RECONSTRUCTION: WHEN FREEDOM BROKE



ESSENTIAL QUESTION

What was the promise of Reconstruction and what achievements did Black people make toward this promise?



OBJECTIVES

Students will:

- → Define Reconstruction and describe some of the key achievements of this era.
- → Explain the significance of the Reconstruction Amendments (the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the U.S. Constitution).
- → Investigate the Freedmen's Bureau and its role in aiding Black Americans during Reconstruction.
- → Analyze primary source material to better understand the perspectives of Black Americans during Reconstruction, the challenges they faced and their accomplishments.
- → Create a poster representing key achievements of Black Americans during Reconstruction in one area, such as employment, education, voting and elected office and land ownership.



LEARNING STANDARDS

See the <u>standards alignment chart</u> to learn how this lesson supports New Jersey State Standards.



TIME NEEDED

65 minutes + time for students to complete research project



MATERIALS

- → AV equipment to listen to/view audio and video clips, and to project a website
- → Thomas Nast's "Emancipation" handout (one copy to project or one per student)
- → Thomas Nast's "Emancipation"

 Explained handout (one copy for teacher reference)
- → The Promise of Reconstruction handouts (one set of each of the following per small group)
 - Employment
 - Education
 - Voting and Elected Office
 - Land Ownership
- → Access to laptops or tablets



VOCABULARY

13th Amendment 14th Amendment 15th Amendment "40 acres and a mule" Civil War emancipation/emancipated Emancipation Proclamation enslaved Freedmen's Bureau

HBCUs
Juneteenth
reconstruction
secede/secession

Procedures

PARTI

Defining Reconstruction (45 mins.)

- Tell students that they will listen to an audio recording of a former enslaved woman, Mrs. Laura Smalley, who recollects her life at the end of the Civil War, when enslaved people were emancipated. Share the background information from the note. Then project the page with the transcription and interview (1:49), and play the recording: https://hearingvoic-es.com/webworks/juneteenth-emancipation. After, discuss the following questions:
 - → Mrs. Smalley's timeline and memories seem to be a bit confused. Why might this be? How did her enslavers keep them in the dark about events that were taking place during and after the Civil War?
 - → Why did Mrs. Smalley think her enslaver ("old master") was dead? Why do you think the enslaved people did not know he was fighting in the war?
 - → Why didn't "old master" tell the enslaved people they had been emancipated at first?
 - → Why was there a big dinner on the 19th? What is the significance of this date? [June 19, 1865—Juneteenth—is the day Union soldiers landed in Texas with news that the Civil War and slavery had ended.]
 - → What does Mrs. Smalley say it was like for her family after "freedom broke"? What does she mean when she says, "turned us out just like...you turn out cattle"?
 - → What choices and resources do you imagine most former enslaved people had available to them after "freedom broke"?
 - → How did it feel to hear the actual voice of a former enslaved person? How was this different from reading about the experiences of enslaved people in a book?

NOTE

Mrs. Laura Smalley was born into slavery on a plantation in Hempstead, Texas, on an unknown date in the 1800s. She was interviewed in 1941 as part of Born in Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writers' Project, 1936–1938. This collection contains more than 2,300 first-person accounts of slavery gathered in the 1930s as part of the Works Progress Administration (WPA).

Ask students if they know the name of the period immediately following the Civil War, when "freedom broke," or anything about this era. Allow a few volunteers to share their ideas. Post the following definition on the board and review with students.

Reconstruction: The period after the Civil War, from 1865–1877, when steps were taken to remedy the inequalities of slavery and bring the 11 states that had seceded back into the U.S.

- Show the video, "Reconstruction in Four Minutes" (4:45): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6CKcGj4Cq8E. As students watch, have them note information that confirms or negates what they discussed earlier, and generate at least one question that they have about Reconstruction. Post their questions on the board.
- Highlight the "Reconstruction Amendments" noted in the video and their critical importance in laying the foundation for a more equal life for Black Americans. Form small groups and assign each one of the Reconstruction Amendments—the 13th, 14th or 15th Amendment. Have groups consult one or more of the sources below and investigate what rights and freedoms their assigned amendment provided.

SOURCES

National Constitution Center: https://constitutioncenter.org/learn/educational-resources/historical-documents/ the-reconstruction-amendments

Teaching Tolerance: https://www.tolerance.org/sites/default/files/general/reconstruction.pdf

Fasttrack Teaching Materials: https://www.fasttrackteaching.com/ffap/Unit_1_Reconstruction/U1_Reconstruction_Amendments.html

Kids Encyclopedia: https://kids.kiddle.co/Reconstruction_Amendments

In their groups, have students prepare a brief oral summary of the amendment in the voice of a 19th century member of Congress (encourage them to have fun with the old-time role play). Then create new small groups that include a mix of students who studied different amendments. Have them perform their old-time oral summaries and question one another about the significance of each amendment.

PART II

The Achievements of Reconstruction (20 mins. + time for group research projects)

- Project or distribute the handout *Thomas Nast's* "Emancipation," and review the introduction as a class. In small groups, direct students to analyze this famous lithograph, which imagines the difference that Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation would have on former enslaved people. Have groups create a T-chart with before and after conditions for Black people according to Nast. Use the handout *Thomas Nast's* "Emancipation" Explained, as needed to guide students' work.
- As a class, discuss students' observations. Highlight Nast's emphasis on the themes of safe and adequate housing, public education and paid work. Ask students which of these predictions they think were realized during the period of Reconstruction.
- Comment that Black people showed tremendous agency, imagination and innovation in building free lives with limited resources during Reconstruction. Note that the U.S. government aided Black people through an agency called the Freedmen's Bureau, and share the following brief summary:

"The Freedmen's Bureau, formally known as the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, was established in 1865 by Congress to help millions of former Black slaves and poor whites in the South in the aftermath of the Civil War. The Freedmen's Bureau provided food, housing and medical aid, established schools and offered legal assistance. It also attempted to settle former slaves on land confiscated or abandoned during the war. How-

NOTE

If students have access to laptops or tablets, the image can be viewed online at https://tile.loc.gov/stor-age-services/service/pnp/pga/03800/03898r.jpg.

ever, the bureau was prevented from fully carrying out its programs due to a shortage of funds and personnel, along with the politics of race and Reconstruction."¹

- Tell students they will conduct research, using primary documents from the Reconstruction era, to learn more about the achievements of Reconstruction in the areas of: (a) employment, (b) education, (c) voting and elected office, and (d) land ownership. Have students select one topic to study further and form small groups based on their chosen topics. Distribute the relevant *Promise of Reconstruction* handouts to each group and provide them with access to laptops or tablets.
- Assign groups to review at least two of the primary documents on the handouts and consult one to two additional sources on their topic. After conducting their research, groups should create a poster representing key ideas, people, places and/or events related to their topic and the "Promise of Reconstruction." Groups can create physical posters or design them digitally using online tools such as Glogster, Canva and Emaze.
- When the posters are complete, display them in the classroom or in an online gallery (e.g., Voodoochilli), and allow groups to present their work. Conclude the lesson by conducting a discussion using the questions on the next page and by revisiting the questions students posed in step 3 of this lesson.

^{1 &}quot;Freedmen's Bureau," History.com, last modified October 3, 2018, https://www.history.com/topics/black-history/freedmens-bureau.

Discussion Questions

- What accomplishments during the Reconstruction era most stood out to you? What personal qualities did Black Americans exhibit in order to accomplish these things?
- What challenges and obstacles did Black people encounter as they tried to rebuild their lives?
- How did the U.S. government both help newly freed Black Americans and hinder their efforts?
- How did Reconstruction change life for Black people?
 How did it change the United States?
- What does it mean to be free? What does it mean to be equal? Do you think Black Americans secured freedom or equality during the Reconstruction era?
- Do you think the promises of the Reconstruction era were fulfilled? Why?
- Do Black communities today face challenges that you can trace back to the time of the Civil War? Despite the achievements of Reconstruction, how has racism and inequality been ongoing in the lives of Black people?

Lesson Extensions

- As of 2021, there have only been 11 Black senators in the history of the United States, and two of them were elected during the Reconstruction era—Hiram Revels (served 1870-1871) and Blanche K. Bruce (served 1875–1881). Assign students to research these senators and learn how they advocated for the needs of Black people following the Civil War. Then direct students to research how one modern-day Black senator is working on behalf of Black Americans. Have them compare the types of issues and needs addressed by early and current U.S. senators.
- ▶ Have students watch the PBS Independent Lens film Tell Them We Are Rising: The Story of Black Colleges and Universities (https://www. pbs.org/independentlens/films/tell-them-weare-rising). Discuss the history of historically

- Black colleges and universities (HBCUs)—from the pre-Civil War era to today—and their significance for Black Americans. Assign students to choose one HBCU and investigate its unique history, which they can share through a brief oral report or multimedia presentation.
- Discuss that while there are few memorials to the Black heroes of the Reconstruction era, there are over 700 statues and monuments in the U.S. honoring the Confederacy. Have students analyze the map of "Confederate Symbols in the U.S." at https://www.politico.com/interactives/2017/confederate-monuments. Investigate possible reasons for the large number of tributes to people and events that propped up slavery as opposed to the Black people who helped to rebuild our country after the Civil War.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- + CBS Sunday Morning. "The Story of Reconstruction." April 7, 2019. YouTube video, 8:13. https://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=CjetWrsQb-E.
- + CrashCourse. "Reconstruction and 1876: Crash Course US History #22." July 18. 2013. YouTube video, 12:59. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nowsS7p-MApl&t=504s.
- + Digital Public Library of America. "Primary Source Sets: The Freedmen's Bureau." https://dp.la/primary-source-sets/the-freedmen-s-bureau#tabs.

- + Facing History and Ourselves. "Video Lessons: The Reconstruction Era and the Fragility of Democracy." https://www.facinghistory.org/reconstruction-era/lessons.
- + Library of Congress. "Born in Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writers' Project, 1936-1938." https://www.loc. gov/collections/slave-narratives-from-the-federal-writersproject-1936-to-1938.
- + New Jersey State Bar Foundation Resources on the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments:

https://njsbf.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/respect-fall-2012.pdf

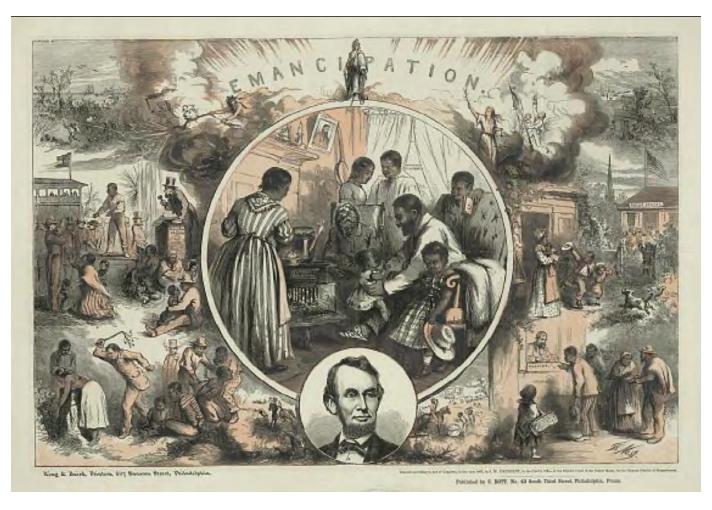
- https://njsbf.org/wp-content/ uploads/2017/03/Respect-Winter-2007.pdf
- https://njsbf.org/wp-content/ uploads/2017/03/Respect-Winter-2015.pdf
- + PBS Learning Media. "The Reconstruction Amendments." https://ny.pbslearningmedia. org/resource/ilwnet17-soc-usreconamend/the-reconstruction-amendments.

HANDOUT

Thomas Nast's "Emancipation"

Thomas Nast (1840-1902) was a famous editorial cartoonist, considered to be the "Father of the American Cartoon." He created "Emancipation" for the magazine *Harper's Weekly* in 1863, in response to President Lincoln's "Emancipation Proclamation." Issued on January 1, 1863, this proclamation set free all enslaved people in the 11 rebel states that had seceded from the Union.

In "Emancipation of the Negroes— The Past and the Future," Nast depicts life for Black Americans before and after freedom. What predictions does he make? Which do you think were attained during the period of Reconstruction?



Thomas Nast. *Emancipation of the Negroes—The Past and the Future* (from "Harper's Weekly"), January 24, 1863, digital file from original print. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/pga.03898.



Thomas Nast's "Emancipation" Explained



The following description of Nast's lithograph is adapted from the Library of Congress:

- → The central scene shows the interior of a freedman's home with the family gathered around a "Union" wood stove. The father bounces his small child on his knee while his wife and others look on.
- → On the wall near the mantel hang a picture of Abraham Lincoln and a banjo.
- → Below this scene is an oval portrait of Lincoln and, above it, Thomas Crawford's statue of "Freedom," which sits atop the dome of the U.S. Capitol.
- → On either side of the central picture are scenes contrasting Black life in the South under the Confederacy (left) with visions of the freedman's life after the war (right).

- → At top left, fugitive enslaved people are hunted down in a coastal swamp.
- → Below, a Black man is sold, apart from his wife and children, on a public auction block.
- → At bottom, a Black woman is flogged and an enslaved man branded.
- → Above, two "hags," one holding the Cerberus (a multi-headed dog from Greek mythology that guards the gates of the Underworld), preside over these scenes and flee from the gleaming apparition of Freedom.
- → In contrast, on the right, a woman with an olive branch and scales of justice stands triumphant. Here, a freedman's cottage can be seen in a peaceful landscape.
- → Below, a Black mother sends her children off to "Public School."
- → At bottom, a free Black man receives his pay from a cashier.
- → Two smaller scenes flank Lincoln's portrait. In one, a mounted overseer flogs a Black field slave (left); in the other, a foreman politely greets Black cottonfield workers.

SOURCE: "Emancipation." Library of Congress. Accessed October 29, 2020. https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2004665360/#:~:text=Summary%3A%20 Thomas%20Nast's%20celebration%20of,a%20%22Union%22%20wood%20stove.



The Promise of Reconstruction: Employment

- 1 View at least two of the primary documents below online.
- 2 Consult one to two additional sources to learn about employment opportunities for former enslaved people following the Civil War. Examples include work in Black churches (e.g., the network of African Methodist Episcopal or AME churches), farming (including sharecropping), industrial work (e.g., factories and railroads), domestic work (e.g., maids and dishwashers), and government service (e.g., holding elected office).
- 3 Create a physical or digital poster representing some of the key ideas, people, places and/or events related to your topic. Your poster should show the opportunities and challenges for Black Americans during Reconstruction.



Hampton Plantation Account Book, 1866–1868, South Carolina https://iowaculture.gov/history/education/educator-resources/ primary-source-sets/reconstruction/hampton-plantation

Former enslaved people sometimes worked for their former enslavers as wage laborers on plantations. This account book documents the wages of Black workers on a South Carolina plantation.



A Freedman's Work Contract, 1865, North Carolina

https://dp.la/primary-source-sets/the-freedmen-s-bureau/sources/116

The Freedmen's Bureau witnessed and documented work contracts for newly freed Black people to ensure they would collect their wages.



Letter to Claim Wages, 1866, North Carolina

https://dp.la/primary-source-sets/the-freedmen-s-bureau/sources/113

The Freedmen's Bureau helped Black people recover unpaid wages. This letter is to an employer who failed to pay one of his workers.



The Promise of Reconstruction: Education

- 1 View at least two of the primary documents below online.
- 2 Consult one to two additional sources to learn about education opportunities for former enslaved people following the Civil War. Examples include the Penn Center (one of the first schools for formerly enslaved people); Freedmen's schools (thousands were built by the U.S. government); and the establishment of historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs).
- **3 Create** a physical or digital poster representing some of the key ideas, people, places and/or events related to your topic. Your poster should show the opportunities and challenges for Black Americans during Reconstruction.



Education Among the Freedmen, 1866–1870, South Carolina

https://www.loc.gov/ exhibits/african-american-odyssey/images/05/0502001r.jpg



School in Liberty County, Georgia, about 1890

https://dp.la/primary-source-sets/the-freedmen-s-bureau/sources/110

The Freedmen's Bureau established schools throughout the South, such as this one created by the Freedmen's Bureau in Georgia between 1865 and 1870.

The Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association published this newsletter featuring "Sea-island School, No 1—St. Helena Island, Established April 1862." Donations from various organizations aided 1,400 teachers in providing literacy and vocational education for 150,000 freedmen.



The Freedmen's Union Industrial School, 1866, Virginia

https://www.loc.gov/ pictures/resource/ cph.3a38219/

Northern teachers, mostly white women, traveled to the South to provide education for formerly enslaved women from primary to college levels. They taught literacy, arts, theology and vocational skills, such as sewing (as seen in this image).



Howard University Medical School, Washington, D.C., 1868

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Medical_faculty_(IA_101487174. nlm.nih.gov).pdf

Howard University was among the first historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) established in the South following the Civil War. This flier announces their first medical session in 1868, just three years after emancipation.



The Promise of Reconstruction: Voting and Elected Office

- 1 View at least two of the primary documents below online.
- 2 Consult one to two additional sources to learn about opportunities to vote and hold office for former enslaved people following the Civil War. Examples include the ratification of the 15th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, people like Tunis G. Campbell (the Georgia clergyman and politician who organized for voting rights), organizations like the Union League of America (a patriotic club that lobbied for Black political rights), and the achievements of the 2,000 Black men who won office in the South between 1869 and 1877.
- **3 Create** a physical or digital poster representing some of the key ideas, people, places and/or events related to your topic. Your poster should show the opportunities and challenges for Black Americans during Reconstruction.



The First Vote, 1867

http://objectofhistory.org/objects/extendedtour/votingmachine/?order=2

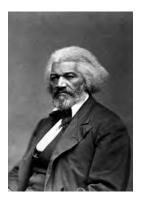
The 15th Amendment to the U. S. Constitution, ratified March 30, 1870, provided the right to vote to all male citizens. This illustration from Harper's Weekly in November 1867 imagines the first voting experience for Black men.



The First Colored Senator and Representatives, 1872

https://digital.librarycompany.org/islandora/object/digitool%3A129464

Once Black men were able to vote, they worked to elect members of their own communities to public office. From 1869-1899, more than 20 Black men—mostly former enslaved people—were elected to the United States Congress. This Currier & Ives lithograph depicts the first seven Black members of Congress.



Reply of the Colored Delegation to the President, 1866

https://rbscp.lib.rochester.edu/4391

A delegation of Black leaders, including Frederick Douglass, met with President Andrew Johnson in the White House in 1866 to persuade him to change his approach to freedom and reconciliation. Among other issues, they argued for the right to vote for Black people and a new political party bringing together freedmen and poor whites. Johnson could not be persuaded, and Douglass wrote this open letter for publication in newspapers.



The Promise of Reconstruction: Voting and Elected Office

- 1 View at least two of the primary documents below online.
- 2 Consult one to two additional sources to learn about opportunities for land ownership for former enslaved people following the Civil War. Examples include General William T. Sherman's order leading to "40 acres and a mule," the Homestead Acts (granting public lands to individual families), and the many towns founded by former enslaved people after the Civil War (such as Shankleville and Kendleton in Texas).
- 3 Create a physical or digital poster representing some of the key ideas, people, places and/or events related to your topic. Your poster should show the opportunities and challenges for Black Americans during Reconstruction.



"Negroes of Savannah," 1865

http://www.freedmen.umd.edu/savmtg.htm

This newspaper account, from February 13, 1865, describes a meeting between Black religious leaders and Union military authorities to discuss matters relating to former enslaved people in Georgia. When asked about caring for themselves, leaders replied, "The way we can best take care of ourselves is to have land, and turn it and till it by our own labor."



Special Field Order No. 15, 1865

http://www.freedmen.umd.edu/sfo15.htm

In 1865, Union General William T. Sherman issued a set of military orders resulting in the confiscation of 400,000 acres of land that once belonged to Southern plantation owners, and the redistribution of this land to freed Black people in parcels of up to 40 acres ("40 acres and a mule"). The plan—which would have settled 18,000 formerly enslaved families along the Atlantic coast of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida—was later revoked by President Andrew Johnson.



Rev. Ulysses L. Houston, 1865

https://www.loc.gov/item/2008675489

https://www.pbs.org/wnet/african-americans-many-rivers-to-cross/history/the-truth-behind-40-acres-and-a-mule

Baptist minister Ulysses L. Houston, one of the pastors who met with Union General William T. Sherman, led 1,000 Black people to Skidaway Island, Georgia, where they established a self-governing Black community with Houston as the governor.

THEME 1

THEME 2

How was the promise of Reconstruction broken by white supremacy and hatred?

Following the Civil War, federal assistance from the Freedmen's Bureau and the passage of the Reconstruction Amendments to the U.S. Constitution supported Black Americans as they forged freer lives. Millions of formerly enslaved people mobilized to participate in government, build institutions of education and form independent communities. Their efforts, however, were thwarted from the moment the shackles of slavery were broken.

In 1865, following the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, Vice President Andrew Johnson assumed the presidency. A Southern Democrat and known racist, Johnson was instrumental in reversing the limited civil and political liberties afforded to Black people after the Civil War.¹ Johnson restored Southern states to the Union, granting amnesty to most former Confederates and allowing rebel states to form new governments hostile to Reconstruction. In 1866, Johnson vetoed the Freedmen's Bureau and Civil Rights bills, and reversed the famous "40 acres and a mule" order granting land to Black people. Johnson also attempted to block ratification of the 14th Amendment, providing citizenship rights to Black people, and was impeached, in part, for suspending a secretary of war who opposed his Reconstruction policies.

Fueled by rage over their defeat in the Civil War and an unwillingness to relinquish generations of privilege and white supremacy, the reestablished Southern states sought to build back their confederacy. From 1865–1866, a series of Draconian laws known as the Black codes were enacted in most Southern states that attempted to return Black Americans to a state of subordination and dependency on the white-owned plantation system.² The Black codes took away the rights of Black people to vote, hold office and testify against white people in court. They segregated schools and public facilities, limited land and home ownership and restricted access to certain neighborhoods and jobs. Repressive vagrancy statutes constrained the assembly rights of Black people and punished them for unemployment. Since job opportunities were severely restricted, Black people were forced to labor in low-paying agricultural jobs, as sharecroppers and on the plantations of their former imprisonment. The children of those arrested for Black codes violations were commonly seized under the guise of "apprenticeship" and forced into servitude. The Black codes were thus a coercive instrument that exploited Black people as cheap labor to rebuild the destroyed Southern economy, and that reinstated the conditions of slavery.

¹ Elizabeth R. Varon, "Andrew Johnson: Impact and Legacy," The Miller Center, https://millercenter.org/president/johnson/impact-and-legacy.

² Constitutional Rights Foundation, "Southern Black Codes," https://www.crf-usa.org/brown-v-board-50th-anniversary/southern-black-codes.html.

In addition to repressive laws, white Southerners used violence to control Black communities and obstruct the growth of interracial democracy. In 1865, six Confederate veterans from Pulaski, Tennessee, formed the Ku Klux Klan, which began as a fraternal organization but quickly evolved into a terror movement aimed at crushing political equality and restoring a white-dominated social order.3 Klan membership included Democratic veterans, poor white farmers and southerners sympathetic to white supremacy. Keeping Black people from the voting booth and restoring white dominance became the organization's main goals. Men claiming to be the ghosts of Confederate soldiers galloped on horses in the dead of night, terrorizing, flogging and murdering Black Americans. To prevent their identity from being revealed in public, members dressed in disguise, wearing sheets and hooded masks.

The Ku Klux Klan and, later, groups such as the White League and Red Shirts, incited violence and massacres throughout the South. In 1866 in Memphis, three days of rioting took place after a clash between white police officers and Black veterans of the Union Army. Mobs of white residents and police rampaged Black neighborhoods, killing 46 Black people and committing arson and robbery. Two months later in New Orleans, white, conservative Democrats—including police and firemen—attacked progressive Republicans (mostly Black) over attempts to rewrite the state's constitution. At least 34 Black people were killed

and 119 wounded.⁵ Such violence was a way to enforce white supremacy by disenfranchising Black people and keeping them from housing and employment opportunities considered to be for white people.

The injustice of the Black codes and unrestrained violence perpetrated by groups such as the Ku Klux Klan drew the attention of Republican leaders in the U.S. Congress and led to new protections for Black Americans. The Civil Rights Act of 1866 (ratified in 1870), Enforcement Act of 1870 and Ku Klux Klan Act of 1871 affirmed Black citizenship rights, curbed intimidation of Black voters and allowed the federal government to use military force to suppress terrorist organizations. Such safeguards allowed Black communities to make progress throughout the 1870s; however, the atmosphere of extreme hostility to racial equality had been indelibly cemented in Southern culture. The Compromise of 1877—which settled the disputed presidential election of 1876—resulted in the last of the federal troops being pulled from the South, the loss of political positions won by Black representatives and the demise of Reconstruction. Soon Black people were completely absent from state and local government, and no longer held positions in the U.S. House or Senate. The Black codes were replaced by Jim Crow segregation, and a new era of white supremacy and domination was ushered in that would last for nearly a century.

³ History.com, "Ku Klux Klan," November 2, 2020, https://www.history.com/topics/reconstruction/ku-klux-klan.

⁴ Ryan, James Gilbert. "The Memphis Riots of 1866: Terror in a Black Community During Reconstruction." *The Journal of Negro History 62*, no. 3 (1977): 243-57. Accessed December 9, 2020. doi:10.2307/2716953.

⁵ Reconstruction Era National Historical Park, "'An Absolute Massacre'—The New Orleans Slaughter of July 30, 1866," https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/neworleansmassacre.htm.