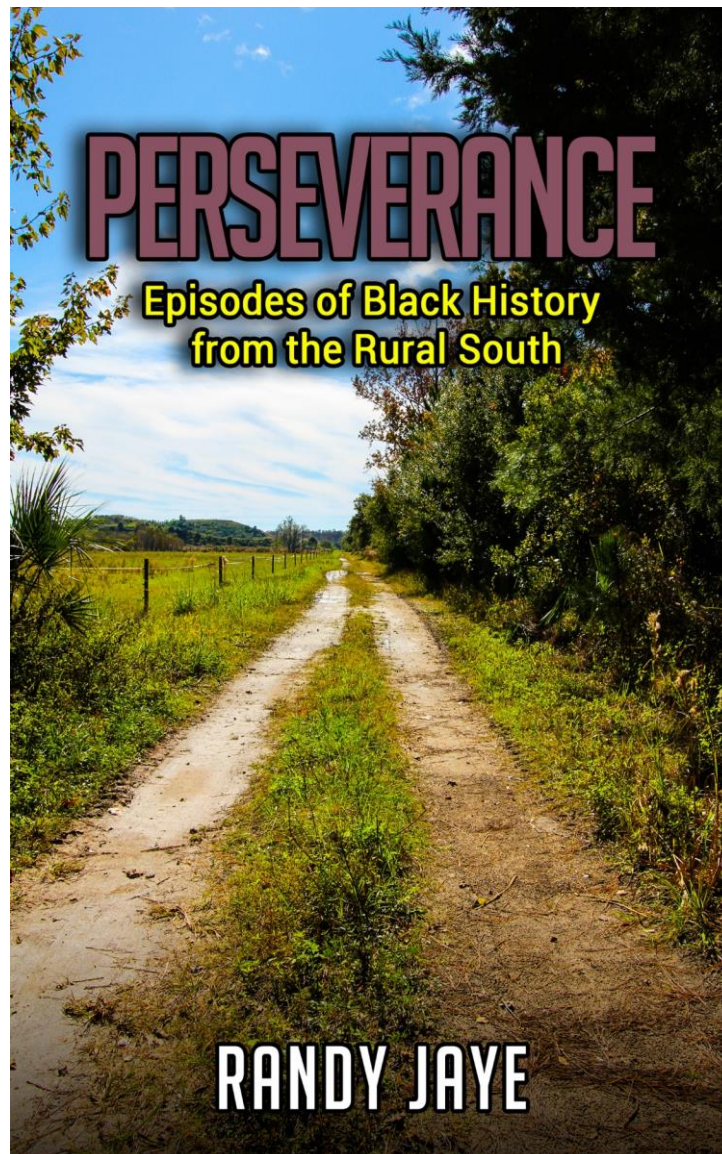


This article is an excerpt from chapter 15 - **Citizens' Councils Battle against Equality** - in the book:

***Perseverance: Episodes of Black History from the Rural South***

by Randy Jaye



[The book is available for purchase on Amazon:](https://www.amazon.com/dp/1655315617)

<https://www.amazon.com/dp/1655315617>

## Citizens' Councils Battle against Equality

The **Citizens' Councils** (also referred to as the **White Citizens' Councils**) were an associated network of white supremacist and extreme right-wing organizations that were initially concentrated in the Deep South's Black Belt counties.<sup>1</sup>

The first Citizens' Council was organized on July 11, 1954 (*fig. 15.1*) in Indianola, Mississippi less than two months after the May 17, 1954 U.S. Supreme Court's landmark unanimous (9–0) decision in the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* case, which created shock waves among people who believed in the separation of the races. This decision abolished racially segregated public schools in the United States, and ruled that U.S. state laws that established racial segregation in public schools are unconstitutional, even if the segregated schools were otherwise equal in quality, which they rarely if ever were.

### Protecting the “Southern Way of Life”

The creation of the Citizens' Councils were a grassroots effort to protect what many whites in the Deep South referred to as the “Southern Way of Life.” This “Southern Way of Life” is the long history of white supremacy throughout the Deep South that included a dominant hold on the political, business and educational sectors of society. The *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* decision created fears among many Southern whites that the integration of the races into the public educational system would prompt the legal demand for equal voting rights for blacks as well. White segregationists feared that if blacks were able to obtain an equal education and gain voting rights that their “Southern Way of Life” would erode. These fears are what fueled most members of the Citizens' Councils to organize resistance to school desegregation by every legal means possible.

Because of the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* decision, Mississippi Circuit Judge Tom Pickens Brady<sup>2</sup> (later a justice of the Mississippi Supreme Court) delivered a speech against civil rights and integration entitled “Black Monday” (a reference to the day of the week the *Brown* decision was released). Brady personally found the *Brown* decision to be contemptible and urged white citizens of Mississippi, and sister states, to oppose the ruling. This speech was later published as a pamphlet titled “Black Monday”, which evolved into a handbook for segregationists.

Inspired by Brady's ideology, Robert B. “Tut” Patterson,<sup>3</sup> (one of the founders of the first Citizens' Council) expressed his views in a 1956 letter as he wrote, “Integration represents darkness, regimentation, totalitarianism, communism and destruction...Segregation represents the freedom to choose one's

associates, Americanism, State sovereignty and the survival of the white race. These two ideologies are now engaged in mortal conflict and only one can survive.”<sup>4</sup> Most, if not all, of the organization’s leaders used the words of both Brady and Patterson as a battle cry for their cause.

### **Citizens’ Councils Expand**

After the Citizens’ Council was initially founded in Mississippi, hundreds of chapters rapidly spread throughout the South and their membership grew to an estimated 300,000 members across the United States with ties in thirty states. The organization’s main purpose was to oppose and prevent the racial integration of public schools and what they referred to as the “horrors of racial amalgamation.” Additionally, it should be no surprise that these Citizens’ Councils also opposed the integration of public facilities and black voter registration efforts in the South, where most blacks had been disenfranchised<sup>5</sup> since the end of Reconstruction in 1877.

After 1956, the organization became known as the Citizens' Councils of America. They designed a round insignia (*fig. 15.2*) that highlighted the crossing of a United States of America flag with a Confederate States of America battle flag and included the slogans “States Rights” and “Racial Integrity.”

### **The “Uptown Klan”**

Citizens’ Council members would meet regularly in living rooms, public facilities and private businesses to plan strategies, recruit new members and collect donations to fund the organization. The publicly funded Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission,<sup>6</sup> an agency that promoted segregation and investigated the activities of civil rights groups, provided grants to support the Citizens’ Councils as well. The Citizens’ Council organization went as far as sponsoring and producing weekly television and radio programs and promotional films that promoted the supposed benefits of segregation. Starting in 1955, a tabloid newspaper called *The Citizens’ Council*<sup>7</sup> was published quarterly with approximately 50,000 subscriptions and featured stories with states’ rights and anti-integration themes. The tabloid was replaced with a magazine in October 1961 called *The Citizen*<sup>8</sup> (official journal of the Citizens’ Councils of America), which was published monthly with approximately 22,000 subscriptions and ran until 1989.

Citizens’ Council members used intimidation tactics including economic boycotts, propaganda techniques, and violence against citizens, civil-rights activists and sanctioning punishment against blacks for supporting integration and voting registration efforts. When black persons signed petitions for school desegregation or registered to vote leaders of the Citizens’ Councils would often publicize their names in local newspapers, or directly report them to employers and bankers. This often resulted in black families being removed from tenant farms, employment termination and the denial of credit.

Any white businesspersons in the South who were sympathetic to racial integration typically encountered boycotts of their services. If any politicians in the South favored, or were even suspected of favoring, racial integration, they would typically lose supporters and votes.

Members and supporters of the Citizens' Councils viewed themselves as a cut above the violent tactics of the Ku Klux Klan, and proclaimed themselves the "South's answer to the mongrelizers."<sup>9</sup>

The Citizens' Council claimed that they did not condone any explicit violence during their quest to free the South from integration. However, their actions spoke louder than their words as their tactics and racist ideology resulted in the organization being dubbed the "Uptown Klan." The Southern Poverty Law Center<sup>10</sup> refers to the Citizens' Council organization as "the white-collar Ku Klux Klan."

### **The Progressive Flagler County Citizens' Council**

The Flagler County Citizens' Council organized in 1956. This organization was instrumental in assisting other counties in Florida including Lake (*fig. 15.3*) and Volusia in organizing their local Citizens' Council groups. The Flagler County Citizens' Council also included members that served on the Florida State Association Citizens' Council.

The Flagler County Citizens' Council was very active in the late 1950s and early 1960s as the many articles of their activities published in the *Flagler Tribune* make clear. These activities included fish fries with entertainment and speakers, and all members were always encouraged to attend. Speakers included such people as Colonel Ira W. Partin (a 54-year veteran of the U.S. Army), (former minister to Albania and Thailand when with the U.S. State Department), Dr. George A. Downs (Executive Secretary of the Florida State Association of Citizens' Councils) and A. S. (Syd) Herlong (member of the U.S. House of Representatives).

As of June 14, 1956, the Flagler County Citizens' Council announced that they had 96 members and were inviting all white men over 21 years of age and who were in favor of segregation and preservation of states' rights to attend their meetings. By June 22, 1956, the Flagler County Citizens' Council announced that their membership had grown to 150 members.

On August 3, 1956, the Flagler County Citizens' Council announced it would be enrolling women members at their meeting as Mrs. Beatrice Inman from Jacksonville, Florida was the guest speaker and delegations from Palatka, St. Augustine, and Daytona Beach were in attendance.

In September 1956, a Flagler County Citizens' Council meeting drew a crowd of more than 700 people (when the population of Flagler County was less than 4,500). The event's guest speaker was Judge Raulston Schoolfield from Chattanooga, Tennessee. During Schoolfield's speech he said, "...integration would never be successful, because the origin, philosophy, and mode of existence of the white and colored races were fixed in the beginning of creation and would continue to the end of time."<sup>11</sup>

Some regular meetings of the Flagler County Citizens' Council were held in Flagler Beach outside of the county seat of Bunnell, "...since a large number of citizens from that town are members of the Council."<sup>12</sup>

Two articles in the *Flagler Tribune* listed elected officers for the Flagler County Citizens' Council and both were titled "Citizens Council Elects Officers." The first was published on June 6, 1957 (*fig. 15.4*) and listed ten officers. The second was published on May 29, 1958 (*fig. 15.5*) and listed a large slate of officers totaling thirty-eight positions. These elected officers were a 'Who's Who' list of Flagler County's community leaders that included a Chaplain and people who served as Flagler County Commissioners, sheriffs, judges, school officials and mayors of Bunnell and Flagler Beach. Brief biographies of some of the prominent officers of the Flagler County Citizens' Council are listed in the Appendix of this chapter.

### **Decline of the Citizens' Council**

It is not clear how long Flagler County's Citizens' Council operated as articles in the *Flagler Tribune* regarding the organization ceased around 1960, and their records, if they even exist today, have not been made public. Flagler County's public schools were not fully integrated until the 1973 school year, so the delay tactics by the segregationists in this area were partially successful for nearly twenty years.

In general, and by the 1970s, as federal civil rights legislation prompted the enforcement of public school integration and voting rights for blacks the attitudes, and opinions, of Southerners' toward these issues were changing into a mode of acceptance and tolerance. This resulted in membership losses and the decline of the political, business and social influence of the Citizens' Councils. By the mid-1970s, the organization was fading into obscurity and went completely defunct around 1985 as their promises to preserve segregation in the South failed.

### **The "Lost Cause"**

Even though the Citizens' Councils failed with their desperate and unyielding defiance of federally mandated public school integration, and their attempts to deny equal voting rights for blacks, their ideologies associated with states' rights and racial integrity live on.

In 1985, former Citizens' Council members founded the Council of Conservative Citizens.<sup>13</sup> This organization advocates white nationalism and promotes conservative political philosophy that includes Christian ethics, limited government, nationalism, regionalism and traditionalism.

The Council of Conservative Citizens is currently active and many of their intellectual members include community leaders, lawyers, pastors and professors who have been accused of interpreting history to match their ideologies (pseudo-history).<sup>14</sup>

Several neo-Confederate<sup>15</sup> organizations such as the Council of Conservative Citizens, the League of the South (LS),<sup>16</sup> the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV)<sup>17</sup> and Identity Dixie (ID)<sup>18</sup> promote the ideology of the "Lost Cause" (also referred to as the "Lost Cause of the Confederacy").

The "Lost Cause" is defined as an American pseudo-historical, denialism ideology that contends that the cause of the Confederate States of America during the American Civil War was not only just it was heroic. This ideology endorses the supposed virtues of the Antebellum South, as it considers the

Confederacy's involvement in the American Civil War against what it refers to as "Northern aggression" was to protect the "Southern Way of Life" and to preserve states' rights. The "Lost Cause" ideology also downplays or outrightly denies the central role of slavery for the outbreak of the American Civil War.

## Chapter 15 Appendix

### Brief Biographies of some of the Prominent Officers of Flagler County's Citizens' Council

**Homer William Brooks** (*Legal Advisory*). Homer Brooks (1903-1965) was a Flagler County deputy sheriff for four years before serving as Chief of Police for the city of Bunnell. He was elected Flagler County Sheriff in 1957 and served until 1965 when died suddenly from a fatal heart attack while sitting in his car in the front parking lot of the Flagler County Courthouse.

**Harry Clegg** (*State Political Information Committee*). Harry Clegg (1888-1965) was a member of the Flagler County School Board from 1925 to 1932, and was a school trustee. He served as a Flagler County Commissioner from 1935 to 1937. He was also a director for the Citizens Bank of Bunnell.

**John Alfred (Jack) Clegg** (*Director, Political and Elections Committee*). John A. Clegg (1918-2004) was a schoolteacher and the Flagler County Superintendent of Public Instruction from 1946 to 1952. He was appointed Flagler County Commissioner in 1955 to fill a remaining two year term. He was also mayor of Bunnell, Trustee of Daytona Beach Community College, president of Clegg & Associates, president of Ellis Bank of Bunnell and Flagler Beach, publisher of the *Flagler Tribune* newspaper and author of the 1976 book "History of Flagler County."

**Duane Allen Deen** (*Chaplin and Legal Advisory*). Duane A. Deen (1916-1990) served as a Justice of the Peace in Flagler County and was a teacher and head athletics coach at Bunnell High School. He was also a Flagler County Judge for twelve years (Florida's 7th Judicial Circuit).

**Lyman Leslie Gage** (*State Political Information Committee*). Lyman Gage (1899-1971) was a charter member and president of the Flagler County Kiwanis Club and president and honorary director of the Flagler Cattlemen's Association. He was also a member of the Flagler County Chamber of Commerce, a director of the Flagler Farm Bureau and was the chairmen of the board for the East Flagler County Mosquito Control District as well as being active in the Flagler County Boy Scouts and 4-H Clubs.

**Thomas Edward Holden** (*Political and Elections Committee*). Thomas E. Holden (1893-1974) was a pharmacist who owned Holden's Pharmacy in two locations in Flagler County. He was elected and served as a Bunnell City Councilman and was the mayor of Bunnell. He was also a real estate developer and owned an interest in a turpentine operation.

**Ernest Walton Johnston, Sr.** (*Legal Advisory*). E. W. Johnston, Sr. (1884-1966) served as an alderman for the Town of Bunnell. In 1917, Florida Governor Sidney Johnston Catts appointed him Flagler County Sheriff when Flagler County was created; he was re-elected in 1921 and held this office until 1924. He served a second term as Flagler County Sheriff from 1936 to 1940. He was also a state game warden and road superintendent for Flagler County, and was a Flagler County Judge from 1945 to 1956.

**Herschel Clarence King** (*Vice Chairman and State Association Director*). Herschel C. King (1928-1995) was appointed to the Flagler County School Board in 1953 by Florida Governor Dan McCarty, and served until 1990 (37 years). He was the owner of King Lumber Company and the co-owner of King Brothers Farms. He was also a director of two banks: Barnett Bank of Volusia County and the Bank of Flagler Beach, and served as president of the Flagler County Shrine Club and Kiwanis Club.

**William Clyde Lewis** (*Information and Education Committee*). Clyde Lewis (1901-1975) was a well-established Flagler County businessman who owned and operated the Lewis Barber Shop in Bunnell, Florida from 1934 to 1974 (40 years).

**James Franklin (Frank) Mercer** (*Membership and Finance Committee and [Alternate] State Association Director*). James F. Mercer (1891-1967) served as a Flagler County Commissioner in 1926. He was also the Flagler County Tax Collector from 1932 until 1962 (30 years). His name is engraved on the cornerstone of the Flagler County Court House.

**Dewey D. Moody** (*General Chairman, Board of Directors and State Association Director*). Dewey D. Moody (1888-1964) was appointed Flagler County tax assessor in 1932 and served in that position until 1963 (31 years). He was one of the original founders of the Volusia Hammock State Park Association, which acquired the Bulow Plantation Ruins, Tomoka State Park and other historic sites in Flagler and Volusia counties. He was also a real estate developer and owned an interest in a turpentine operation.

**George Moody, Sr.** (*State Political Information Committee*). George Moody, Sr. (1879-1967) homesteaded 169 acres of vacant land in Ocean City Beach (now Flagler Beach) and was one of the early twentieth century developers of the Flagler County beachfront area. In 1917, Florida Governor Sidney Johnston Catts appointed him as a Flagler County Commissioner, and he was elected for four more terms as he served until 1943. In 1925, after Ocean City Beach was incorporated as Flagler Beach he was elected mayor.

**George Edwin Wickline** (*Information and Education Committee and [Alternate] State Association Director*). George E. Wickline (1903-1987) was a Flagler County Commissioner for 26 consecutive years from 1945 to 1971. He also served as Flagler Beach City Commissioner for 33 years and 10 of those years as the city's mayor.

Other officers included: **Dale Brown, Jr.** (*Membership and Finance Committee*), **R. H. Cantrell** (*Information and Education Committee*), **Charles Creal** (*Chaplin*), **Bill Deen** (*Alternate: Director in the State Association*), **Custer Durrance** (*Membership and Finance Committee*), **M. B. Fuller** (*Information and Education Committee*), **Ralph Herbert** (*Legal Advisory*), **Harold Higginbotham** (*Vice Chairman, Secretary*), **A. B. Johnston** (*Director, Membership and Finance Committee*), **Harold Massie** (*Political and Elections Committee*), **R. L. McNab** (*Director, Information and Education Committee and Director in the State Association*), **Harry McKenney** (*Political and Elections Committee*), **Jesse Medders**

*(Assistant Chaplin), Dave Perryman (Membership and Finance Committee) and O. D. Robertson (Political and Elections Committee).*

## Figures

### 15 – Citizens' Councils Battle against Equality



*Fig. 15.1.* First White Citizens' Council meets in Mississippi on July 11, 1954 to organize resistance to school desegregation. Source: Exhibit at the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute in Birmingham, Alabama. Photograph by Author (February 2019).



*Fig. 15.2.* Citizens' Council insignia – States' Rights – Racial Integrity. Source: Exhibit at the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute in Birmingham, Alabama. Photograph by Author (February 2019).



**Fig. 15.3.** “Organized Against Integration.” Meeting in Lake County, Florida (with guest Dewey D. Moody [right] Chairman of the Flagler County Citizens’ Council) mapping out plans to prevent integration and for keeping ‘States Rights.’ Source: *The Orlando Sentinel* – March 15, 1957.

## Citizens Council Elects Officers

The Citizens Council of Flagler County elected officers to serve for the following year at their meeting Friday evening. Those re-elected were: D. D. Moody, Chairman; vice chairman, Herschel King; secretary, Harold Higginbotham; treasurer, Charles Creal; chaplin, Duane Deen; and assistant chaplin, Jesse Medders.

Directors named were A. B. Johnston, R. L. McNab, Jack Clegg, and Charles Creal.

Guest speakers included Rev. George Downs, executive secretary of the Association of Citizens Councils of Florida.

## Citizens Council Elects Officers

Officers for the Flagler County Citizens Council were re-elected at a meeting of the council last Friday night. They were:

General chairman, D. D. Moody; vice chairman, Herschel C. King; secretary, Harold Higginbotham; treasurer, Charles Creal; chaplain, Jesse Meadows.

Committees named were: Information and education—R. L. McNab, M. B. Fuller, George Wickline, Clyde Lewis and R. H. Cantrell.

Political and elections—John A. Clegg, O. D. Robertson, Harold Massie, Harry McKenney, T. E. Holden.

Membership and finance—A. B. Johnston, Dave Perryman, J. F. Mercer, Custer Durrance, and Dale Brown, Jr.

Legal advisory—Charles Creal, E. W. Johnston, Sr., Duane A. Deen, Ralph Harbert and Homer Brooks.

Board of directors — D. D. Moody, R. L. McNab, A. B. Johnston, and Charles Creal.

Directors in the state association—H. C. King, R. L. McNab, D. D. Moody; alternates, J. F. Mercer, George Wickline, Bill Deen.

Members of the state political information committee — Harry Clegg, George Moody Sr., and Lyman Gage.

**Fig. 15.4.** Citizens Council Elects Officers - *Flagler Tribune* - June 6, 1957.

**Fig. 15.5.** Citizens Council Elects Officers - *Flagler Tribune* - May 29, 1958.

## Notes

### 15 – Citizens’ Councils Battle against Equality

<sup>1</sup> The **Deep South’s Black Belt counties** were the core of the rapidly expanding plantation area following the forced removal of Native American Indians. The geographical region stretches from eastern, south-central Alabama into northwestern Mississippi. By the late twentieth century, this area’s population had a black majority.

<sup>2</sup> **Tom Pickens Brady** (1903-1973) was a Mississippi jurist, white supremacist and a segregationist leader during the Civil Rights Era. In July 1963, he was appointed to the Mississippi Supreme Court as an Associate Justice, despite his publically acknowledged racist views, and served until his death. His ideology included the abolition of the NAACP, the disbanding of public schools to prevent integration, an elected Supreme Court of the United States and the creation of a separate state for African Americans.

<sup>3</sup> **Robert Boyd “Tut” Patterson** (1921-2017) was an owner of a 1,500 acre plantation and a Mississippi State College of Agriculture (now Mississippi State University) football star, and a World War II veteran who retired from the U.S. Army with a rank of major. He is known as a racist and one of the original founders of the Citizens’ Council. In 1995, he was inducted into the Mississippi State University Hall of Fame.

<sup>4</sup> First White Citizens’ Council Forms to Oppose School Integration. Equal Justice Initiative. <https://calendar.eji.org/racial-injustice/jul/11>

<sup>5</sup> **Disenfranchised** means that a person, or group of persons, have been deprived of the right to vote.

<sup>6</sup> The **Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission** (also known as the **Sov-Com**) was created in March 1956 by an act of the Mississippi Legislature. Under the rhetoric of states’ rights the commission’s objective was to “do and perform any and all acts and things deemed necessary and proper to protect the sovereignty of the state of Mississippi, and her sister states” from a perceived “encroachment thereon by the Federal Government or any branch, department or agency thereof; to resist the usurpation of the rights and powers reserved to this state and our sister states by the Federal Government or any branch, department or agency thereof.” From 1956 to 1973 (seventeen years), this official tax-funded agency investigated and spied on private citizens, civil rights activists and workers in efforts to upend the Civil Rights Movement. The commission also contributed funds to pro-segregation causes, and distributed anti-integration propaganda literature around the country. The commission went defunct in 1973, but was not officially dissolved until 1977. A debate ensued regarding the vast files that the commission had collected on tens of thousands of state citizens. Some Mississippi legislators wanted to burn all the records, but state lawmakers eventually ordered the commission’s records locked and sealed for fifty years (until 2027). A lawsuit by the ACLU resulted in the opening of the majority of the records to the public on March 17, 1998. The records confirmed that the commission collected information on 87,000 citizens who were classified as “suspects.” After legal delays regarding privacy issues for the remaining records, it was determined that commission agents illegally violated citizens’ privacy and rights, so they sacrificed their own rights. In 2000 and 2001, all the records were made public. The commission’s records can be accessed on-line at: [http://www.mdah.ms.gov/arrec/digital\\_archives/sovcom/](http://www.mdah.ms.gov/arrec/digital_archives/sovcom/)

<sup>7</sup> **The Citizens’ Council** was the official newspaper of the Citizens’ Councils of America. On-line copies are accessible at: <https://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/serial?id=citcouncil>

<sup>8</sup> **The Citizen** was the official journal of the Citizens’ Councils of America. On-line copies are accessible on the University of Mississippi Libraries Digital Collections website at: <http://clio.lib.olemiss.edu/cdm/landingpage/collection/citizens>

<sup>9</sup> A **mongrel** is a derogatory term associated with the crossbreeding of different human races. According to many white supremacists during, and before the Civil Rights Era, this resulted in a person being of inferior intelligence and low social status.

<sup>10</sup> The **Southern Poverty Law Center** was founded in August 1971 and is based in Montgomery, Alabama. It is a nonprofit legal advocacy organization specializing in civil rights, monitoring hate groups and promoting tolerance educational programs.

<sup>11</sup> Flagler County Citizens Council Entertains 700 Persons Thursday. *Flagler Tribune*. September 20, 1956.

<sup>12</sup> Citizens Council Helps Organize Daytona Group. *Flagler Tribune*. July 19, 1956.

<sup>13</sup> The **Council of Conservative Citizens** was founded in 1985 in Atlanta, Georgia, but has relocated to St. Louis, Missouri. This organization is a traditionalist group that opposes liberals, has white supremacist ideology, and supports nationalism and states that they “oppose all efforts to mix the races of mankind”.

<sup>14</sup> **Pseudo-history** attempts to distort or misrepresent the historical record by using methods that resemble legitimate historical research. Pseudo-history uses the assumption that there is a conspiracy among scholars, and researchers, to suppress true history. Works of pseudo-history often rely exclusively on sources that only appear to support the assertion being promoted, but ignore most, if not all, legitimate sources that contradict it. Many works of pseudo-history treat myths, legends, and other unreliable sources as literal historical truth while ignoring or dismissing evidence to the contrary.

<sup>15</sup> **Neo-Confederate** (also referred to as **Southern nationalists**) are various individuals and groups who distort the historical record to portray the Confederate States of America and its actions during the American Civil War in a positive context. Active neo-Confederate groups include The League of the South (LS), the Council of Conservative Citizens and the Sons of Confederate Veterans.

<sup>16</sup> **The League of the South (LS)** was founded in 1994 in Killen, Alabama. The organization’s motto is, “Survival, Well-Being, and Independence of the Southern People.” It is a neo-Confederate, white nationalist and white supremacist organization that states its ultimate goal is “a free and independent Southern republic.” The group defines the Southern United States as the states that made up the former Confederacy (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, Tennessee and Virginia).

<sup>17</sup> **The Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV)** was founded on July 1, 1896, at the City Auditorium (present-day Virginia Commonwealth University) in Richmond, Virginia. Currently, they are headquartered at Elm Springs in Columbia, Tennessee. The SCV are known for erecting and maintaining American Civil War memorials and graves, observing Confederate Memorial Day, and encouraging Southern historical study. Activists have placed new emphasis on the controversial right to display Confederate symbols in public.

<sup>18</sup> **Identity Dixie (ID)** was founded in 2015 as a Facebook page titled “Battle Flag the Fourth,” which encouraged people to post images online of the Confederate battle flag on the Fourth of July. The organization now runs a secret Facebook group. In 2016, they launched their flagship podcast called “Rebel Yell.” The “Rebel Yell” podcast invites guests from the far-right political spectrum who discuss and promote topics that include extreme nationalism and nativist ideologies.

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