students in 1980 it retained the Scottish theme but selected the Scottish Rebel as its mascot. The mascot is still a kilt-wearing Scottish Rebel.

Riverside Academy (Reserve, LA) is a white flight academy that has used a Confederate mascot since it was opened in 1970.

Riverside High School (Basin, WY) opened in 1957 and uses *Hey Reb* as its mascot.

Riverside High School (Dearborn Heights, MI) was opened in 1961 and used a knight as its Rebel mascot until it closed in 1983.

Riverside High School (Lake City, AR) opened in 1985 and retained a Confederate mascot until the early 2010s. The school now uses an “R” over crossed sabers.

Robert E Lee High School (Baton Rouge, LA) was named after the Confederate General when it opened in 1959. The school retained a Confederate mascot until it closed around 2005.

Robert E Lee High School (Thomaston, GA) was named after the Confederate General in 1933. The school used a Confederate mascot until it closed in 1992.

Robert E. Lee Senior High School (Midland, TX) was established in 1961 and uses a small cartoonish Confederate soldier as its mascot. The school was named for Confederate General Robert E. Lee. In 2017 alumni of the school started a petition to change the name of the school.

Rockwell-Swaledale Community School (Rockwell, IA) opened in the early 1960s and utilized a Confederate soldier as its mascot. The school closed in 2011 when the district was dissolved into West Fork School District.

Cardinal Angelo Giuseppe RONCALLI Catholic School (Indianapolis, IN) was created in 1969 and was named for Pope John XXIII before he became Pope. The school was a merger of the two Catholic schools on the southern side of Indianapolis- Bishop Chartrand and John F. Kennedy Memorial. Because of the “southern” orientation of the school, it adopted the Rebel name and embraced Confederate imagery until 1991. The school now uses a stylized “R”.

Rossville Christian School (Rossville, TN) opened in 1969 as a white flight academy. It used a Confederate mascot until it dropped the Rebel name in 2008, replacing it with “Wolves”.

Rural Special High School (Fox, AR) opened in the early 1950s and uses *Colonel Reb* as its mascot.

Sacred Heart School (Morrilton, AR) opened in the 1870s and used a Confederate mascot in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. The school now uses “SH” as its logo.

Saddle River Day School (Saddle River, NJ) opened in 1957 and has never had a Confederate mascot. The school uses “SR” as its logo.

Saint John’s Catholic High School (Houston, TX) opened in 1946 and selected the Confederate Rebel as its mascot. School dropped the Rebel mascot in 2004.

Saint Paul’s Country Day School (Hollywood, SC) opened in 1970 as a white flight academy. The school selected a Confederate Rebel as its mascot. St. Paul’s closed in 2004 due to flagging enrollment, and the property was sold to Low Country Leadership Charter School.

Sam Rayburn High School (Ivanhoe, TX) started in 1964 and uses a Confederate mascot. The school even has a costumed person dressed as *Colonel Reb* for athletic events.

Sanborn Central High School (Forestburg, SD) was formed in 2005 through a reorganization of Artesian-Letcher High School. The school retained the Rebel mascot and uses *Hey Reb* as its representation.

Sanborn-Lamberton Public School (Sanborn, MN) opened in 1939 and closed in 2005. The school used a Confederate soldier as its mascot until it closed. The school

districts united with Storden and Jeffers Schools in 1997, and the high schools united to form Red Rock Central High School Falcons in 2005.

San Lorenzo High School (San Lorenzo, CA) opened in 1950 and utilized a Colonel Reb character until 1997. The district used *Hey Reb* from 1997 until 2016. In 2017 the school board voted to remove the Rebel name from the school entirely. San Lorenzo was without a mascot but used “SLZ” on all its school uniforms and publications until it could establish a new mascot (Anthony, 2017). In 2018 the student body selected a phoenix as its new mascot until the school board discovered that the phoenix is also used the Aryan Nation. The school board selected the second-place name from the voting, the Grizzlies.

Emma SANSOM High School (Gadsden, AL) was opened in 1929 and named after local heroine Emma Sansom. During the Civil War, Sansom led Nathan Bedford Forrest and his troops across a flooded Black Creek in Gadsden in order to capture a part of the Union army. The school used a Confederate mascot to follow the theme. The school was downgraded to a middle school in 2006.

Savanna High School (Anaheim, CA) opened in 1964 and adopted a Confederate soldier as the symbol of Rebel spirit (Robinson, 2017). In 2014 the confederate soldier statue outside the school was removed. The mascot that roamed the sidelines was banned the next year. The school then adopted a *Hey Reb* mascot. In 2017 the student body voted to rebrand the Rebel entirely, using an “S” on a shield below the name “Savanna” and above the word “Rebels”.

Scott Central Attendance Center (Forest, MS) opened in 1961 as part of a union of rural community schools in north central Scott County. The new school selected

the Confederate Rebel as its mascot. The school used *Colonel Reb* until 2014 when it dropped the icon. It now uses an interlocked SC as its logo. as the mascot.

Selbyville High School (Selbyville, DE) opened in 1941 and used a Confederate soldier as its Rebel mascot. The school closed in 2001 when it united with Dagsboro High to form Indian River High School.

Seton LaSalle Catholic High School (Pittsburgh, PA) opened in 1979 and uses “SL” as its school logo. There are no other forms or symbols of Seton’s Rebels.

Shields Valley High School (Wilsall, MT) has used a Confederate soldier as its mascot since it opened in 1989.

Silo High School (Durant, OK) opened in 1980 and selected *Colonel Reb* as its symbol of Rebel spirit.

Sinai School (Sinai, SD) opened in 1948 and closed in the early 1960s. The school used the name “Rebels” but there is no evidence of a link to Confederate Rebels.

Sioux Central High School (Sioux Rapids, IA) opened in 1993 and uses a cartoonish Confederate soldier as its mascot.

South Albany High School (Albany, OR) selected the Rebel when it was founded in 1971 (Moody, 2017). The School board ended its affiliation with the Confederate Battle Flag in the mid-1990s and banned the Rebel flag from campus in 2011. The school also retired its Confederate mascot at that time, opting for “SA” on a flag as the symbol of Rebel pride. In 2018 the school dropped the Rebel name.

South Bakersfield High School (Bakersfield, CA) opened in 1957 and utilized a kepi-wearing Confederate soldier as its mascot. By 2003 the school had altered the

appearance of the mascot to appear less like a soldier and more like a tough-guy mobster-type.

South Burlington High School (South Burlington, VT) split from Burlington Public School District in 1961. The student body stated that they “seceded” from Burlington and selected a Confederate Rebel mascot to express this sentiment (DeSmet, 2017c). It dropped its Confederate images in the 1990s, replacing them with an interlocking “SB”. In 2017 the school dropped its Rebel name, replacing it with the names Wolves.

South Central Harrison Community Junior & Senior High School (Elizabeth, IN) started in the 1960s and selected a Confederate Rebel as its mascot. The school still retains *Colonel Reb* on its football scoreboard.

South Choctaw Academy (Toxey, AL) is a white flight academy that was started in 1969. The school uses *Colonel Reb* as its symbol of school spirit.

South Gallia High School (Crown City, OH) opened in 1996 and selected the Rebel as the name for its athletic teams. The school adopted *Hey Reb* as the symbol of Rebel spirit.

South Gray High School (Montezuma, KS) continues to use the Confederate soldier that it selected as its Rebel mascot when it opened in 1986.

South Greene High School (Greeneville, TN) selected a Confederate Rebel as its mascot when it opened in 1965. The school uses *Colonel Reb* as its mascot.

South Habersham High School (Cornelia, GA) started in 1954 and used a Confederate Rebel as its mascot. The school was relegated to a middle school in 1988 and its

high school students were sent to Habersham Central. The middle school still maintains the Rebel mascot.

South Hagerstown High School (Hagerstown, MD) was built in 1956 and used a Confederate mascot until 1990. South now uses a large green “S” and *Hey Reb* as its mascot.

South High School (Great Neck, NY) adopted a Confederate motif when it was opened in 1958. The school ended its Confederate imagery in the early 1980s and now utilizes a patriot as its “Rebel”

South High School Willoughby-Eastlake (Willoughby, OH) was founded in 1959 and selected a Confederate soldier as the manifestation of Rebel pride (Morgan, 2017). In the 1990s the Confederate flag was phased out and completely banned by 2013. The Confederate soldier was completely removed in 2017. The school now uses an “S” encircled by the words “Willoughby” and “Rebels”

South Kingstown High School (Wakefield, RI) started in 1880 and adopted the Rebel name soon thereafter as a play on the name “South”. The school has maintained a nautical theme for its representation of the Rebel.

Southland C-9 High School (Cardwell, MO) opened in 1965. The school utilizes *Colonel Reb* on its webpage.

Southland High School (Adams, MN) selected a Hey Reb mascot as its Rebel mascot when it was established in 1974. The school used the Confederate flag until 1988 or 1989.

South Mountain High School (Phoenix, AZ) opened in 1954 and retained a Confederate Rebel until it was retired in 1985. The school now uses the Jaguars as its mascot.

South Newton High School (Kentland, IN) started in 1961 and uses six different logos.

Since its founding, the school has used a cartoonish Confederate soldier as its mascot. After 2010 the school updated the mascot to appear more like *Hey Reb*

South Page Community School (College Springs, IA) started in 1960 and uses a

cartoonish soldier dressed in an American military uniform from the mid-1800s.

Southside High School (Ft. Smith, AR) selected a Confederate Rebel as its mascot when

it was established in 1964. In 2017 the school district replaced the Rebel name with the mascot “Mavericks” (Toporek, 2015; Kauffman, 2016; Hunter, 2015).

Southside High School (Muncie, IN) was built in 1962 and selected a Confederate Rebel

as a tie-in with the name Southside (United States Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals, 1970). The school was sued by some of the African American families that sent their students to the school because they claimed that the Rebel flag was a symbol of servitude and violated their 14th Amendment rights. They claimed that the Rebel flag doubled as a symbol of school spirit and White supremacy and should be removed. The court stated that it could not distinguish intent of a symbol beyond what is stated, so it did not force removal of the flag. Muncie Public School District closed the school in 2014 due to declining enrollment.

South Spencer High School (Rockport, IN) uses a Confederate mascot that it has used since its beginning in 1966.

South Stanly High School (Norwood, NC) opened in 1962 and selected the Confederate

Rebel as its mascot. In 2008 the school dropped its Confederate imagery and altered the name “Rebels” to “Rebel Bulls”. The school now uses a bull as its mascot.

Southwest High School (Ft. Worth) opened in 1968 and utilized a Confederate Rebel mascot. In 1986 the school replaced the “Rebel” name with “Raiders” with a cowboy on horseback.

Southwest Jefferson High School (Hanover, IN) opened in 1959 and selected a Confederate Rebel as its mascot. The school dropped the Confederate mascot in the 1990s and now uses an “S” only.

Stark County High School (Toulon, IL) opened in 1992 as a result of consolidating Toulon-Lafayette and West Jersey schools. The school selected a Rebel mascot with *Yosemite Sam* as the symbol. The school now uses a mascot similar to Hey Reb.

Stewart Co High School (Dover, TN) opened in 1945 and selected *Colonel Reb* as their Rebel mascot.

Strom Thurmond High School (Johnston, SC) opened in 1961 and was named for reputed segregationist and South Carolina statesman, Strom Thurmond. The school selected a Confederate Rebel as its mascot. In 2003 the school dropped the Confederate icon opting for a more specific blue tick hound- a symbol more symbolic of Thurmond himself. Thurmond considered himself a “Blue Dog Democrat” so the choice of a hound was apropos.

Stronghurst Southern High School (Stronghurst, IL) opened in in 1971 and selected a Confederate Rebel as its mascot. The school flew a Confederate flag and used “Waiting on the Robert E. Lee” as its fight song. The boys’ teams were called the Rebels while the girls’ teams were originally called the Belles. In the 1980s the

girls' teams transitioned to Lady Rebels. The school closed in 2005 when it consolidated into the West Central School District of Biggsville.

Suffolk Hills Catholic High School (Tucson, AZ) opened in 1971 and utilized a sacred heart as its logo. The school also flew a Rebel flag as a symbol of school spirit. Suffolk Hills closed in 1990.

Sullivan South High School (Kingsport, TN) opened in 1981 and selected a Confederate soldier as its mascot. The school has had issues in the 2010s with other schools asking Sullivan to not wave the Confederate Battle Flag at sporting events (Osborne, 2017). In 2017 the flag became more of an issue, with the district enforcing its ban of the flag on campus.

Summerfield High School (Summerfield, LA) opened in 1965 and selected a Confederate Rebel as its mascot. The school uses *Colonel Reb* as the symbol of Rebel spirit.

Tascosa High School (Amarillo, TX) started in 1956 and selected a Confederate Rebel as its mascot. In 1982 Tascosa dropped the Confederate soldier, replacing it with a cowboy similar to Oklahoma State University's *Pistol Pete*.

Telstar Regional High School (Bethel, ME) opened in 1968 and was named after the recently launched American satellite. In the 1980s the school used a *Yosemite Sam* character but now uses a "T" over a star.

Father William J. TEURLINGS Catholic High School (Lafayette, LA) opened in 1955 and was named for the vicar of the Lafayette Diocese. The school selected a Confederate Rebel as its mascot. In the 1991 the school dropped the Rebel banner and the Confederate mascot, replacing both with a version of UNLV's *Hey Reb*.

Thomas Heyward Academy (Ridgeland, SC) was opened in 1970 as a white flight academy. The school was named after a South Carolina representative and signer of the Declaration of Independence. It selected the name Rebel but uses a knight in armor on its crest. The school also uses “TH” and “Rebels” on its uniforms and signage.

Thornton Fractional High School- South (Lansing, IL) opened in 1957. The school was part of a consolidation of local schools into two- Thornton North and Thornton South. Thornton South embraced the name “South” choosing a Confederate Rebel as its mascot and utilizing the Confederate Battle Flag as its banner. In 1993, the flag was removed and Confederate icons were removed in mid-2000s (Tejada, 2008). The school now uses “TFS” as its icon.

Thorsby Attendance Center (Thorsby, AL) opened in 1957 and selected a Confederate Rebel as its mascot. The school currently displays a *Colonel Reb* figure on its school sign.

Thrasher Attendance Center (Booneville, MS) opened in 1970 and selected a *Colonel Reb* type of Confederate mascot.

Tipton-Rosemark Academy (Millington, TN) opened as Tipton Academy in 1965 as a white flight academy with a Confederate mascot. The school merged with Rosemark Academy in 1988 to become Tipton-Rosemark Academy. The school used a *Colonel Reb* figure through the 2012 school year when it was retired and replaced with an overlapped “TR”.

Todd Central High School (Elkton, KY) opened in 1962 and selected a Confederate Rebel as its mascot. The school phased out the Confederate imagery over the past decade and now uses an interlocked “TC” as its logo.

Tolsia High School (Fort Gay, WV) opened in 1988 and typically uses sabers and “Rebels” as the school logos but also uses a cartoonish charging soldier dressed in a late 1800s uniform.

William B. TRAVIS Early College High School (Austin, TX) opened in 1953 and retained a Confederate Rebel mascot until the early 1990s when it banned the Confederate Battle Flag and the Confederate mascot. The school now uses a mascot like UNLV’s Hey Reb.

Tri-County Academy (Flora, MS) opened in 1970 as a white flight academy. The school selected a Confederate *Colonel Reb* as its mascot. *Colonel Reb* is still present on the football stadium.

Trinity Catholic School (St. Louis, MO) opened in 2003 and closed in 2009. The school did not have a prominent interpretation of the Rebel during its short tenure.

Turner County High School (Ashburn, GA) opened in 1958 and selected a Confederate Rebel as its mascot. In the late 1980s the school removed the Confederate soldier, replacing it with UNLV’s *Hey Reb*, which is still present on the football press box.

Twin Valley Community School (Bartley, NE) opened in the late 1990s due to shrinking populations from community schools. Continual declines in enrollment led to the closure of Twin Valley in 2003. The school used a non-Confederate Rebel as its mascot.

United South Central High School (Wells, MN) opened in 1993 and selected a Rebel like UNLV's *Hey Reb*. The only major alteration to the mascot is that his belt buckle has "USC" emblazoned upon it. The school was formed through a consolidation of Bricelyn, Kiester, Wells, and Freeborn Schools.

Vestavia Hills High School (Vestavia Hills, AL) was established in 1972 with the selection of a Confederate Rebel icon (Turpen, 2015). The mascot was first publically addressed as an issue in 2000, but was not acted upon until 2017. School board finally removed the Confederate mascot in 2017 and stated that it was not removing the name, just the image. It now uses "VH" as its logo.

Walpole High School (Walpole, MA) opened in 1907 and selected the Hilltoppers as its original mascot. In 1963 the school hired a new football coach with the last name Lee (Bolton, 2010). Fans started calling the team "General Lee's Boys" and opted to change the mascot to the tongue-in-cheek "Rebels", making fun of the struggles in the American South during the centennial of the war. A janitor gave a group of students a Rebel flag and the school slowly adopted Confederate icons to accompany the name. The Confederate icons lasted until 1988 when the school dropped "Dixie" as the fight song and removed the Confederate flag from campus. A neighbor to the school still flies the flag on private property adjacent to the school, which the district posted a sign informing people that the flag has been banned from the school. Since the 80s, the school uses a "W" as the symbol of school activities.

Walthall Academy (Tylertown, MS) was a white flight academy built in 1969. It selected a Confederate Colonel Reb as its mascot. The school closed in 1986 due to declining enrollment.

Weld Central High School (Keenesburg, CO) district was formed in the 1960s. It chose a Confederate soldier as its mascot. The district dropped the Confederate Battle Flag in 2000s, and the school mostly uses “WC” but does utilize the Confederate Rebel on occasion.

Westbury High School (Houston, TX) opened in 1963 and selected a Confederate mascot as its symbol. In 2014 the Houston Independent School District removed all mascots that could be deemed as offensive, including the Lamar Redskins and Westbury Rebels (Wainright, 2013).

West Hopkins High School (Nebo, KY) was formed in 1962 through a consolidation of community schools. It was closed in 1986 due to consolidation of all county schools into Hopkins County Central. The school used a Confederate mascot during the time it was open.

West Knoxville High School (Knoxville, TN) opened in 1951 and adopted a western motif, embracing the name “West”. The school used a Rebel name but utilized a cowboy theme in the 1980s and 1990s. The school now uses a “W” as the school logo.

West Lincoln High School (Lincolnton, NC) was created in 1961 through a consolidation of community schools. The school used a Confederate Rebel mascot into the early 1990s. The school now uses UNLV’s *Hey Reb*.

West Monroe High School (West Monroe, LA) was opened in 1953 with a Confederate Rebel as its mascot. The school obtained a new football coach in the 1989 who believed that the mascot was limiting the school, so he encouraged the school to change the image (Tedford, 2012). The school used rugs and paint to cover the old mascot, and he won state championships, muting his opposition. The school now uses a “WM” as its logo.

West Morgan High School (Trinity, AL) was established in 1962 through a consolidation of several community schools. The school chose the Confederate Rebel as its mascot, displaying a *Colonel Reb* on its gym wall.

Westside Johnson County High (Coal Hill, AR) opened in 1983 and selected a Confederate Rebel as its mascot. The school selected a mascot similar to *Colonel Reb*.

Westwood High School (Sloan, IA) opened in 1962 through a consolidation of several community schools. The initial mascot selection was due to a student’s dog named “Rebel” (Naughton, 2015). By the 1980s the school had opted for a more Confederate-looking mascot. The school still maintains a soldier dressed in a uniform akin to those of Confederate soldiers.

Zion Chapel High School (Jack, AL) was opened in 1937 and selected a Confederate Rebel as its mascot. The school has maintained a *Colonel Reb* type character since at least the 1950s.

APPENDIX B – REBEL SUBSETS

Confederate

Pu(B)lic or Pri(V)ate	School	City	% Native	% Hispanic	% Asian	% White	% African-American	% 2 or More Races	Situation	Grade Size
V	Adams Co. Christian	Natchez, MS	0	1	1	90	8	0	Rural	23
V	Amite School	Liberty, MS	1	1	0	96	1	1	Rural	24
B	Astoria VIT	Astoria, IL	0	0	0	100	0	0	Rural	52
B	Atkinson Co.	Pearson ,GA	0	29	0	48	22	1	Rural	108
B	Berrien	Nashville, GA	0	8	1	76	13	2	Town	202
B	Bowsher	Toledo, OH	0	9	0	42	42	8	City	310
B	Boyle Co.	Danville, KY	0	3	1	93	1	1	Rural	210
V	Briarfield Ac.	Lake Providence, LA	0	1	2	88	3	5	Rural	13
V	Carroll Ac.	Carrollton, MS	0	0	0	99	0	0	Rural	17
B	Central	Park Hills, MO	0	2	1	93	2	3	Town	147
V	Chambers Ac.	Lafayette, AL	0	0	0	99	0	1	Rural	16
V	Claiborne Ac.	Haynesville, LA	0	0	0	96	4	0	Rural	22
V	Coosa Valley	Harpersville, AL	1	1	0	98	2	0	Rural	21
B	Ebarb	Nobile, LA	67	1	0	17	1	14	Rural	23
B	Evadale	Evadale, TX	0	2	0	94	0	4	Rural	35
B	Franklin Co.	Winchester, TN	0	3	0	89	7	1	Town	374
B	George Co.	Lucedale, MS	0	2	1	87	10	0	Rural	298
B	Gladbrook-Reinbeck	Reinbeck, IA	0	2	0	96	0	2	Rural	42
V	Hancock Ac.	Sparta, GA	0	0	0	99	1	0	Rural	9
B	Haralson Co.	Tallapoosa, GA	0	2	0	92	4	2	Rural	262
B	Hephzibah	Hephzibah, GA	0	4	1	36	58	1	Rural	244
B	Hickory Flat	Hickory Flat, MS	0	1	0	82	17	0	Rural	43
B	Highland	Hardy, AR	0	2	1	96	1	0	Rural	118
V	Humphreys Ac.	Belzoni, MS	0	1	3	93	2	1	Rural	10
B	Hurley	Hurley, VA	0	0	0	99	1	1	Rural	46
B	Johnson Bayou	Cameron, LA	0	15	0	75	2	6	Rural	7
V	Leake	Madden, MS	1	0	0	99	1	0	Rural	44
B	Lee	Midland, TX	0	57	3	30	8	1	City	537
B	Lee	Wyoming, MI	0	75	0	12	8	4	City	125
B	Long	Skipperville, AL	0	2	0	91	7	0	Rural	67

B	McKenzie	McKenzie, TN	0	4	1	80	14	1	Town	102
B	Midland	Midland, LA	0	0	0	95	4	1	Rural	54
V	N. Sunflower Ac.	Drew, MS	0	1	0	98	1	0	Rural	8
B	Northeast	Goose Lake, IA	0	3	0	95	1	1	Rural	73
B	Obion Co.	Troy, TN	0	4	1	91	4	1	Rural	237
B	Owen Co.	Owenton, KY	0	3	0	95	3	0	Rural	133
B	Pineville	Pineville, LA	0	1	2	63	34	0	Suburb	357
B	Randolph Southern	Lynn, IN	0	3	0	95	0	3	Rural	40
B	Reeltown	Notasulga, AL	0	2	1	69	27	1	Rural	62
B	Richland	Essex, MO	0	1	0	94	4	1	Rural	18
B	Richton	Richton, MS	0	3	0	72	24	1	Rural	57
B	Ritchie Co.	Ellenboro, WV	0	1	0	98	1	0	Rural	105
V	Riverdale Ac.	Coushatta, LA	0	3	0	97	0	0	Town	18
V	Riverside Ac.	Reserve, LA	0	2	2	94	0	0	Town	56
B	Rural Special	Fox, AR	0	1	0	97	0	2	Rural	15
B	Sam Rayburn	Ivanhoe, TX	2	10	0	85	1	2	Rural	28
B	Shields Valley	Wilsall, MT	1	1	0	98	0	0	Rural	20
B	Silo	Durant, OK	33	3	0	54	0	10	Rural	59
B	Sioux Central	Sioux Rapids, IA	0	0	0	92	0	0	Rural	55
B	South Central Harrison	Elizabeth, IN	0	1	1	95	1	3	Rural	67
V	South Choctaw Ac.	Toxey, AL	0	0	0	100	0	0	Rural	20
B	South Gray	Montezuma, KS	0	15	0	81	0	4	Rural	17
B	South Greene	Greeneville, TN	0	2	0	96	1	1	Rural	124
B	South Page	College Springs, IA	0	0	3	93	0	4	Rural	12
B	South Spencer	Rockport, IN	0	4	0	91	1	4	Rural	113
B	Southland	Cardwell, MO	1	16	0	83	0	0	Rural	23
B	Stewart Co.	Dover, TN	0	2	0	95	3	0	Rural	160
B	Sullivan South	Kingsport, TN	0	1	1	96	1	1	Suburb	226
B	Summerfield	Summerfield, LA	1	1	0	56	42	0	Rural	19
B	Thorsby	Thorsby, AL	0	12	0	80	6	2	Rural	55
B	Thrasher	Booneville, MS	0	1	0	85	13	1	Rural	31
B	Tolsia	Fort Gay, WV	0	1	1	97	1	0	Rural	99
V	Tri-County Ac.	Flora, MS	0	0	0	100	0	0	Rural	23
B	Weld Central	Keenesburg, CO	0	38	1	72	0	3	Rural	159
B	West Morgan	Trinity, AL	1	23	0	69	7	0	Rural	94
B	Westside	Coal Hill, AR	0	2	3	94	0	1	Rural	49
B	Westwood	Sloan, IA	3	0	5	87	2	3	Rural	41

B	Zion Chapel	Jack, AL	2	1	1	93	2	1	Rural	61
	Totals	53 B 15 V	1.68	5.74	0.6	84.26	6.24	1.63		93.2

Western

Pu(B)lic or Pri(V)ate	School	City	%Native	%Hispanic	%Asian	%White	% African- American	%2 or More Races	Situation	Grade Size
B	Arcadia-Loup City	Arcadia, NE	0	5	0	95	0	0	Rural	11
B	Casey County	Liberty, KY	0	3	0	95	1	1	Rural	175
B	Cuba-Rushford	Cuba, NY	0	1	0	91	5	2	Rural	63
B	Dilworth	Glyndon, MN	0	8	0	92	0	1	Rural	96
B	Hollins	St. Pete's, FL	0	17	7	59	12	5	Suburb	457
B	Howell	Farmingdale, NJ	0	5	4	87	4	1	Rural	573
V	Lowndes Academy	Lowndesboro, AL	0	0	0	98	2	0	Rural	15
B	Miller	Fontana, CA	0	87	2	4	7	0	Suburb	572
B	Murray Co.	Slayton, MN	1	4	1	93	2	0	Rural	47
B	Pearl River	Pearl River, LA	0	3	0	90	6	0	Rural	168
B	Riverside	Basin, WY	0	12	0	83	0	4	Rural	26
B	S. Hagerstown	Hagerstown, MD	0	10	2	53	26	9	Rural	318
B	Sanborn Central	Forestburg, SD	0	2	0	96	0	2	Rural	12
B	Southland	Adams, MN	0	1	1	97	0	0	Rural	45
B	South Gallia	Crown City, OH	0	0	0	96	3	1	Rural	41
B	South Newton	Kentland, IN	1	10	0	87	1	1	Rural	63
B	Stark Co.	Toulon, IL	1	2	1	93	0	3	Town	68
B	Tascosa	Amarillo, TX	1	32	5	45	12	4	City	534
V	Teurlings	Lafayette, LA	0	4	1	84	11	0	Suburb	171
B	Travis	Austin, TX	0	85	1	3	10	1	City	332
B	Turner Co.	Ashburn, GA	0	5	1	36	58	1	Rural	92
B	United South Central	Wells, MN	0	13	1	84	1	2	Rural	52
B	West Lincoln	Lincolnton, NC	0	5	0	90	1	1	Rural	231
	Totals	21 B 2 V	0.17	13.7	1.2	76.13	7.04	1.7		181

Revolutionary

Pu(B)lic or Pri(V)ate	School	City	% Native	% Hispanic	% Asian	% White	% African- American	% 2 or More Races	Situation	Grade Size
B	Altmar Parish	Parish, NY	0	1	0	96	0	2	Rural	101
B	Atherton	Louisville, KY	0	6	3	67	21	3	City	336
B	California Ac. of Math	Carson, CA	0	34	27	11	12	4	City	166
B	Champlin Park	Champlin, MN	1	5	13	61	18	3	Suburb	668
B	Columbine	Littleton, CO	0	19	4	72	1	4	Suburb	423
B	Henry	Glade Spring, VA	1	2	1	93	1	2	Rural	303
B	John Adams	Cleveland, OH	0	1	0	1	97	1	City	227
B	Leland & Gray	Townshend, VT	0	2	0	96	1	2	Rural	58
B	New Fairfield	New Fairfield, CT	0	6	1	90	1	2	Suburb	237
B	Quartz Hill	Quartz Hill, CA	0	35	6	43	12	4	Suburb	783
B	Rich	Randolph, UT	0	7	1	91	0	2	Rural	34
B	South	Great Neck, NY	0	8	50	39	2	1	Suburb	304
	Totals	12 B 0 V	0.17	10.5	8.8	63.33	13.8	2.5		303

Other

Pu(B)lic or Pri(V)ate	School	City	%Native	%Hispanic	%Asian	%White	% African- American	% 2 or More Races	Situation	Grade Size
B	Custer Hysham	Hysham, MT	18	6	0	77	0	0	Rural	5
B	Denver South	Denver, CO	1	32	13	27	24	3	City	351
B	Fairfax	Fairfax, VA	0	20	24	40	10	5	Suburb	655
V	Flintridge	La Canada, CA	0	8	31	51	7	3	Suburb	86
B	Groves	Garden City, GA	0	10	2	13	71	2	Suburb	175
B	Horlick	Racine, WI	0	27	1	46	24	2	City	494
B	Juanita	Kirkland, WA	0	13	14	64	2	6	Suburb	342
B	Laona-Wabeno	Laona, WI	2	0	1	97	0	0	Rural	17
B	Ore City	Ore City, TX	0	10	0	71	10	5	Rural	54
B	Riverdale	Jefferson, LA	1	18	4	38	32	2	Suburb	230
B	South Bakersfield	Bakersfield, CA	1	77	3	7	11	1	City	463
B	South Kingstown	Wakefield, RI	4	5	2	83	2	4	Suburb	260
B	South Stanly	Norwood, NC	0	7	2	82	9	1	Rural	107
B	Strom Thurmond	Johnston, SC	0	4	0	40	54	3	Rural	190
B	Telstar	Bethel, ME	1	0	0	95	1	2	Rural	57
	Totals	14 B 1 V	1.87	15.8	6.5	55.4	17.1	2.6		232

Lettering Only

Pu(B)lic or Pri(V)ate	School	City	%Native	%Hispanic	%Asian	%White	% African- American	% 2 or More Races	Situation	Grade Size
V	Bessemer Ac.	Bessemer, AL	0	0	0	80	20	0	Suburb	24
B	Boone Co.	Florence, KY	0	7	2	80	7	2	Suburb	340
B	Byrnes	Duncan, SC	0	8	3	66	21	2	Suburb	427
V	Central Private	Baker, LA	1	1	1	96	1	0	Rural	25
B	Crestview	Columbiana, OH	0	0	1	99	0	0	Rural	93
B	Douglas Freeman	Richmond, VA	0	10	8	67	13	2	Suburb	429
B	Edgely-Kuhn- Montpelier	Edgely, ND	0	0	1	98	1	0	Rural	9
B	Effingham Co.	Springfield, GA	0	5	1	67	22	5	Rural	458
B	Fannin Co.	Blue Ridge, GA	1	3	0	93	0	3	Rural	223
B	Franklin	Franklin, TN	0	8	2	85	2	4	City	433
B	Freeman Jr/Sr	Freeman, SD	0	8	0	91	0	1	Rural	20
B	Harrison Cen	Lyman, MS	0	2	2	56	39	0	Rural	389
B	Hays	Buda, TX	0	55	1	41	2	1	Rural	600
B	Maryville	Maryville, TN	0	5	2	90	3	1	Suburb	372
B	Mid-Carolina	Prosperity, SC	0	9	0	68	21	2	Rural	195
B	Moose Lake WR	Moose Lake, MN	0	1	1	93	1	3	Town	87
B	North Caddo	Vivian, LA	0	3	1	52	42	1	Town	86
B	North Duplin	Calypso, NC	1	37	0	47	12	1	Rural	90
V	Notre Dame	St. Louis	0	4	2	81	11	1	Suburb	101
V	Notre Dame	Worcester	2	29	3	90	0	3	City	63
B	Parkwood	Monroe, NC	1	7	1	77	11	2	Rural	251
V	Priory	St. Louis, MO	0	3	6	88	3	0	Suburb	73
B	Red Lake Co Cen	Oklee, MN	3	2	1	91	2	0	Rural	27
B	Rehobeth	Dothan, AL	0	3	1	86	9	1	Rural	180
B	Richland Hills	N. Richland Hills, TX	1	25	4	57	9	2	Suburb	534
B	Ridgewood	Norridge, IL	0	19	4	73	1	1	Suburb	205
B	Rivercrest	Bogata, TX	1	11	0	83	2	2	Rural	51
B	Riverside	Lake City, AR	0	4	0	95	1	0	Rural	62
V	Roncalli	Indianapolis	0	4	3	90	0	2	City	283
V	Sacred Heart	Morrilton, AR	0	1	0	97	1	1	Town	19
V	Saddle River Day	Saddle River, NJ	0	3	9	83	4	0	Suburb	25
B	Savanna	Anaheim, CA	1	71	12	10	3	3	City	508
B	Scott Central	Forest, MS	0	4	1	42	51	2	Rural	76
V	Seton	Pittsburgh, PA	0	1	6	87	6	0	Suburb	126
B	SW Jefferson	Hanover, IN	0	2	0	97	1	0	Rural	101

V	Thomas Heyward	Ridgeland, SC	2	0	0	96	1	0	Rural	22
B	Thornton F. South	Lansing, IL	0	16	6	17	62	0	Suburb	456
V	Tipton-Rosemark	Millington, TN	0	1	1	94	2	1	Rural	45
B	Todd Central	Elkton, KY	0	4	0	84	10	2	Rural	138
B	Vestavia Hills	Vestavia Hills, AL	0	2	5	84	8	1	Suburb	477
B	Walpole	Walpole, MA	0	5	3	87	4	1	Suburb	295
B	West Knoxville	Knoxville, TN	0	7	2	61	27	4	City	339
B	West Monroe	West Monroe, LA	0	3	2	75	20	0	Suburb	566
B	Willoughby-South	Willoughby, OH	0	1	2	82	11	3	Suburb	328
	Totals	33 B 11 V	0.32	8.95	2.3	76.73	10.6	1.36		219

APPENDIX C – STATE DISTRIBUTION OF REBEL MASCOTS

State	Schools	Rebel Schools	State as Percent of all Schools	State as Percent of all Rebel Schools	Percent of Schools in State that are Rebels
AL	490	12	1.91	7.41	2.45
AK	277	0	1.08	0.00	0.00
AZ	584	0	2.28	0.00	0.00
AR	327	5	1.27	3.09	1.53
CA	2188	6	8.53	3.70	0.27
CO	452	3	1.76	1.85	0.66
CT	289	1	1.13	0.62	0.35
DE	48	0	0.19	0.00	0.00
DC	74	0	0.29	0.00	0.00
FL	1347	1	5.25	0.62	0.07
GA	647	9	2.52	5.56	1.39
HI	106	0	0.41	0.00	0.00
ID	193	0	0.75	0.00	0.00
IL	966	4	3.76	2.47	0.41
IN	515	6	2.01	3.70	1.17
IA	380	5	1.48	3.09	1.32
KS	405	1	1.58	0.62	0.25
KY	318	6	1.24	3.70	1.89
LA	436	15	1.70	9.26	3.44
ME	180	1	0.70	0.62	0.56
MD	375	1	1.46	0.62	0.27
MA	498	2	1.94	1.23	0.40
MI	897	1	3.50	0.62	0.11
MN	549	7	2.14	4.32	1.28
MS	320	13	1.25	8.02	4.06
MO	712	5	2.77	3.09	0.70
MT	196	2	0.76	1.23	1.02
NE	311	1	1.21	0.62	0.32
NV	103	0	0.40	0.00	0.00
NH	144	0	0.56	0.00	0.00
NJ	577	2	2.25	1.23	0.35
NM	230	0	0.90	0.00	0.00
NY	1584	3	6.17	1.85	0.19

NC	682	4	2.66	2.47	0.59
ND	179	1	0.70	0.62	0.56
OH	1043	5	4.07	3.09	0.48
OK	508	1	1.98	0.62	0.20
OR	389	0	1.52	0.00	0.00
PA	1008	1	3.93	0.62	0.10
RI	76	1	0.30	0.62	1.32
SC	344	4	1.34	2.47	1.16
SD	172	2	0.67	1.23	1.16
TN	564	10	2.20	6.17	1.77
TX	1833	9	7.14	5.56	0.49
UT	217	1	0.85	0.62	0.46
VT	99	1	0.39	0.62	1.01
VA	496	4	1.93	2.47	0.81
WA	544	1	2.12	0.62	0.18
WV	169	2	0.66	1.23	1.18
WI	523	2	2.04	1.23	0.38
WY	94	1	0.37	0.62	1.06
TOT	25658	162			

REFERENCES

- Abraham, F. 2015. Effingham County High will keep the Rebel as the school's mascot. WJCL 22 Savannah, GA. Published 25 August at <http://www.wjcl.com/article/effingham-county-high-will-keep-the-rebel-as-the-school-s-mascot/933630> (last accessed 29 August 2015)
- Aiken, C. S. 1998. *Cotton plantation South since the Civil War*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Alcoff, L. M. 1998. What should White people do? *Hypatia* 13:3-13.
- Alderman, D. H. 1996. Creating a new geography of memory in the South: (re)naming of streets in honor of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. *Southeastern Geographer* 36(1):51-69.
- , 2000. A street fit for a king: Naming places and commemoration in the American South. *Professional Geographer* 52(4):672-684.
- , and Fornier, E. 1998. Finding the Southern part of cyberspace: using the internet to teach the South. *Journal of Geography* 97(4-5):213-227.
- , and Dobbs, G. R. 2009. Geographies of slavery: Of theory, method, and intervention. *Historical Geography* 37:29-40.
- Altmar-Parish-Williamstown, 2017. Home. <https://www.apwschools.org/domain/1055> (last accessed 28 October 2017)
- Alvarado, B. 2017. Email that prompted Hamlin mascot change surfaces. *Corpus Christi Caller-Times*. 23 October 2017, p.A1.
- Anderson, K. 2002. The racialization of difference: enlarging the story field. *Professional Geographer* 54(1):25-30.

- Anthony, L. 2016. San Lorenzo High School may change mascot deemed racist. KGO-TV San Francisco/Oakland. Published 2 March at <http://abc7news.com/education/san-lorenzo-high-school-may-change-mascot-deemed-racist/1228735/> (last accessed 4 April 2017)
- Appleby, J., Hunt, L., and Jacob, M. 1994. *Telling the truth about history*. New York: Norton Press.
- Ashutosh, I. and Winders, J. 2009. Teaching orientalism in introductory human geography. *Annals* 61(4):547-560.
- Associated Press. 2017. South Burlington High School mulls new mascot names. Associated Press. Published 6 May at <http://www.ap.org> (last accessed 9 May 2017)
- Barthes, R. 1964. *Elements of semiology* translated by Annette Lavers and Colin Smith. New York: Hill and Wong Publishers.
- Bartley, N. 1969. *The rise of massive resistance: race and politics in the South during the 1950s*. Baton Rouge: LSU Press.
- Behnken, B. D. and Smithers, G. D. 2015. *Racism in American popular media: from Aunt Jemima to the Frito Bandito*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO Publishers.
- Bigelow, B. 1986. The Disciples of Christ in antebellum Indiana: geographical indicator of the Border South. *Journal of Cultural Geography* 7(1):49-58.
- Billig, M. 1995. *Banal nationalism*. London: Sage Publications.
- Bobo, L. 1997. Race, public opinion and the social sphere. *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 61(1):1-15.

- Bohland, J. 2013. Look away, look away, look away to Lexington: struggles over neo-Confederate nationalism, memory, and masculinity in a small Virginia town. *Southeastern Geographer* 53(3):267-295.
- Bolton, C. C. 2005. *The hardest deal of all: the battle over school integration in Mississippi, 1870-1980*. Jackson, MS: University of Mississippi Press.
- Bolton, M. M. 2010. Students petition owner of Rebel flag. *Boston Globe*: Boston, MA. Published 10 June at archive.boston.com/new/education/k_12/articles/2010/06/10/walpole_students_petition_homeowner_flying_confederate_flag/ (last accessed 30 June 2018).
- Bonnett, A. 1997. Geography, race, and whiteness: invisible traditions and current challenges. *Area* 29(3):193-199.
- Breed, A. G., 2005. Definition of South is changing. *Associated Press*. Published 24 November at www.ap.org. (last accessed 18 November 2009)
- Brunn, S. 2011. Stamps as messengers of political transition. *Geographical Review* 101(1):19-36.
- Burk, A. L. 2006. In sight, out of view: a tale of three monuments. *Antipode* 37(1):41-58.
- Busbee, W. F. 2005. *Mississippi: a history*. Wheeling, IL: Harland-Davidson Publishing.
- Callejo-Perez, D. M. 2001. *Southern hospitality: identity, schools, and civil rights movement in Mississippi 1964-1972*. New York: Peter Long Press.
- Chaffee, E. 2017. South Burlington drops 'Rebel' name. *BHS Register: Burlington, VT*. Published 13 February at <http://bhsregister.com>. (last accessed 24 April 2017)
- Classmates.com, 2018. Home. www.classmates.com (last accessed 4 January 2018)

- Clell-Wade Directory, 2017. Schools. <http://www.coachesdirectory.com>. Last accessed 10 October 2017.
- Cleveland, R. 2010. Folks, it's a mascot. *Clarion-Ledger*, Jackson, MS. 7 October, C1.
- Clotfelter, C. T. 1976. School desegregation, tipping, and private school enrollment. *Journal of Human Resources* 11(1):28-50.
- Cobb, J. C. 2005. *Away down South: a history of Southern identity*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Cohodas, N. 1997. *The band played Dixie: race and liberal conscience at Ole Miss*. New York: Free Press.
- Coleman, J. S. and Hoffer, T. 1987. *Public and private high schools: the impact of community*. New York: Basic Books Publishing.
- Confino, A. 1997. Collective memory and cultural history: problems of method. *The American Historical Review* 102(5):1386-1403.
- Connolly, M. R. 2000. What's in a name? A historical look at Native American-related nicknames and symbols at three U.S. universities. *The Journal of Higher Education* 71(5):515-547.
- Cosgrove, D. and Jackson, P. 1987. New directions in cultural geography. *Area* 19(2):95-101.
- Coski, J. M. 2005. *The Confederate Battle Flag: America's most embattled emblem*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Cox, K. L. 2003. *Dixie's daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the preservation of Confederate culture*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press.

- , 2011. *Dreaming of Dixie: how the South was created in American popular culture*. Chapel Hill: UNC Press.
- Cresswell, T. and Hoskins, G. 2008. Place, persistence, and practice: evaluating historical significance at Angel Island, San Francisco and Maxwell Street, Chicago. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 98(2):392-413.
- Crisp, E. 2010. And the winner is...the black bear. *Clarion-Ledger*, Jackson, MS. 15 October, A1.
- Curry, C. 1996. *Silver rights: the story of the Carter family's brave decision to send their children to an all-White school and claim their civil rights*. Philadelphia, PA: Harvest Books.
- Davis, J. E. 2001. *Race against time: culture and separation in Natchez since 1930*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.
- Delaney, D. 2002. The space that race makes. *Professional Geographer* 54(1):6-14.
- Deleuze, G. and Guatarri, F. 1987. *A thousand plateaus: capitalism and schizophrenia*. Translated by Brian Massumi. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- DeSmet, N. H. 2017a. South Burlington students, teachers on hit list. *Burlington Free Press*: Burlington, VT. Published 21 April at <http://burlingtonfreepress.com>. (last accessed 23 April 2017)
- , 2017b. S. Burlington School District seeks to dismiss Rebels' lawsuit. *Burlington Free Press*: Burlington, VT. Published 17 July at <http://burlingtonfreepress.com>. (last accessed 20 July 2017)

- , 2017c. Rebels argue public's right to weigh in on name change. *Burlington Free Press*: Burlington, VT. Published 30 August at <http://burlingtonfreepress.com>.
(last accessed 1 September 2017)
- Dorsey, V. 1991. Rebel flag reminds some of troubled past. *USA Today* 23 October, 1B.
- Dwyer, O. J. and Alderman, D. H. 2008. *Civil rights memorials and the geography of memory*. Chicago: The Center for American Places.
- Eaves, L. 2016. We wear the mask. *Southeastern Geographer* 26(1):22-28.
- Elms, S. 2017. Bowsher community reconsiders Rebels moniker. *Toledo Blade*: Toledo, OH. Published 27 August at <http://www.toledoblade.com/Education/2017/08/27/Bowsher-community-reconsiders-Rebels-moniker-after-Charlottesville.html> (last accessed 30 August 2017)
- Eubanks, W. R. 2004. A black student confronts the racial legacy of Ole Miss. *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* 43:106-111.
- Fausett, R. 2015. Complicated support for Confederate Flag in White South. *New York Times*, 7 July, B1.
- Forts, F. 2002. Living with Confederate symbols. *Southern Cultures* 8(1):60-75.
- Foster, G. M. 1987. *Ghosts of the Confederacy: defeat, the Lost Cause, and the emergence of the New South 1865-1913*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Foucault, M. 1980. *Power/knowledge: selected interviews and other writings 1972-1977*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Fuquay, M. W. 2002. Civil Rights and the private school movement in Mississippi, 1964-1971. *History of Education Quarterly* 42(2):159-180.

- Gemello, J. M. and Jack O. 1984. Estimating the demand for private school enrollment. *American Journal of Education* 92(3):262-279.
- Gile, M. 2017. High school mascot controversy in Anaheim. KCAL9 broadcast: Los Angeles. Produced 20 October at <http://losangeles.cbslocal.com/2017/10/20/high-school-mascot-controversy> (last accessed 23 October 2017)
- Gladbrook-Reinbeck, 2017. Home. <https://www.gladbrook-reinbeck.k12.ia.us/> (last accessed 23 June 2017)
- Greenwald, A. and Kreiger, L. H. 2006. Implicit bias: scientific foundations. *California Law Review* 94(4): 945-967.
- Gretlund, J. N. 1999. *Southern state of mind*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press.
- Gulley, H. E. 1990. Southern nationalism on the landscape: county names in former Confederate states. *Names: the Journal of Onomastics* 38(3):231-242.
- Gragg, R. 2002. *From fields of fire and glory: letters of the Civil War*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books.
- Hague, E. 2008. Neo-Confederacy and education in *Neo-Confederacy: A Critical Introduction* eds. Euan Hague, Heidi Beirich, and Edward H. Sebesta. Austin: University of Texas Press, (202-225).
- Hardin, D. S. 2017. Southern vergangenheitsbewältigung: cultural revolution and the fall of the Lost Cause landscape. Presentation at the 72nd Annual Meeting of the Southeastern Division of the Association of American Geographers, Starkville, MS. November 20, 2017.

- Harrison, F. V. 2012. Race, racism, and antiracism. In *Race, are we so different*. eds. Alan H. Goodman, Yolanda T. Moses, and Joseph L. Jones, New York: Wiley Publishing, (237-244).
- Hart, J. F. 1967. *The Southeastern United States*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Press.
- Harvey, D. 1973. *Social justice and the city*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.
- , 2017. AAG featured lecture: Marx, capital, and the madness of economic reason. Keynote address presented at AAG Annual Meeting, Boston, MA. 8 April, 2017.
- Heath, T. 1990. Flag foments school unrest: VA students display Confederate symbol. *Washington Post*, 1 December, B1.
- Henline, M. 2017. Rich High to rebrand as different kind of rebel. *Cache Valley Daily*: Logan, UT. Published 31 October 31 at http://cachevalleydaily.com/news/local/article_de6f6bd0-be73-11e7-b066-e71e335f35ad.html (last accessed 3 November 2017)
- Hochron, A. 2011. Chris Hill's passion helps benefit future generations of Howell residents. *Howell Patch*: Howell, NJ. Published 30 December at <http://howell.patch.com/articles/chris-hill-s-passion-helps-benefit-future-generations-of-howell-residents.html> (last accessed 11 January 2012)
- Hoelscher, S. 2003. Making place, making race: performance of whiteness in the Jim Crow South. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 93(3):657-686.

- Horn, T. F., Huffman, A. and Jones, J. G. 2016. *Lines were drawn: Remembering court-ordered integration at a Mississippi high school*. Jackson: University of Mississippi Press.
- Horowitz, T. 1998. *Confederates in the attic: dispatches from the unfinished Civil War*. New York: Vintage Press.
- Howe, N. 2008. Thou shalt no misinterpret: landscapes as legal performance. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 98(2):435-460.
- Hunter, C. 2015. Fort Smith Rebel wrangle sparks new, familiar voices. *Southwest Times Record*: Ft. Smith, Arkansas. 25 August at <http://swtimes.com/news/fort-smith-rebel-wrangle-sparks-new-familiar-voices>. (last accessed 24 April 2017)
- , 2016. Fort Smith Athletics Director Rowland resigns amid rebel flare-up. *Southwest Times Record*. Ft. Smith, Arkansas. 24 May 24 at <http://swtimes.com/news/fort-smith-athletics-director-rowland-resigns-amid-rebel-flareup> (last accessed 25 May 2017)
- Hurst, J. 1994. *Nathan Bedford Forrest: a biography*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Indiana State Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1968. *Student friction and racial unrest at Southside High School, Muncie, Indiana*. South Bend, IN: Indiana Civil Rights Commission.
- Inwood, J. F. and Yarbrough, R. A. 2010. Racialized places, racialized bodies: the impact of racialization on individual and place identities. *Geojournal* 75:299-301.
- , and Alderman, D. H. 2016. Taking down the flag is just a start: toward the memory-work of racial reconciliation in white supremacist America. *Southeastern Geographer* 56(1):9-15.

- Iowa State University Department of Economics, 2013. Iowa school district profiles. at www.icip.iastate.edu . (last accessed 12 November 2017)
- James, R. 2010. Where is the South? Using beta convergence to define a fuzzy region. *Southeastern Geographer* 50(3): 346-365.
- Jansson, D. R. 2003. American national identity and the progress of the New South in National Geographic Magazine. *Geographical Review* 93(3):350-369.
- , 2007. Racialization and Southern identities of resistance: a psychogeography of internal orientalism in the United States. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 100(1):202-221.
- Johnson, C. and Coleman, A. 2012. The internal other: exploring the dialectical relationship between regional exclusion and the construction of national identity. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 102(4):863-880.
- Johnson, L. L., 2017. The racial hauntings of one black male professor and the disturbance of the self(ves): self-actualization and racial storytelling as pedagogical practices. *Journal of Literacy Research* 49(4):476-502.
- Jolls, C. and Sunstein, C. R. 2006. The law of implicit bias. *California Law Review* 94(4):969-996.
- Jordan, M. 1988. Johnny Reb ban at Fairfax High upheld on appeal. *Washington Post* 6 August 1988, B2.
- Jordan, T. G. 1978. Perceptual regions in Texas. *Geographical Review* 68:293-307.
- , and Domosh, M. 1999. The human mosaic: a thematic introduction to cultural geography. New York: Longman.

- Kammen, M. 1993. *Mystic cords of memory: the transformation of tradition in American memory*. New York: Vintage Press.
- Karacas, C. 2010. Place, public memory, and the Tokyo Air Raids. *Geographical Review* 100(4):521-537.
- Katagiri, Y. 2001. *The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission: Civil Rights and States Rights*. Jackson: University of Mississippi Press.
- Kauffman, J. 2016. The battle over the Rebel at Fort Smith Schools winds down.
Arkansas Public Radio, published 30 May at <http://ualrpublicradio.org/post/battle-over-rebel-fort-smith-schools-winds-down#stream/0> (last accessed 31 May 2016)
- Kidwell, C. S. 1999. Foreword in *Indians as mascots in Minnesota's schools* by Pat Helmberger. Burnsville, MN: Friends of the Bill of Rights Foundation.
- Kilpatrick, J. J., 1962. *The Southern case for school segregation*. Springfield, OH: Crowell-Collier Press.
- Kindis, P. 2014. The bridge between campus and community: racial tension and conflict in Muncie 1960-1975. Digital archive, Ball State University: Muncie IN. at <http://www.libx.bsu.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/DigHisPrt/ID/1950/rec/16> (last accessed 16 January 2018)
- King, C. R. and Springwood, C. F. 2000. Fighting spirits: the racial politics of sports mascots. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 24(3):282-304.
- , 2001. *Beyond the cheers: race as spectacle in college sport*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

- King, C. R.; Stavrowsky, E. J.; Baca, L.; Davis, L. R.; and Pewewandy, C. 2002. Of polls and race prejudice: *Sports Illustrated's* errant "Indian Wars". *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 26:381-402.
- King, W. 1976. Racial animosity turns to violence in Pensacola, Fla., on issue of calling high school teams Rebels. *New York Times*, 7 March 7, p. 33.
- Kniffen, F. B., 1965. Folk housing: key to diffusion. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 55(4):549-576.
- Knoebel, M. 2001. It's just a flag, isn't it? *Callaloo* 24(1):108-112.
- Kobayashi, A. and Peake, L. 2000. Racism out of place: thoughts on whiteness and an antiracist geography in the new millennium. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 90(2):392-403.
- Kruse, R. J. 2012. The making of the Piano Bar: Landscape, art, and discourse in Biscayne Bay. *Southeastern Geographer* 52(2):131-145.
- Kurtz, H. 2016. Introduction to the special forum on the Charleston Massacre of 2015. *Southeastern Geographer* 56(1):6-8.
- Khayat, R. 2013. *The education of a lifetime*. Oxford, MS: Nautilus Publishing.
- Laona-Wabeno, 2018. Athletics. <https://sites.google.com/a/laona.k12.wi.us/laona-wabeno-rebel-athletics/home>. (last accessed 18 January 2018)
- Lehr, J. C., and Cipko, S. 2000. Contested identities: competing articulations of the national heritage of pioneer settlers in Misiones, Argentina. *Prairie Perspectives* 3:165-180.
- Leib, J. 2007. Teaching controversial topics: iconography and the Confederate Battle Flag in the South. *Journal of Geography* 97(4/5):229-240.

- , 2011. Identity, banal nationalism, contestation, and North American license plates. *Geographical Review* 101(1):37-52.
- , 2012. A tale of two Civil War statues: teaching the geographies of memory and heritage in Norfolk, Virginia. *Southeastern Geographer* 52(4):398-412.
- and Webster, G. R. 2012. Black, white or green? The Confederate Battle Emblem and the 2001 Mississippi State Flag Referendum. *Southeastern Geographer* 52(3):299-326.
- , and Webster, G. R. 2015. On remembering John Winberry and the study of Confederate monuments on the Southern landscape. *Southeastern Geographer* 55(1):9-18.
- Lewis, P., 1985. Presidential address: beyond description. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 75(4):465-478.
- , 1998. The monument and the bungalow. *Geographical Review* 88(4):507-527.
- Lowenthal, D. 2015. *The past is a foreign country, revisited*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Madsen, K. D. 2002. Writing for non-geographers: lessons from the J.B. Jackson Prize. *Geographical Review* 92(1):63-73.
- Martin, M. 2004. Geography and representation: Introduction. *Journal of Geography in Higher Education* 28(2):281-284.
- Maslow, A. H. 1954. *Motivation and personality*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Maxcy, S. J. 1976. The idea of consolidation in Southern education during the early decades of the Twentieth Century. *Peabody Journal of Education* 53(3):216-222.
- Maxpreps., 2017. Schools. <http://www.maxpreps.com>. (last accessed 7 August 2017)

- McCormick, C. 2017. Op-ed: my California high school had a Confederate mascot. *Los Angeles Times*, published 24 August at <http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-mccormick-antelope-valley-confederate-20170824-story.html> (last accessed 28 August 2017)
- McCormick, R. E., and Tinsley, M. 1987. Athletics versus academics? Evidence from SAT scores. *Journal of Political Economy* 95(5):1103-1116.
- McCutcheon, P. 2016. The radical welcome table: faith, social justice, and the spiritual geography of Mother Emanuel in Charleston, South Carolina. *Southeastern Geographer* 56(1):16-21.
- Meyer, J. 2009. DPS approves South High move to drop racist logo. *Denver Post*, published 28 February at http://www.denverpost.com/dontmiss/ci_11745600 (last accessed 14 July 2009)
- Minnesota House of Representatives. 2018. Timeline of general law regulating school district organization. At <http://www.house.leg.state.mn.us/hrd/issinfo/sdcon/timeline.aspx> (last accessed 29 June 2018)
- Mississippi Secession Convention, 1861. A declaration of the immediate causes which induce and justify the secession of the State of Mississippi from the federal union. Resolution passed 9 January 1861. Jackson, MS: State of Mississippi.
- Mississippi State Educational Finance Commission, 1985. *School district reorganization and school consolidation*. Jackson, MS: State of Mississippi.
- Mitchell, D. 1996. The end of public space? People's Park, definitions of the public, and democracy. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 85(1):108-133.

- , 2004. Cultural geography at the millennium: a call to intellectual arms. *Journal of Cultural Geography* 22(1):155-157.
- Moody, J. 2017. South to explore ‘Rebel’ change. *Albany Democrat-Herald*, Albany, OR. Published 28 August at http://democratherald.com/news/local/south-to-explore-rebel-change/article_00b3eab9-cb7c-50aa-9217-af3f53de46fe.html. (last accessed 1 September 2017)
- Moriki, D. 2018. San Lorenzo High eyes mythical phoenix as new mascot. *East Bay Times*: Oakland, CA. Published 26 January at <https://www.eastbaytimes.com/2018/01/26/san-lorenzo-high-school-eyes-mythical-phoenix-as-new-mascot/> (last accessed 18 July 2018)
- Morgan, C. F. 2017. Willoughby-Eastlake School District to name new South mascot. WKYC-TV Channel 3 Cleveland, OH. Broadcast 17 August 17. <http://www.wkyc.com/news/local/willoughby-eastlake-school-district-to-name-new-south-mascot/> (last accessed 19 August 2017)
- Moye, J. T. 2000. *Let the people decide: black freedom and white resistance movements in Sunflower County, Mississippi 1954-1986*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Munford, L. 1971. Black gravity: desegregation in thirty Mississippi school districts. Unpublished senior thesis, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University.
- National Council of Education Statistics. 2017. Schools and School Districts. <http://www.nces.ed.gov> (last accessed 18 August 2017)
- National Directory of High School Coaches. 2005. *The national directory of high school coaches 2005-2006 edition*. Montgomery, AL: Athletic Publishing Company.

- National Institute of Justice. 2018. Hate crime. <https://www.nij.gov/topics/crime/hate-crime/pages/welcome.aspx> (last accessed 10 July 2018)
- Naughton, J. 2015. Five Iowa high schools with Rebels mascot part of Confederate symbol debate. *The Des Moines Register*. Published 23 July at <http://usatodayhss.com/2015/five-iowa-high-schools-with-rebel-mascot-part-of-confederate-symbol-debate> (last accessed 24 April 2017)
- Newby, J. 2018. Escambia High rewrites yearbook page on school's racial history, claims student plagiarized. *Pensacola News Journal*. Published online 12 May. <https://www.pnj.com/story/news/local/2018/05/11/escambia-high-rewrites-yearbook-page-schools-racial-history-claims-student-plagiarized/603139002/> (last accessed 22 July 2018)
- Openshaw, J. 2015. Rebel compromise a winner for everyone in Vestavia. *Al.com*. 16 July. http://www.al.com/opinion/index/ssf/2015/07/rebel_compromise_a_winner_for.html (last accessed 24 April 2017)
- Osborne, J.H. 2017. South student: let us wear, display Confederate flag. *Kingsport Times News*. 22 August 22, 2017. <http://www.timesnews.net/Education/2017/08/22/South-student-let-us-wear-display-confederate-flag> (last accessed 2 January 2018)
- Papa, L. and Lassiter, L. E. 2003. The Muncie Race Riots of 1967: representing community memory through public performance and collaborative ethnography between faculty, students, and the local community. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 32(2)147-166.

- Patrick, C. 1971. Mangin bans Rebel flag at Hollins. *St. Petersburg Times*, 25 September 1971, B1.
- Peake, L. and Kobayashi, A. 2002. Policies and practices for an anti-racist geography at the millennium. *The Professional Geographer* 51(1):50-61.
- Pearson, M. 2013. Florida school will drop Confederate Nathan Bedford Forrest's name. CNN. 17 December 2013, www.cnn.com/2013/12/17/us/florida-school-name-change/ (last accessed 12 November 2016)
- Peet, R. 1975. Inequality and poverty: a Marxist-geographic thought. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 65(4):564-571.
- Peters, J. 2005. About face: a new game plan. *New Orleans Times-Picayune*. 21 July http://www.poynter.org/content/content_view.asp?id=85730 (last accessed 8 June 2012)
- Pope, D. G. and Pope, J. C. 2009. The impact of college sports success and quality of student applications. *Southern Economic Journal* 75(3):750-780.
- Price, P., 2010. At the crossroads: critical race theory and critical theories of race. *Progress in Human Geography* 34(2):147-174.
- Pulido, L. 2000. Rethinking environmental racism: white privilege and urban development in Southern California. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 90(1):12-40.
- , 2002. Reflections in a White discipline. *Professional Geographer* 54(1):42-49.
- Putnam, R. 2000. *Bowling alone: the collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon and Schuster Publishers.

- Radding, L. and Western, J. 2010. What's in a name? Linguistics, geography, and toponyms. *Geographical Review* 100(3):394-412.
- Ramirez-Ferrero, E. 2005. *Troubled fields: men, emotions, and the crisis in American farming*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Ramos, J., 2018. San Lorenzo High struggles to find mascot after switching names twice. KPIX-CBS. San Francisco, CA. 12 February, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gIlQz_LOOYA (last accessed 20 July 2018)
- Rathke, L. 2017. School nickname change sparks death threats. ABC News. 14 May, <http://abcnews.go.com> (last accessed 15 May 2017)
- Reed, J.S., 1976. The heart of Dixie: an essay in folk geography. *Social Forces* 54(4):925-939.
- , 1990. *Whistling Dixie: dispatches from the South*. San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Reinert, M. 2017. New Rebels logo replaces Confederate mascot at Boone Co. High School. *Cincinnati Enquirer*. 21 August, <http://www.cincinnati.com/story/news/local/florence/2017/08/21/new-rebels-logo-replaces-confederate-mascot-boone-county-high-school/587716001> (last accessed 28 August 2017)
- Rhode, J.B., 1994. The mascot name change controversy: a lesson in hypersensitivity. *Marquette Law Journal* 5:141-145.
- Rieff, D. 2016. *In praise of forgetting: historical memory and its ironies*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Riverdale High School, 2018. About us. <http://riverdalehigh.jpschools.org/about-us/> (last accessed 28 May 2018)

- Robinson, A. 2017. Most Savanna students want to re-brand Johnny Rebel mascot to avoid Confederacy links. *The Orange County Register*. 25 October 2017, <http://www.ocregister.com/2017/10/25/anaheims-savanna-high-students-vote-to-re-brand-their-johnny-rebel-mascot> (last accessed 27 October 2017)
- Romano, R. C. and Raiford, L. 2006. *The Civil Rights Movement in American memory*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
- Roscigno, V. J.; Tomaskovic-Devey, D.; and Crowley, M. L. 2006. Education and the inequalities of place. *Social Forces* 84(4): 2121-2145.
- Rose, G. 2001. *Visual methodologies: an introduction to the interpretation of visual materials*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Rose-Redwood, R.; Alderman, D. H.; and Azaryahu, M. 2010. Geographies of toponymic inscription: new directions in critical place-name studies. *Progress in Human Geography* 34(4):453-470.
- Rowntree, L. B., and Conkey, M. W. 1980. Symbolism and the cultural landscape. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 70(4):459-474.
- Rubenstein, J. M., 1996. *The cultural landscape: an introduction to human geography 5th edition*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Said, E. 1989. Representing the colonized: Anthropology's interlocutors. *Critical Inquiry* 15:205-225.
- Sanborn Central, 2017. Home. <https://www.sanborncentral.com/> (last accessed 27 July 2017)
- Sauer, C. O. 1931. Cultural geography. In *The encyclopaedia of the social sciences VI*. New York: Macmillian Company, pp. 621-623.

- , 1941. Foreword to historical geography. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 31(1):1-24.
- Savage, K. 2011. *Monument wars*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- , 2017. Iconoclasm and the Confederacy: The challenge of White supremacy in the memorial landscape. *Southern Spaces*. Presentation given 30 October 2017 at Emory University, Atlanta, GA.
- Schein, R.H., 2002. Race, racism, and geography. *Professional Geographer* 54(1):1-5.
- Schwanen, T. and Kwan, M. 2009. Doing critical geographies with numbers. *Professional Geographer* 61(4):465-480.
- Shover, J. L., 1964. The Communist Party and the Midwest Farm Crisis of 1933. *Journal of American History*, 51(2):248-266.
- Sitton, T. and Conrad, J. H. 2005. *Freedom colonies: independent Black Texans in the time of Jim Crow*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- South Burlington Schools, 2017. Rebel name. <http://sbschools.net/site/default.aspx> (last accessed 6 October 2017)
- Spindel, C. 2000. *Dancing at halftime: sports and the controversy over American Indian mascots*. New York: NYU Press.
- Staff Reports., 2005. Cape Fear Academy changed from Rebels to Hurricanes. WECT-TV, Wilmington, NC. Broadcast date 27 April 2005.
- Staff Reports, 2017. Weld Central officials deny reports of racism, Confederate flag display during football game. *Greeley Tribune*. 24 September, <http://greeleytribune.com/news/local/weld-central-officials-deny-reports-of->

- [racsim-confederate-flag-display-during-football-game](#) (last accessed 25 September 2017)
- Stanonis, A. 2008. *Dixie emporium: tourism, foodways, and consumer culture in the American South*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
- Strauss, V. 2013. School named after KKK grand wizard to be renamed-finally. *Washington Post*. 16 December 2016. B5.
- Strickland, B. 2001. A faded icon. *Callaloo* 24(1):181-185.
- Stone, M.; Spangler, I.; Griffin, X.; and Hanna, S. P. 2016. Searching for the enslaved in the “Cradle of Democracy”: Virginia’s James River plantation websites and the reproduction of local histories. *Southeastern Geographer* 56(2):203-222.
- Symonds, C. L., 1997. *Stonewall of the West: Patrick Cleburne and the Civil War*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press.
- Taylor Jr., H. L. 1995. The hidden face of racism. *American Quarterly* 47(3):395-408.
- Techo, E. 2015. Lawsuit filed over Vestavia Hills mascot change. *Vestavia Voice*. Published online 1 September, <http://vestaviavoice.com/schools/lawsuit-filed-over-vestavia-hills-mascot-change901/> (last accessed 23 October 2015)
- Tedford, B. 2012. Personal interview with a resident of West Monroe via e-mail. June 16, 2012.
- Tejada, G. 2008. I was once a rebel, Chicago-style. *Chicago Argus*. 22 January, http://chicagoargus.blogspot.com/2008/01/i-was-one-rebel-chicago-style_22.html (last accessed 22 July 2009)
- Thernstrom, S., and Thernstrom, A. 1997. *America in Black and White: one nation indivisible*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

- Toporek, B. 2015. High schools decide to drop Confederate-themed Dixie fight song. *Education Week*. 4 August 2015 http://blogs.edweek.org/schooled_in_sports/2015/08/two_high_schools_decide_to_drop_confederatethemed_dixie_fight_song.html (last accessed 24 April 2017)
- Tretter, E. M. 2011. The power of naming: the toponymic geographies of commemorated African Americans. *Professional Geographer* 63(1):34-54.
- Tuan, Y. 1974. Space and place: humanistic perspective. *Progress in Human Geography* 6:233-246.
- , 1975. Place: An experiential perspective. *Geographical Review* 65(2):151-165.
- , 1991. Language and the making of place: a narrative-descriptive approach. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 81(4):684-696.
- , 1994. The city and human speech. *Geographical Review* 84(2):144-151.
- , 2002. Community, society, and the individual. *Geographical Review* 92(3):1-12.
- Turpen, K. 2017. What's in a name? *Vestavia Voice*. 30 July 2015. <http://vestatviavoice.com/news/what%E2%80%99s-in-a-name724/> (last accessed 24 April 2017)
- Unites South Central, 2017. USC Student Handbook. [http://www.unitedsouthcentral.org/UserFiles/Servers/Server_1026465/Image/District/Student Handbook/District Student Handbook 18-19.pdf](http://www.unitedsouthcentral.org/UserFiles/Servers/Server_1026465/Image/District/Student%20Handbook/District%20Student%20Handbook%2018-19.pdf) (last accessed 22 April 2017)
- United States Census Bureau, 2018. Various reports. www.census.gov (last accessed 20 June 2018)
- United States Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, 1971. *Thomas J. Smith vs. St. Tammany Parish School Board*. 448 F.2d 414.

- ., 1973. *Karen Renee Augustus, et al. vs. School Board of Escambia County*, 361 F.Supp. 383.
- ., 1975. *Karen Renee Augustus, et al. vs. School Board of Escambia County*, 507 F.2d. 152.
- ., 1986. *United States vs. Lawrence County School District*, 799 F.2d 1031.
- United States Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, 1987. *Crosby vs. Holsinger*. 816 F.2d 162.
- United States Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals, 1970. *David Banks et al. vs. Muncie Community Schools*. 433 F.2d.292.
- UNLV.edu., 2014. UNLV history: timeline. www.unlv.edu/ourhistory/timeline (last accessed 26 February 2014)
- Vanderbeck, R. M. 2006. Vermont and the imaginative geographies of American Whiteness. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 96(3):641-659.
- Wagner, P. L. 1975. The themes of cultural geography rethought. *Yearbook: The Association of Pacific Geographers* 37:7-14.
- ., and Mikesell, M. 1962. General introduction: the themes of cultural geography. In *Readings in cultural geography* by Wagner and Mikesell. Chicago: University of Chicago Press pp. 1-24.
- Wainwright, A.T., 2013. Letter to Westbury Community. Houston ISD. <http://www.houstonisd.org> (last accessed 13 June 2013).
- Walsh, M. 2017. 'Rebels' Yell: Protests Build Over South Burlington's Mascot Change. *Seven Days Vermont*. 19 April. <http://sevendaysvt.com/vermont> (last accessed 24 April 2017).

- Watts, R. B. 2008. *Contemporary Southern identity: community through controversy*.
Jackson: University of Mississippi Press.
- Webster, G. R. 1998. Teaching and researching the American South. *Journal of Geography* 97(4-5):139-141.
- , 2011. American nationalism, the flag, and the invasion of Iraq. *Geographical Review* 101(1):1-18.
- , and Webster, R. H. 1994. The power of an icon. *Geographical Review* 84(2):131-143.
- , and Leib, J. I. 2001. Whose South is it anyway? Race and the Confederate Battle Flag in South Carolina. *Political Geography* 20:271-299.
- , and Leib, J. I. 2002. Political culture, religion, and the Confederate Battle Flag debate in Alabama. *Journal of Cultural Geography* 20(1):1-26.
- , and Leib, J. I. 2015. Murder, religion, and the Confederate Battle Flag. Presented at the 70th Annual Meeting of the Southeastern Division of the Association of American Geographers, Presented November 23, 2015 in Pensacola, FL.
- , and Leib, J. I. 2016. Religion, murder, and the Confederate Battle Flag in South Carolina. *Southeastern Geographer* 56(1)29-37.
- West Fork Schools, 2017. District history. www.westforkschool.org/district-history (last accessed 4 November 2017)
- West Monroe, 2017. Student Handbook. https://s3.amazonaws.com/scschoolfiles/1848/2018-19_student_handbook.pdf (last accessed 29 September 2017)

- Whitaker, I. 2016. Amid controversy, UNLV student newspaper dumping *Rebel Yell* name. *Las Vegas Sun*. Published 12 April, <https://lasvegassun.com/news/2016/apr/12/amid-controversy-unlv-newspaper-dumping-rebel-yell> (last accessed 22 April 2016)
- Winberry, J. J. 1983. "Lest we forget": the Confederate monument and the Southern landscape. *Southeastern Geographer* 23:107-121.
- Woengsvick, P. D. 2011. *The controversial reputation of Nathan Bedford Forrest: A case study in rhetoric and regional identity formation*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Memphis: University of Memphis.
- Woods, M. 2013. 54 years and counting for Jacksonville's longest meeting. *Florida Union Times*, 28 September. A8.
- Zeitler, E. 2008. *Geographies of indigenous-based team name and mascot use in American secondary schools*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. Lincoln: University of Nebraska.
- Zelinsky, W. 1980. North American vernacular regions. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 70(1):1-16.