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CULTURAL PATTERNS OF COLORED CREOLES: A STUDY
OF A SELECTED SEGMENT OF NEW ORLEANS
NEGROES WITH FRENCH CULTURAL
134 ORIENTATIONS

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

in

The Department of Sociology

by
Kara Enid M. Rousseau
B.A., Xavier University, 1953
June, 1955

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To my parents,
without whose aid and encouragement
this could never have been realized,
this thesis is gratefully dedicated.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of the cultural patterns of Negroes, roughly of the middle and upper classes, of French background in New Orleans, Louisiana. Both primary and secondary materials were utilized in the study. The principal sources of data used were interviews, informal conversations, and secondary materials.

The scope of the thesis is as follows. First, the historical background of the Negroes of New Orleans is presented. Second, a comparative analysis of the cultural patterns of three generations is presented. Finally, trends and prospects are set up for this segment of the population.

Among the general findings were the following: that the way of life has been primarily influenced by religious background and by French cultural traits; that the stratification is not a rigid structure; that the educational status is among the highest in the state for Negroes; that there is an increase in each generation in the awareness and importance of political participation; that marriage habits and sexual conduct revolve around the teachings of the Catholic Church; that racial antagonism decreases with each generation; that a decidedly large number of French cultural traits have been retained but the importance attached to these traits is gradually decreasing, and will probably continue to do so.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background and Method of Study

The possibility of making this study was first suggested to the author by Dr. Vernon J. Parenton of the Louisiana State University Department of Sociology in January, 1954. It was felt that a study of this type was necessary for two reasons: first, to determine the extent of French cultural traits among Negroes of French background; and, second, to acquaint others with the customs and attitudes of this group of people.

A survey of the literature showed that nothing had been written which was completely devoted to the attitudes and cultural patterns of New Orleans' Negro Creoles, and very little had been written otherwise on the subject. The author, inasmuch as she is a member of the group under study, was able to achieve rapport with the subjects and to elicit from them cultural and sociological data that would have been difficult if not impossible for an "outsider" to obtain.

The unusual composition and character of the Negro population in New Orleans have long been a point of interest. The author makes no pretensions of definitiveness, but, rather, views the study as a pioneering and exploratory effort which may lead to more comprehensive analyses by others. She did,

however, attempt to describe and explain the data in a sociological frame of reference.

During the period beginning August, 1954, and ending in November, 1954, fifty persons, including heads of families, both male and female, and others ranging in age from seventeen through eighty, were interviewed in order to obtain a selected sample of the middle and upper class of the Negro population of French background in New Orleans. Since there are approximately 150 families in the said community belonging to the segment of the population under study, fifty persons were considered a representative sample. In addition, six persons served as outside observers. This sample was used for the following purposes:

1. To ascertain what persons who had lived in the community for only a short period of time regarded as the most outstanding or the most characteristic attitudes and customs of the members of the group under study.
2. To discover what persons who were not of French background but who had observed persons belonging to that tradition over a period of time considered the most outstanding characteristics, customs, and attitudes of that group.

The techniques used in research included participant observation, interviews, and case and historical studies.¹

¹ For a discussion of these techniques, see Marie Jahoda, M. Deutsch, and S. Cook, Research Methods in Social Relations (New York: The Dryden Press, 1951), pp. 134-144, 170-179; Pauline V. Young, Scientific Social Surveys and Research (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1944), pp. 205-41, 477-78.

Two main types of interviews were used. In the case of the additional observers, structured interviews were employed; whereas for persons under study, focused interviews were used because of their flexibility and in order to probe beyond public attitudes to private sentiments.²

Case and historical studies were used in securing information concerning the backgrounds of those under study.

Secondary materials were also utilized.

B. Explanation of Terms

The term "French cultural orientation" is used here to refer to those aspects of the customs, standards, behavior, and attitudes which are French in origin and which are common to the group under study, distinguishing it from other groups belonging to different cultural traditions. Only those who claimed French descent, either paternal or maternal, or those who, because of their traditional observance of French customs, had reason to believe they are of French ancestry, were interviewed. Other basic criteria for the selection of these persons were names and language.³ These proved to be very reliable measurements.

One major point of dispute that has been encountered by almost all who have studied Southern cultural patterns, especially those of Louisiana, has been the use of the word "creole" in connection with Negroes. The author did not

² Jahoda, Deutsch and Cook, op. cit., pp. 175-79, and passim.

³ Language was used as an indicator of French background in the cases of those individuals who were known to speak French or some French dialect.

attempt to resolve these arguments. For the purpose of this study, she based the use of the term "colored creole" or "Negro creole" upon the definition and discussion of the word "Creole" in the Encyclopaedia Britannica. According to this encyclopaedia, "the use of the word by some writers as necessarily implying a person of mixed blood is totally erroneous; in itself, 'creole' has no distinction of color; a creole may be a person of European, Negro or mixed extraction."⁴ The fact that this study includes only Negroes of French background has already been established,⁵ hence the term "colored creole."⁶

⁴Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., Encyclopaedia Britannica (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1945), VI, p. 668.

⁵ It is noteworthy that one of the families mentioned by Grace King in Creole Families of New Orleans (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1921), was claimed as the ancestral line of an interviewee for this study.

⁶ Charles B. Rousseve, The Negro in Louisiana, Aspects of His History and Literature (New Orleans, Xavier University Press, 1937), pp. 22-24 argues in favor of the use of the term "Negro creole" or "colored creole."

"In the archives of the Saint Louis Cathedral the very first appearance of the word 'Creole' is found in the baptismal record, dated 1779, of a slave from Jamaica, referred to as 'negre creole.' In a later entry in these archives a person first designated as 'Marie mulatresse' is referred to in the body of the record as 'une creole.' "

Rousseve also mentioned that such authors as Grace King, Moreau de Saint-Mery, L. Martin, Henry Krehbiel, Edwin R. Embree and many others referred to Southern Negroes, especially those in the Louisiana area, as "Negro creoles," "colored creoles," or "black creoles" in their works.

Such authors as Lyle Saxon and Harnett T. Kane, whose works on New Orleans are quite well-known, maintain that the term "creole" denotes white without mixture. Lyle Saxon, Gumbo Ya-Ya (Boston, Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1945), p. 130. Harnett T. Kane, Queen New Orleans (New York, William Morrow and Co., 1949), p. 185.

C. Organization and Limitations

This study is divided into five chapters. Chapter I consists of the introduction to the thesis, the background and methods of study, interpretation of the terminology contained in the title, and a brief description of the plan and limitations of the study. Chapter II, which sketches the historical background of the Negroes in New Orleans, includes the group under study. In Chapter III the survey data are presented in three groups in order to facilitate the comparative analysis in the subsequent chapter. The final chapter appraises trends and prospects for this segment of the population. Significant customs and other pertinent materials are presented in the appendices.

This study does not cover every phase of the lives of Negro creoles of New Orleans, however, an attempt has been made to present certain important aspects of their way of life.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF NEW ORLEANS NEGROES

A. Introduction

In New Orleans, as elsewhere in the South, the Negro has played an important role. However, because of the enormous concentration of free Negroes in New Orleans during its early history, because of the great extent of mixed bloods, and because of the conglomeration of French Spanish, and Indian peoples, this city has assumed a unique position with regard to the inhabitants racial characteristics and the backgrounds of its Negroes.

The historical background of the Negroes in New Orleans has important sociological implications for certain developments within the Negro race. Among these are the types of stratification, socialization, the extent of racial antagonism, and finally, the influence of all these factors upon the present attitudes and institutions of Negroes of the said community.

This chapter points out those factors in the historical background which have facilitated the rise of the above conditions. Some of the outstanding achievements and obstacles which have occurred in the assimilative process of New Orleans Negroes are mentioned. Special attention is focused on socio-historic implications.

B. Arrival of Negroes into New Orleans

In 1722, New Orleans was chosen by Bienville as the capitol of the French Territory of Louisiana. The arrival of Negroes into the colony is nowhere more dramatically envisaged than in Grace King's New Orleans, The Place and The People:

It is at first sight but a mysterious mass of brute labor brought in shiploads by brute capital, so to speak; the huddling, reeking, diseased catchings of a naked black humanity, without a filament of clothing, language, or religion of the white humanity above them. Out of the inchoate blackness individual experience alone could make assortment and classification; features, expressions, size, and doctor's certificate were the quotable values at first....The damaged lots, the crippled, the infirm were sold for a trifle and these bargains were seized by the poorer classes so that a poor man's slave was not the mere term of social reproach it was supposed to be.... These were the first cargoes, the African 'bruts' as they were called, going through their first rudiments of religion, language, and civilized training.¹

In Fleur de Lys and Calumet, Being the Penicaut Narrative of French Adventure in Louisiana, the early entrance of the slaves into Louisiana is recorded: "On these three ships

¹ Grace King, New Orleans, The Place and the People (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1899), p. 335.

The following was reported by Henry P. Dart:

"....instructions from the Company of the West.... in 1718 to the captains of two ships...(were) to carry on trade in Negroes there (Guinea) and to carry the results without delay to Louisiana.... Both were directed to trade only for well and healthy Negroes.... not more than thirty nor less than eight years of age." Henry P. Dart, "The First Cargo of African Slaves for Louisiana, 1718", Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XIV, (1931), 163.

M. de Serigny had brought a great many soldiers, workmen, and 250 Negroes, who were used from the very first in unloading the ships and moving munitions and merchandise to the warehouses on Isle Dauphine."² This was in 1719.

French Louisiana at this time adopted slavery for the same major reasons as did the English colonies -- because of its economic and social advantages. The manner in which slaves were governed closely followed the pattern set in the American colonies. The system was in some instances, patriarchal, and was characterized by a high degree of intimacy between races.

It was not without effort, however, that the Africans were subordinated to the whites. At first they had some consciousness of their common fate and attempted to find refuge in the revival of old customs and traditions, especially in the form of group singing.

C. Early Stratification

It is difficult to say with certainty or even to estimate the date of the beginning of the caste-like stratification among the Negroes in New Orleans. This social structure consisted of mixed bloods, gens de couleur on the one hand, and "pure-blooded"³ Africans on the other. It appears

² Richebourg G. McWilliams, editor and translator, Fleur de Lys and Calumet, Being the Penicaut Narrative of French Adventure in Louisiana (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1953), pp. 229-30.

³ "Pure-blooded" is used here to mean not of white mixture.

that this type of stratification among Negroes began to assume importance as soon as the alleged superiority of whites was acknowledged, willingly or forcibly, by Negroes. Acting upon this acknowledgement, the gens de couleur, realizing their relationship to and eagerly accepting the white man's culture because of the apparent futility of the situation of the Negroes, did not hesitate to separate themselves from the pure-bloods. This condition was enforced by the explicit preference of whites for mulattoes and mixed bloods and by the acceptance by whites of this sharp distinction made by the gens de couleur.

....the pure-blooded African was never called colored, but always Negro. The 'gens de couleur', colored people were a class apart, separated from and superior to the Negroes, ennobled as it were by only one drop of white blood in their veins. The caste seems to have existed from the first introduction of slaves. To the whites, all Africans who were not of pure blood were 'gens de couleur.'⁴

Among the gens de couleur, intragroup class distinctions gradually developed. They rested on the same basis as the over-all stratification within the Negro race at this time, proximity to the white race. The closer one was to the master race, the more "white blood" he possessed, the more he was envied. As the extent of "white blood" increased, so did the prestige of the individual. Harnett T. Kane defines these degrees of elevation:

A mulatto is a child of a white and a Negro; a quadroon of a white and a mulatto; an octoroon,

⁴ King, op. cit., p. 333

of a white and a quadroon; a tierceron, of a mulatto and a quadroon; a griffe, of a mulatto and a Negro; a marabon, of a mulatto and a griffe; a sacatron, of a Negro and a griffe.⁵

Two reasons for the development of intragroup stratification were:

1. If the Negro was interested in material gains, there was the realization that these could be achieved only through the assistance of his masters. Proximity to the white race proved extremely advantageous.
2. Even in seeking spiritual satisfaction, the idea of white superiority was thrust upon the slave.

Crudely put, to the black Christian, God was a white man, the devil, black; the Virgin Mary, the Saviour, the saints and all the angels belonged to the race of the master and mistress, white, divinized; black, diabolized. Is it necessary to follow, except in imagination, the infinite hope, the infinite struggle, contained in the inference?⁶

The attitudes of these gens de couleur toward their Negro brethren were not hostile, but they felt superior to them, and their superiority was even recognized by the African slaves. Their customs and attitudes were more like those of the whites. In fact, their assimilation and transition from "uncivilized" to "civilized" were more rapid due to closer contacts with the master race. It was noticeable and expected that greater advances were made by gens de couleur and free Negroes.

⁵ Harnett T. Kane, Queen New Orleans (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1949), p. 185.

⁶ King, op. cit., p. 334.

Free gens de couleur were known as gens de couleur libres. The appearance of both classes in the colony was almost simultaneous. They acquired property and slaves rapidly. By 1803, the class of free Negroes and gens de couleur libres known as cordon bleus had acquired over ten million dollars' worth of taxable property.⁷

D. American Domination

Once more the ownership of Louisiana changed hands -- from Spain back to France in 1803, shortly before the purchase of the Louisiana Territory by the United States. Although the administration of the Spanish revealed similarities to that of the French, there were differences insofar as Negroes were concerned. These differences were responsible for many of the varied customs and attitudes which are evident even today in the Negro race.

Up to the time of the Louisiana Purchase, relatively harmonious relationships existed between the master and slave races. Upon completion of the transaction, the territory was divided into the Territory of Orleans and the Territory of Louisiana. American domination affected not only whites, but had a marked effect upon the Negroes in New Orleans. Radical changes were reflected in the reactions of the slaves to the strengthening of the slave codes. It was during this time that the intimate master-slave relationships

⁷ Charles B. Rousseve, The Negro in Louisiana, Aspects of His History and Literature (New Orleans, Xavier University Press, 1937), pp. 27-28, and passim.

disappeared and slavery changed "from a patriarchal to an economic institution."⁸

E. The Negro in War

Shortly after the admission of Louisiana into the Union came the War of 1812. It is said that the Negroes showed remarkable bravery under Jackson, and that the cotton breast-works used by him were suggested by a Negro slave. It is further believed that Jackson wrote as follows of a Negro:

I saw General Pakenham reel and pitch out of his saddle. I have always believed that he fell from the bullet of a free man of color who was from the Attakapas region of Louisiana.⁹

One cannot mention the Battle of New Orleans without praising young Jordan, the mulatto drummer, whose firing of the drum gave invaluable courage and moral support to the troops.¹⁰

After the victory, Jackson addressed the Negro troops as follows:

To the Men of Color - Soldiers! From the shores of Mobile I collected you to arms. I invited you to share in the perils and glory with your white countrymen.... I expected much of you.... But you surpass my hopes.... The President of the United States shall be informed of your conduct on the present occasion and the voice of the American Nation shall applaud your valor as your General now praises your ardor.¹¹

⁸ Ibid., p. 31, citing Carter G. Woodson, The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861, (Washington, D.C.: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1919).

⁹ Ibid., p. 29, citing The Times Picayune.

¹⁰ King, op. cit., p. 254.

¹¹ Rousseve, op. cit., citing R. B. Eleazer, America's Tenth Man (Atlanta: Conference on Education and Race Relations, 1933).

In the Civil War under General Butler, the Negroes in New Orleans displayed the same courage and vigor which they had in the Battle of New Orleans.

F. Reconstruction and Post-Reconstruction

The period immediately following the Civil War and Emancipation was especially advantageous to Negroes in New Orleans. It was characterized by an upward trend of the statuses of both slaves and freemen until they acquired the rights and privileges afforded by full citizenship. The political consequence of this was the elimination of official civil distinctions between whites and Negroes. Many bitter attacks were directed against the institution of slavery. During this time, the relationships between whites and Negroes depended upon the type of relationships that had existed between them prior to emancipation. Attitudes ranged from hostile to filial on the part of Negroes, and from hostile to paternal on the part of whites. The belief in white superiority was still greatly reflected in the behavior of both groups.

The period during which the Negro enjoyed full rights of citizenship in New Orleans was relatively brief. Post-Reconstruction New Orleans and Louisiana, said Rousseve, were characterized by loss of political rights and power, seizure of the property of Negroes, migration to urban centers, a general reduction in the socio-economic status of Negroes, and segregation of Negroes in the Catholic Church with the opening of St. Katherine's Church for colored Catholics in 1895. During this period of extreme racial tension, however, P.B.S.

Pinchback, Negro lieutenant governor during Reconstruction, was able to obtain favorable legislation to partially meet the educational needs of the Negro, and saner racial attitudes could be seen developing on the part of a small but growing number of southern whites.¹²

G. Political Background

In the political development of the Negroes in New Orleans, there was never a period in the history of the city when the Negroes were in any way politically powerful for a time long enough to achieve any political action -- though there were times when the size of the colored population and its economic achievements would lead one to conclude the opposite.

Negroes first entered politics actively after the Civil War, but this entrance was attained with much difficulty. There was a great deal of antagonism between the Democrats and the Negroes and their Republican allies. However, in the election of November 6, 1865, when Negroes were able to vote freely for the first time, Negroes were elected to important political offices. Among those elected was P.B.S. Pinchback, lieutenant-governor of the state of Louisiana. But as political power among Negroes grew, dissatisfaction mounted among whites until finally five thousand armed Knights of the White Camelia alarmed the city in 1874 in a successful attempt to "rid the state government of the Republican and the Negro."¹³ Although

¹² Ibid., pp. 139-50, and passim.

¹³ Ibid., p. 106.

the disturbance was quelled by federal troops, "the event, nevertheless brought to its close the government of Louisiana by the Negroes and their allies."¹⁴ To this date, the Negro has never been able to achieve the political heights he attained during the period of Reconstruction, though he is slowly moving toward a position of political importance.

H. Educational Background

In the educational sphere, "before the reactionary period, free persons of color did not find it difficult to use whatever educational facilities the city afforded."¹⁵ Many of the schools which were attended by both races were supported largely by the wealthier Negroes and whites. When the public school system was organized, separate schools were set up. This was not met without resistance by Negroes.¹⁶

Negro education in New Orleans received its first incentive through privately financed institutions.

The 'Institution Catholique des Orphelins Indigents' which Alice Dunbar Nelson designated as the first free school ever opened for colored in the United States was made possible by Madame Bernard Couvent, a widowed free woman of color, who, illiterate her-

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid., citing Woodson, op. cit., pp. 42-43.

¹⁶ The Supreme Court File No. 7500 of the State of Louisiana, filed December 13, 1880 involved a case against the New Orleans School Board filed by Ursin Dellande for the admittance of his children to the public school in the neighborhood in which they lived. By this method, the objections of the Negroes to the system of segregation in the educational field were expressed.

self, wished to promote education among her people.¹⁷

During the Reconstruction period, advances were made in education in New Orleans. Negroes were able to secure more free public schools, and the aid offered by private sources was substantially increased. The Sisters of the Holy Family set up St. Mary's Academy for Girls; the Freedmen's Aid Society organized New Orleans University; Straight University was made possible through the generous donations of Seymour Straight; P.B.S. Pinchback was able to secure legislation which made it possible to found Southern University; Xavier University, the only university in the world for Negro Catholics was founded by the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, and later, Dillard University was founded in 1935. These were impressive beginnings, but represented but a slight fulfillment of a tremendous need for education. As Rousseve has said, "the patriotic missionarism which brought them into being sheds a ray of light over the period of Reconstruction, so murky with hate and villainy."¹⁸

F. Social Background

Just as there were sharp distinctions between gens de couleur and "pure-blooded" Africans, so were distinctions carried into the social lives of these two groups. Under the French regime in New Orleans, the slaves would gather at the

¹⁷ Rousseve, op. cit., p. 44, citing Rodolphe Desdunes, Hommage Rendu a la Memoire de Alexandre Mary (Publisher, place of publication, and date of publication not designated.)

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 148.

Congo Square, well outside the city limits, to celebrate holidays.¹⁹ The mixed-bloods as well as the "pure-bloods" participated, although mixed-blood domestic servants had higher statuses. During this early period, African survivals were very apparent, especially in dance routines and manners of expression. However, as the culture of the whites was transmitted to the field hands, mainly through the mulatto house-servants, African survivals began to fade.

Under Governor Miro, (Spanish), even stricter laws were passed governing the social life of the slaves, forbidding excessive attention to dress, wearing of jewelry, or public appearance without a head kerchief or "tignon" on the part of mulattoes and quadroon women.

Under American rule, the black codes were strengthened and the social life of the slaves was limited to the plantations. Large congregations were forbidden. Only one important vestige of this early social life of Negroes remained - folk songs and folk music.

As mulattoes and quadroons gained their freedom, however, they acquired property and many owned slaves. They began to retire from the social activities of the slaves. With the removal of Miro's strict laws when Louisiana came under American domination, mulatto women were seen imitating their present or former white mistresses in dress and manners:

The very thought of Miro's regulation seems absurd as we hear of them in their boxes at

¹⁹For a more detailed description, see King, op. cit., pp. 338-40.

Orleans theatre, rivalling the whites in the tier below them with their diamonds, Parisian head dresses, and elegant toilets; and of the tropical beauty with which they shone at their weekly balls. Those were the celebrated quadroon balls that divided the nights of the week with the balls given to the white ladies, where none but white gentlemen were allowed and where strange men were always taken as the amusement 'par excellence' in the city.... Some of them (quadroons) possessed handsome fortunes but their position in the community was most humiliating. They regarded Negroes and mulattoes with unmixed contempt.²⁰

This showed a marked desire of the quadroon women to imitate whites and by so doing to raise their social and economic statuses. By their illicit relationships with white men they were able to enforce the already existing caste-bonds. Though they were despised and considered humiliating by white women, their positions were envied and even praised by "pure-blooded" slaves. Hence they formed a mid-stratum in the pre-existing bi-racial caste system in New Orleans. Attempts to identify themselves with whites were probably responsible for their aversions to marrying men of their own color. Concerning this, Grace King says:

.... hence their relaxation and deviation from if not their complete denial of the code of morality accepted by white women, and their consequent adoption of a separate standard of morals for themselves, and forcing it upon the community and upon the men of their own colour. Assuming as a merit and a distinction what is universally considered in the civilized world a shame and a disgrace by their sex, their training of their daughters had but one end in view, and secretly still claiming the racial license of

²⁰ Ibid., pp, 343-44.

Africa, they were, in regard to family purity, domestic peace, and household dignity, the most insidious and the deadliest foes a community ever possessed. Many of the quadroon belles, however, attained honourable marriages, and removing themselves to France, obtained full social recognition for themselves and their children.²¹

Herbert Asbury gives an entirely different picture of the quadroon women:

Most of the quadroon girls who formed such a disturbing factor in the social and family life of early New Orleans lived in little one-story white houses along the present line of Rampart Street. Few, if any, were prostitutes; so far as circumstances permitted, their rearing had been identical with that of white girls. Fundamentally, the aims of the quadroon and the Creole maidens were likewise identical - to attract a white man, preferably rich, who would protect them from the storms and hardships of life. The main difference lay in the fact that to the white girl this protection meant marriage, and children born with the blessings of Church and state; while the quadroon could hope for nothing better than to become the white man's mistress. And rare indeed was the young Creole gentleman who didn't have a quadroon sweetheart cozily installed in one of the little houses near the ramparts where he supported her in style commensurate with his wealth. So long as the relations between them continued - nearly always for many years and frequently for life - the quadroon almost invariably remained faithful to her lover. And when the connection was broken, by marriage of the white man or for some other reason, she usually received a compensation sufficient to maintain her for the rest of her life or to set her up in business. They became modistes or hairdressers, owned slaves whose labors brought them in a comfortable revenue, and in later years had a practical monopoly of the business of operating high class boarding houses for white bachelors.²²

In Queen New Orleans, Harnett T. Kane says, "Certain

²¹ Ibid., pp. 347-48.

²² Herbert Asbury, French Quarter, (New York: Garden City Pub. Co., Inc., 1936), pp. 129-30.

New Orleans men were known to maintain two families-- the white, accepted one, and the darker, unaccepted and unacceptable."²³

The greatest ambition of the quadroon mother was to have her children pass for white and enjoy the social privileges accorded their newly acquired statuses. No sacrifice was too great if it led to the attainment of this end. Laws were passed to prevent this, but they were not too effective, for after having gone such great lengths to obtain desirable ends, legal documents were no obstacle, especially since officials could be so easily bribed.²⁴

The quadroon men regarded the position of their women with tacit acquiescence. It was considered a breach of the racial etiquette for them to be present when white gentlemen came to visit their homes. They became planters, real estate brokers, musicians, mechanics, and attained distinctive positions in other circles. They usually married women of their own status and led quiet, dignified lives.²⁵

J. Religious Background

The theory of E. Franklin Frazier that the Negro adopted those religions to which he was most exposed is well exem-

²³ Kane, op. cit., p. 183.

²⁴ King, op. cit., pp. 347-48.

²⁵ Ibid., pp. 344-46, citing Charles Gayarre, History of Louisiana (New Orleans: F.F. Hansell and Brother, 1903)

plified by the case of New Orleans Negroes.²⁶ The Spaniards and French who settled the city were predominantly Catholic and attempted to spread their faith by extending it to their slaves, willingly, or otherwise. The law of Louisiana permitted "the exercise of the Roman Catholic Creed only. Every other mode of worship is prohibited. Negroes placed under direction or supervision of any person other than a Catholic are liable to confiscation."²⁷

The attitude of the Catholic Church represented a sharp contrast to the attitudes of Southern slaveholders. While many Catholic priests and clergy had slaveholdings, they still fought against human bondage. They held that slavery, apart from abuses and cruelty, was not contrary to divine law, but they realized also that the institution very seldom existed without some evil concomitants or consequences. Until 1895, Negroes enjoyed full participation in the activities of the Catholic Church without segregation. With the establishment of St. Katherine's Church for Negro Catholics in that same year, this participation ended.

Just before the Civil War, many mutual aid organizations were able to attract the attentions of the Negro away

²⁶ E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro in the United States (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949), pp. 334-335, and passim.

²⁷ The Black Codes of Louisiana, 1724, Articles II, III, IV.

For more extensive discussion of slave ownership by Catholic Clergy, see Roger Baudier, The Catholic Church in Louisiana (New Orleans, 1939), pp. 89, 108-109, and passim.

from Catholicism by using as their basic philosophies the abolition of slavery and admission to other religions on the terms of brotherhood, complete equality, and freedom of association. Especially successful in this venture were the Scottish Rite Masons.²⁸

Well known among Negroes and whites of New Orleans was the practice of voodooism as a type of religion. This practice was believed to have originated in Santo Domingo and to have arrived in New Orleans with the influx of people from the West Indies. Traces of it are still believed to be found in the city.²⁹

Probably the greatest religious achievement made by Negroes in New Orleans was the founding of the Congregation of the Sisters of the Holy Family by three young women of color with the intention of devoting "their lives, education, and wealth to the cause of religion and charity among their own people."³⁰ It was a great coincidence that this order should choose as its headquarters the Orleans Ballroom in which the celebrated Quadroon Balls were held.

The Orleans Ballroom was saved from the fire which destroyed the Theatre d'Orleans in 1866 and for several years after the Civil War was used as the Criminal Courtroom of the Parish of Orleans. In 1881, the building was purchased by the Sisters of the Holy Family, an order of Negro nuns founded in 1842. Above the stairway on which once had trailed the silks

²⁸ Rousseve, op. cit., pp. 41-42.

²⁹ King, op. cit., p. 342.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 348.

and satins of the beautiful quadroons, the Sisters placed this inscription: 'I have chosen rather to be an abject in the house of the Lord than to dwell in the temple with the sinners.' Today the old ballroom is used as the assembly hall of the order's convent.³¹

It was from these beginnings that the Negroes of present day New Orleans have descended. It is the contention of the author that their attitudes concerning almost every phase of life today are in some way rooted in this historical background.

³¹ Asbury, op. cit., p. 462.

CHAPTER III

THE SURVEY DATA

In this chapter the survey data will be presented in three groups. In the first generation, the ages of the subjects range from sixty through eighty. This group represents those persons who are old enough to have grandchildren belonging to the third generation.

The ages of those persons in group two, which represents the second generation, range from thirty-six through fifty-nine. Included here are those persons who have or are old enough to have children belonging to the third generation.

The ages of those persons in the third group, which represents the third generation, range from seventeen through thirty-five.

In group one, five persons were interviewed, one male and four females. Included in group two were eleven females and nine males, totalling twenty for this generation. There were twenty-five persons in the third group, nine males and sixteen females.

The data are further subdivided into the following categories: religion, education, politics, race, class, marriage, and sex.

A. Group One1. Family Background

All members of this group claimed French ancestry. More French customs and cultural patterns were found in this group because of chronological proximity of this group to the French cultural environment.¹

2. Religion

- Case No. 13 - Mother of eight children, fourteen grandchildren. The family of the subject is traditionally Catholic. Her grandmother was employed by a Catholic priest and her aunt became a nun. She said, "To me, religion is the most important factor in my life. That is the only way in which we can save our souls. I believe that Catholicism is the only way in which I can express my religious beliefs." She displayed a very tolerant attitude toward other faiths: "Sincerity is what counts most."
- Case No. 14 - Father of eight children, fourteen grandchildren. "We are a family of God-fearing people. Religion has always held the highest place in my family.... We are traditionally Catholic."
- Case No. 33 - No children. Baptist. "My whole life is centered around church activities now. When I was younger, there were lots of other things to do but they don't interest me now.... I feel that no matter what faith we practice we can be saved if we really believe in that faith."
- Case No. 34 - Mother of seven children, twenty-nine grandchildren, fifteen great-grandchildren. She is affiliated with numerous church organizations and religious activities. Everyone in her family was Catholic except her maternal great-

¹ For a more extensive discussion of Family Background and Customs for all three generations, see Appendices A and B.

grandmother who was Methodist. "Other religions are all right but Catholicism is the one true faith."

Case No. 37 - Mother of three children, thirteen grandchildren, five great-grandchildren. Catholic. She believed in strict adherence to Church dogma. "I consulted God and the priest before I made any big decision."

In the homes of all Catholics interviewed in this group were altars, statues, pictures of saints to whom special devotions were practiced, and other outward manifestations of faith. In the home of the Baptist person interviewed, there was a picture of a saint hanging over the bed.²

3. Education

Case No. 13 - Stressed the fact that a high degree of education was not as important in her youth as it is today-- "at least not for girls." She added, "Now you need a college degree to do almost any kind of respectable work.... That's why I've tried to give my children as much education as possible so that they could be prepared to face whatever comes." She expressed her belief that education should not be forced upon any individual. There was reluctance on the part of the subject to express an opinion on educational integration. She declared, "We would be satisfied if our schools were just as good as theirs."

Case No. 14 - "I didn't have too much education myself.... I am fortunate in that I was able to give my children as much education as was necessary to help them to make a place for themselves in the worldI am willing to help my grandchildren too as long as I am able." Concerning integration, he said, "If that's the only way we can get equality, I guess it'll have to be---I don't know if I like it or not."

Case No. 33 - "In my day, you could get a fairly good job with just an eighth grade education. Now everybody's crying for college degrees.... If I had any children, I'd do my best to see them through college."

² Here is an example of religious syncretism.

....No, I don't think I like the idea of integration so well-- at least not now."

Case No. 34 - Believed education to be extremely important, "in these trying times." She added, "It's especially important in trying to get good jobs." She compared the success of her grandchildren who had attended and completed college with the lack of or at least a lesser degree of success on the part of those who had not attended college. She was completely intolerant of any kind of integration: "We want equality of opportunity, not social integration."

Case No. 37 - "There's no doubt about the importance of education, especially today." Concerning integration she said, "It will probably work out well if people give it a fair chance."

4. Politics.

Case No. 13 - No response.

Case No. 14 - Registered Democrat. "I enjoy talking about political affairs now and then....It's nice to be able to look back over the years and see the progress Negroes have made.... All these rallies are for young people....I just cast my ballot for the best candidate....Politics is very important to Negroes now-- that's the only way they can get the things they want."

Case No. 33 - "From what I've seen politics are a little too dirty sometimes....It's safer to stay out of the picture.... Young people know more about things like that. I'd like to see them run the show."

Case No. 34 - "I don't know too much about this subject.... I can see the importance of politics for NegroesI am not a registered voter, but my husband is a Democrat..."

Case No. 37 - No response.

5. Race

Case No. 13 - "No, I'm not prejudiced....We can do well alone." She related several unpleasant experiences with whites and then said, "They're deceitful people. You have to keep right with them." She violent-

ly disapproved of interracial marriages.

Case No. 14 - "I can't say when I first became aware of the situation. I guess ever since I can remember.No, I don't think I am prejudiced but I think as long as whites stay to themselves and leave us alone we can do well....I am suspicious and resentful of them.... You can't help being that way when you think of some things they do...." Disapproved of interracial marriages.

Case No. 33 - Spoke constantly of "Negroes who look like white" sometimes with contempt, sometimes with admiration. She expressed contempt for those who attempted to cross or succeeded in crossing the color line. She felt that both races would fare better if they continued on a separate basis, "at least for a little while longer." She disapproved of interracial marriages because "the white partner always has some ulterior motive."

Case No. 34 - "I cannot really remember my first awareness of the racial situation. I can remember a time when churches were not segregated....No, I don't think I'm prejudiced....All people are equal." No response on interracial marriages.

Case No. 37 - "No, I'm not prejudiced. I have always associated with whites on a friendly basis. I've known good ones and bad ones. It's always good to get to know them well before you trust them too much." No response on interracial marriage.

6. Class

Cases 13 & 14- Both held that class was determined by morals. We belong to the upper class....Many people say that money is the determinant of class, but we don't think so. A person can't help coming out on top if he's good."³

Case No. 33 - Believed class should be determined by money. She said it was formerly determined by color. "I think I should fall about in the middle class."

Case No. 34 - "I guess we are in the middle class. We don't own our property, but my son owns it...." She

³ In many cases, two individuals belonging to the same household or family expressed their opinions jointly.

believed that education and money are the determinants of social class. She added, "not so much color and family background any more."

Case No. 37 - "Education determines class. My family belongs to the upper class. A lot of people still think family background determines class.... Money still counts, of course, but not as much as before.... You don't hear so much about color determining class as you used to hear...."

7. Marriage

Case No. 13 - "Marriage is very important. When I was a girl that's all we looked forward to. It's not so much like that now. Of course, I imagine all girls want to get married and have children, but there are so many opportunities now that they put it off longer. We began preparing for marriage almost as soon as we knew what the word meant...."

Case No. 14- "God intended for man to get married to propagate the race.... I think every man should get married.... I always wanted to get married and have a big family...."

Case No. 33 - "Marriage is the best vocation a woman can have I don't think a girl should jump into it before she has a chance to look around.... Go away from the South.... There are lots of nice young doctors, lawyers, and businessmen away from here waiting to meet nice girls...."

Case No. 34 - "Marriage should be the goal for every young girl.... She should be prepared to be a good housewife and mother.... and to help her husband advance more rapidly...."

Case No. 37 - "Every woman should get married.... A woman's place is at a man's side as his companion, not as his competitor.... A woman doesn't know the fullness of life until she has had a child.... We were prepared at a very early age.... You didn't hear of nearly as many divorces then either...."

8. Sex

Cases 13 & 14- Were sheltered from sexual facts. They followed the same pattern with their children. "The knowledge of such things is important-- especially today, but the decision as to when and how they should be discussed rests with the mother." Pre-marital and extra-marital

sexual relationships were held to be morally wrong and contrary to religious principles.

- Case No. 33- "No one told us anything.... We whispered about sex until our parents finally dropped a few hints." She pointed out the necessity of telling children about sex at an early age now-- "It seems as if youngsters today know everything from the time they can talk...." She disagreed violently with the idea of pre-marital and extra-marital sexual relationships.
- Case No. 34 - "I was told stork stories and I used the same method with my children. I told them that Santa Claus brought them or that they came on a ship.... I liked to see their minds kept innocent as long as possible.... I think that girls should be told about sex at an early age so they will be able to act accordingly." She disagreed violently with pre-marital and extra-marital sexual relationships.
- Case No. 37 - Was not told anything about sex until just before she was married. "I followed the same pattern with my children.... I don't see anything wrong with keeping it from youngsters...." She disagreed with pre-marital and extra-marital relationships.

B. Group Two

1. Religion

- Case No. 2 - Mother of three children; housewife; seamstress. "I think religion is a good moral guide. Catholicism is the faith which best expresses my beliefs.... All of our family practices are centered around our religious training.... Our family is traditionally Catholic."
- Case No. 4 - Mother of two children; housewife. She viewed religion as the foundation of her life. Her family is traditionally Catholic. "My whole life has been centered around my faith -- it has helped me through the most trying circumstances. It is a very essential part of the life of every normal individual, and I believe it should play the major role in all phases of life."
- Case No. 7 - Mother of six children; housewife; from a traditionally Catholic family. "Religion is very important for unity in the family, in faith, and in our spiritual and moral lives It

should be our guiding light.... Belief is essential, I mean, we should sincerely believe in whatever principles of faith by which we pattern our lives...."

- Case No. 12 - Mother of three children; housewife; from a traditionally Catholic family. "Everyone needs some religion; some spiritual security. Catholicism is the only faith I have ever known, naturally I prefer it.... If Protestants sincerely believe, they can be saved...."
- Case No. 17 - Mother of three children; housewife; from a traditionally Catholic family. "God helps us to do everything and we should recognize Him through devotions. I love being a Catholic. It has given me faith in life, and strength where all else has failed." She believed that "Protestantism is all right for those who sincerely believe in it."
- Case No. 20 - Father of five children; college professor; from a traditionally Catholic family. "Religion is fundamentally the guiding rule of our daily lives, conduct, and ideals.... It guides our destinies.... and gives purpose to our lives Protestants should be respected because the individual has a right to hold his own convictions if he is really sincere...."
- Case No. 25 - Mother of two children; housewife; from a traditionally Catholic family. She believed that religion is important because "our religion makes up our lives.... Catholicism and the principles contained therein determine our philosophy of life. We try to make it an integral part of our daily lives, a living thing... Faith in God keeps people going in time of crises.... We accept Protestants with the hope of converting them by our example, but with the realization that each person has the right to worship as he chooses...."
- Cases 26 & 27 - Father of five children, government employee, and his sister, a teacher. Both have always been Catholic and are from a traditionally Catholic family. They held that religion played the major part in their lives. "All people have the right to profess their faiths as they see fit as long as there is no interference with the rights and privileges of their neighbors...."
- Case No. 29 - Mother of four children; housewife. Baptist. "My husband and children are Catholic.... Religion acts as the guide in all of our lives...."

I decide upon nothing until I have asked God's help. I am a Baptist because I believe it is a very fine faith.... I have benefited by the prayers of Catholics.... I do believe in confession as a relief from sins and because confession is good for the soul...."

- Case No. 30 - Father of two children; college professor. From a traditionally Catholic family. "Religion plays the most important part in our lives.... It is a good moral and spiritual guide...."
- Case No. 36 - Mother of three children; teacher; traditionally Catholic. She felt that religion is more important as a form of control in this (meaning the third) generation because of less parental control. "We must all abide by some religious teachings...." When questioned about Protestantism, she said, "The faith which a person practices doesn't matter as long as the religion teaches something of God and the true doctrines of Christianity..."
- Case No. 38 - Father of two children; college instructor. "Religion is the foundation of my life. It is the yardstick by which I measure my actions.... I believe that people have the right to choose their own religions...."
- Case No. 40 - Father of two children; government employee; from a traditionally Catholic family. "Religion plays an important part, the major part, in my life.... People are entitled to practice what they believe...."
- Cases 42 & 43 - Mother and father of three children; the father is a high school principal, the mother is a librarian. Both were from traditionally Catholic families. "Religion is very important.... It has a very important influence over every aspect of our lives." They displayed a very tolerant attitude toward Protestantism.
- Case No. 44 - Father of three children; high school principal; from a traditionally Catholic family. He stressed how religion set the moral standards by which he has and does guide his life and that of his family as far as possible. He approved of Protestantism because "everyone has a right to practice his beliefs."
- Case No. 47 - Father of three children; college instructor; from a traditionally Catholic family. "My faith has helped me to live a fuller life - not just for myself, but also for my family...."

Protestantism is okay-- everyone has the right to practice his own religious beliefs...."

Case No. 49 - Father of six children; lawyer; from a traditionally Catholic family. He stressed the fact that in all phases of life he and his family have been deeply influenced by Catholic dogma, especially through constant practice and sincere belief.

2. Education

Case No. 2 - "Education is important for economic advancement and to raise living standards. Without education, jobs are very limited.... Having two years of college training doesn't help much.... It helps a lot in personal knowledge, manners, and the like, but not so much economically...." The subject had two years of college training and has returned to complete her education. She expressed an in-between attitude on educational integration.

Case No. 4 - "I feel that wherever possible, a professional education is necessary to raise the standards of living and to be prepared to meet crises.... I would like to see my children educated in as many fields as possible." She completely favored educational integration. "That's the only way we can have equality. There can be no separate but equal system." The subject completed one semester of college training.

Case No. 7 - "Since my husband and I didn't have much education, we are trying to help our children to reach whatever goals they decide upon After they are happily married, we can feel successful." She stressed the importance of education in the maintenance of decent living standards. She completely favored educational integration.

Case No. 12 - "Without education, there cannot be complete independence...." The subject stressed the importance of education for the maintenance of economic security, and displayed a completely favorable attitude toward educational integration.

Case No. 17 - "I find education very important. In my youth, we didn't have as many educational opportunities I want my children to be well educated because it provides security for them...." She disapproved of educational integration.

Case No. 20 - Stressed that education has always been important, even in ancient cultures. "It gives broader objectives, makes important contributions,

especially in the study of cultural patterns, and makes for more responsible individuals.... Integration is the only answer to the cry for complete democracy. It will show that America can solve its own problems and thwart the attempts of those enemies of democracy who are trying to overthrow it by maximizing its weaknesses." The subject had completed college.

- Case No. 25 - Viewed education as the only hope the Negro has of "getting what is rightly his.... It is necessary to prove to the world that we have what it takes." Education was also viewed as being important for economic and cultural advancement. Concerning educational integration, she said, "If integration is the only way we can get equality, then, I'm for it."
- Cases 26 & 27 - Discussed the importance of education in terms of the cultural advancement of the nation as a whole. "Rapid technological advances make education practically imperative.... The increases in population make competition greater and specialization more necessary.... It is much harder for an untrained individual to get along Integration is necessary because separate but equal doesn't exist.... Where the majority group is in control, there is always the tendency to give more to that group, intentionally or unintentionally.... Educational integration will be the first step toward preserving equality of opportunity for all groups...."
- Case No. 29 - "Education has helped me to supervise my children properly and to live peacefully with members of other races.... It is tremendously important because it makes good citizens, helps and teaches us how to govern ourselves in such a way that we can take our rightful places in society Desegregated education will help more than anything else in breaking down racial barriers and bringing world peace and harmony."
- Case No. 30 - Felt that in a sense education helps but in another sense it frustrates. "It does aid in the wise use of leisure time." He completely favored educational integration. The subject had received the Master of Arts degree.
- Case No. 31 - Discussed the importance of education in order to live together and work together more successfully with others. "It is necessary in order to live a full life." Master of Arts degree.
- Case No. 36 - Felt that education is most important today. She compared the present system of education

with the system when she was in school. She said, "There have been great changes in almost every department." Concerning educational integration, she answered, "It's okay." The subject is a college graduate.

- Case No. 38 - Felt that education is important for the survival of the human race because it is "the only means through which we can arrive at a lasting peace It has prepared me for my livelihood and has given me a more democratic outlook where others are concerned.... It has helped me to help others." Concerning integration, he said, "It can't get here fast enough.... I want my children to attain the maximum of their abilities and desires...." College graduate.
- Case No. 40 - Had received two years of college training, and felt that education is important "for earning a livelihood, for the understanding of people and of current happenings.... Integration should be put into effect as soon as possible.... It will be in keeping with Christian and democratic principles.... All men are brothers under God's Fatherhood and are created equal...."
- Cases 42&43 - "Education is becoming increasingly important as machines take over and specialization becomes more necessary." Both highly favored educational integration. Case No. 42 - college graduate; Case No. 43 - Master of Arts degree.
- Case No. 44 - "Integration was done backwards. It should have started at the elementary level.... It's easier to develop attitudes than to change them The only things that will eventually help the Negroes are education and character building.... Too many misunderstand what education should be It is the salvation of the race.... It must be well-rounded.... Public schools give a good education, but not enough polish" The subject had received the Master of Arts degree.
- Case No. 47 - "Education is no more important now than formerly, but it should be emphasized more now because of more competition due to advanced technologies and improved educational facilities." The subject approved completely of educational integration and had received the Master of Arts degree.
- Case No. 49 - "The importance of education for better employment opportunities and economic advancement in the United States, and elsewhere, is definitely increasing.... It makes for better appreciation

of job opportunities, property, and material things I believe in complete integration, social, educational, and otherwise." L.L.B. degree.

5. Politics

- Case No. 2 - Democrat. "I am interested in learning more about politics I don't think any gains were made under the Republican regime.... Those things that came about were inevitable.... I would vote a split ticket I am a Democrat because it is more convenient to be a Democrat in Louisiana"
- Case No. 4 - Felt that party affiliations are unimportant. "I am a Democrat because that is the only party through which I can participate in all elections in Louisiana It is extremely important to know something about the candidates for office Less crookedness and more cleanliness are necessary in the political field...."
- Case No. 7 - "Politics is extremely important because through this means, Negroes can achieve much more.... I am a Democrat...."
- Case No. 12 - "Through political participation, Negroes can get what they need and claim what is rightly theirs.... I have a very limited knowledge of politics and I am interested in learning more...." Registered Democrat.
- Case No. 17 - "I don't know much about politics. I am not a registered voter, however, I do plan to register."
- Case No. 20 - "Through political organizations we have achieved the highest form of self-government. Politics is necessary to determine the achievability of rights and to maintain those rights.... I am a Democrat because it is important to participate locally...."
- Case No. 25 - "Political action is the most peaceful way of attaining democratic ends.... It is important to know something about the candidates for election because they will act as representatives of the nation.... I am a Democrat."
- Cases 26&27 - "Political organizations are necessary in the choice of lawmakers It is necessary that we participate as a racial group to receive just standards, to prevent, or at least to limit the racial double standard. We are Democrats because of the Democratic concern for the small man...."

- Case No. 29 - "I don't know much about politics but I do think it is important primarily because we are able to choose those persons we want to represent usI am a Democrat...."
- Case No. 30 - "I vote according to my beliefs.... Political action is very important.... Our participation is necessary in order to insure that political institutions are so run that we can obtain benefits and retain our freedom.... I am a Democrat."
- Case No. 31 - "The country is ruled through political organizations, therefore we should participate. I am a Democrat because Democrats are more liberal and give better opportunities to our people...."
- Case No. 36 - "Voting is a right that must be exercised Certainly we can see the progress that is being made through political action by looking at our own race.... I am a Democrat...."
- Case No. 38 - "Voting gives the individual the opportunity to exercise his rights by expressing his views.... Wherever there are groups of people attempting to express themselves, you have politics - especially when there are two sides in disagreement. Without politics we would have dictatorship, that's why politics is both important and necessary.... I am a Democrat."
- Case No. 40 - "I am a Republican because Negroes have no representation on a policy-making level in the Democratic party in Louisiana and can only participate as spectators in a state or national convention.... Politics is very important to Negroes because they can force the enactment of more democratic legislation through the proper use of voting power, and can vote out of office those who are inimicable to the best interests of the true democratic state..."
- Cases 42&43 - "There should be more interest in politics on the part of Negroes.... During this period the Democratic party is the only one which has been able to influence conditions.... We are Democrats...."
- Case No. 44 - "Political action will bring economic security rather than racial respect.... Participation is necessary.... I have always been registered as a Democrat because I like to vote in all elections -- also as a matter of expediency..."
- Case No. 47 - "Politics are definitely important. The whole field of politics has definitely influenced the Negro.... We are not only actively engaged but

we are also actively benefiting.... Here is afforded a good opportunity for the Negro to prove himself.... I am a Democrat...."

Case No. 49 - "Political participation offers the opportunity to participate in government administration, to increase employment opportunities, to improve community standards, to increase police protection, to increase appropriations set aside for Negro institutions.... It will also increase the recognition of the worth and the human dignity of the Negro.... I am now a Democrat, however, I was a Republican until 1946. Participation as a Republican was too limited. I was successful in removing the barriers in the case of Hall versus Nagel and as a result, Negro registration increased tremendously. This victory was followed by a change in my party affiliations in order to guide large numbers of Negroes who were registered as Democrats. More and wider participation is necessary...."

4. Race

Case No. 2 - "My first awareness of the racial situation came as a child when I was not allowed to play outdoors on election day because of whites.... I can't help it, I just don't like white people I certainly would disapprove of the marriage of any of my children to a white person...."

Case No. 4 - "I first came in contact with racial problems as a child when told to sit in the back of the streetcar 'where I belonged'. I became resentful and aggressive rather than prejudiced.... This feeling was deepened when I was old enough to realize the full effects of the racial situation.... So far as race is concerned, with regard to marriage, the choice should be left to the individual...."

Case No. 7 - Held that she really should not be colored because throughout her ancestry there had only been two Negroes (biologically), while others were biologically white, if not actually so. "I am not prejudiced because I feel that all people are equal....I do want equality of opportunity rather than social acceptance.... I wouldn't like for my children to marry white persons...."

Case No. 12 - Did not remember how she first came in contact with the racial situation. She held that she was hardly prejudiced, if at all, however, she objected to interracial marriages.

- Case No. 17 - Said that racial differences were first explained to her by her mother. She stereotyped whites and displayed a very intolerant attitude. ".... I wouldn't want any of my children to marry whites.... I wouldn't even consider it...."
- Case No. 20 - "I always liked to stand in the front of the streetcar with the motorman. I was told to stand in the rear when I was a child. This left me with a desire to remove the barriers rather than prejudiced.... I don't believe in making distinctions among people.... I have no objection to interracial marriages.... Marriage is a contract between two people which no one else can determine...."
- Case No. 25 - "I don't think I am extremely prejudiced, however, I do prefer to stick to conventionalities." No response when questioned about interracial marriages.
- Cases 26&27 - "Our first experience was at pre-school age when we had to watch our white neighbors enjoy things which we were not allowed to use, such as, parks, neighborhood playgrounds, and neighborhood movies and amusements.... This naturally left us prejudiced, to some extent. Interracial marriages depend upon the individuals involved.... A racial accident does not provide sufficient ground for disapproval...."
- Case No. 29 - "There was no unpleasant experience for me until a little neighbor tried to tell my young daughter that she was colored and therefore different.... My daughter resented it, as I had never explained anything concerning the racial situation to her.... I had always lived in the neighborhood and no difference had ever been made, therefore, I didn't think it was necessary to explain things to her at such an early age.... This did not leave me prejudiced. I consider myself very open-minded where the racial situation is concerned." The subject gave no response on interracial marriages.
- Case No. 30 - "My first experience came when a white family took me to the movies with them. Negroes objected because I was bi-racial. They complained to the manager.... This left me puzzled and to a certain extent, prejudiced.... It taught me that one is just as good as another.... Insofar as marriage is concerned with regard to race, I don't think any difference should be made...."

- Case No. 31 - "I learned of the situation in my early childhood. I lived in a mixed neighborhood.... I am not prejudiced.... I am resentful of the situation as it is.... I have no objections to interracial marriages, not even where my own children would be concerned...."
- Case No. 36 - "My first experience came out of curiosity -- especially concerning screens on streetcars and public vehicles. I don't remember any unpleasant experiences with whites.... Love is more important than race.... Race is only an accident...."
- Case No. 38 - "I am prejudiced.... Conditioning has made me so.... I wouldn't object to my children marrying whites if that's what they wanted and if society would allow them to live as they so desired...."
- Case No. 40 - "The actual impact of the racial situation was received through riding streetcars.... Once, a white woman slapped my face.... She had stepped on my foot and when I complained, she told me to put it in my pocket where it belonged, so I stepped back on her foot.... Then she slapped my face.... I attempted to stab her with a toy pocket knife that I had found but a Negro man stopped me and said, 'Don't you know that's a white woman?' I was only eight or nine years old then but it made a lasting impression.... I am still prejudiced.... I can get along with any of them.... Others can marry them if they'd like to but I've had too much trouble with them.... I wouldn't want my children to marry them either.... too close for comfort...."
- Cases 42&43 - "We think in terms of the human race rather than in terms of any particular subdivisions.We have no objections whatsoever to interracial marriages...."
- Case No. 44 - "I hate anything that says 'colored only'.... I can see the shortcomings caused by segregation, especially in job opportunities and educational facilities.... College gave me my first contact with the better class of whites.... I prefer to maintain a more nonchalant attitude...."
- Case No. 47 - "I am not prejudiced.... I am 100% for Negro gains.... Marriage is a contract between two and only two people...."
- Case No. 49 - "The situation has created a feeling of resentment.... My prejudices are directed against

individuals rather than the whole white race.
The white race is, on the whole, as good
 as the Negro race.... Interracial marriage is
 a personal matter.... I have no objections...."

5. Class

- Case No. 2 - Felt that wealth is the determinant of class.
 "I belong to the middle class...."
- Case No. 4 - "Except for finances, I would be in the upper
 social class.... I believe education, way of
 life, and financial background determine social
 class.... Family background is, to some extent,
 important also...."
- Case No. 7 - "Socially speaking, we belong to the middle class
We have a nice car, we own our home, and
 we are comfortably well-off.... Morally speak-
 ing, we belong to the upper class...."
- Case No. 12 - "The determinants of social class are educa-
 tion, social contacts, environment, material
 goods, and family background,... According
 to these criteria, we belong to the middle
 class...."
- Case No. 17 - Based the determinants for social class upon
 morals. "...that's why I think I belong to
 the upper class...."
- Case No. 20 - "The idea of class is not as important now as
 it was twenty, thirty, or forty years ago. It
 was previously determined by family background
It is now determined by the levels achieved
 by those things which the members of each class
 have in common, such as, education, occupation,
 income, etc.... I hope I belong to the class of
 people who look forward to brotherhood...."
- Case No. 25 - "Class is probably determined by money, but it
 was previously determined by hair and color....
 Family connections also played a large role....
 Education doesn't play as large a part as it
 should because people in New Orleans aren't
 educational minded...."
- Cases 26&27 - No response.
- Case No. 29 - Believed that wealth and social environment
 determined social class.
- Case No. 30 - "Class is determined by economic circumstances
 I don't agree with this because it tends
 to divide people.....According to social
 standards, I belong to the upper middle class."



- Case No. 31 - "To me, there is no such thing as class...."
- Case No. 36 - "Class is determined by education and profession...."
- Case No. 38 - "The whole thing is based on imitations.... There is no such thing as social class.... I don't want to be labelled as belonging to any."
- Case No. 40 - Related that class was formerly determined by color, then by money, occupation, and family background. "Now, class is based upon money and education.... The uneducated persons are being gradually squeezed out of social circlesMore emphasis should also be placed on morals. Many intelligent persons have never had a chance. Everyone has a chance to be good.... More emphasis is being placed on individual achievement....Where income is concerned, I belong to the lower upper class, but I lack the material manifestations of the upper class, therefore I am in the middle class...."
- Cases 42&43 - "Class should be based not merely on wealth, but also on education, environment, and background...."
- Case No. 44 - "In the downtown area, class has been determined by family background, a sense of false superiority.... In the uptown area, money is the determinant of class in most cases...."
- Case No. 47 - "Class is determined by the spiritual, intellectual, and cultural standing of groups of individuals, and by social environments...."
- Case No. 49 - "The Negro lacks a middle class and I don't belong to the lower class.... I would belong to the middle class, but under the circumstances as they exist in New Orleans, I am in the upper class.... Class is determined by education, economic standards, and social environment...."

6. Marriage

- Case No. 2 - "Marriage is nice, but it's nothing to rush into.... A girl should take her time, get on her feet, and make sure she's well on her way to success first...."
- Case No. 4 - "I think certain qualities are necessary in a man before a girl considers marriage.... I looked for a man of Christian faith, preferably a Catholic, who believed in a calm home life, wanted a family, and intended to understand,

love, and support his family and to educate our children, with a desire for them to be able to make a place for themselves in the world.... I wanted to be a good wife, to rear my children with a good Catholic background, to give them a good home and the knowledge necessary to face life.... With me, marriage came first, to the extent of making any sacrifices to make it successful...."

- Case No. 12 - "Marriage is a wonderful vocation.... I think all young girls should be married, unless they have a higher calling...."
- Case No. 17 - "Marriage is very wonderful and very important It should be taken very seriously, as a holy sacrament.... The husband, should above all, love and support his family.... The wife should do the things which most please her husband as well as her children, as far as possible.... She should do the most for family unity...."
- Case No. 20 - "Marriage is, without question from the religious viewpoint, for procreation and should be the basis upon which the adult male will found his place in society.... It should be the key to his social and moral life, and therefore should be given great respect. A wife should put forth the most effort to make a marriage secure.... The wife actually is the greatest contributor. She has an even greater part than the husband because it is her major role.... The husband has many other roles. The basic duties of both are mutual sharing and forbearing, understanding, and cooperation. Both must give their best in the making of a successful marriage plant and in the rearing of their children.... There is no fifty-fifty in marriage. You must give it the best that you have...."
- Case No. 25 - "Marriage should be the foundation of the nation- as the family goes, so goes the nation. It is a very sacred institution and should be highly respected.... A husband should be respectable, hard-working, and a Catholic for those of Catholic faith.... A wife should have her husband's interest at heart...."
- Cases 26&27 - "Marriage should be the representation of God's own Holy Family, and therefore should be kept sacred.... One should look for honesty, trustworthiness, good religious background, and similar interests and ideals. The man should be responsible for his family.... The wife should be a good home-maker as well as help with the social activities of home and community...."

Both should set good example for their children to follow...."

- Case No. 30 - "Marriage is the creation of another family unit in society. Man should look for a wife who is stable, progressive, willing to help him, makes his problems her own.... Both should have common social and cultural interests.... They should be of the same religious faith to keep from creating mental blocks in the minds of their children...."
- Case No. 31 - "Without marriage, the continuation of the human race would be impossible.... It is an expression of Christian ideals...."
- Case No. 36 - "We had to establish family stability and to increase family prestige.... This made for many late marriages during my day.... Things are quite different now.... Security is by all means important and necessary.... Educational and employment opportunities are increasing and make for earlier marriages today...."
- Case No. 38 - "Marriage should be the goal of all normal individuals.... Wives should be compatible with their husbands in every respect; they should be understanding, sacrificing, and should have the ability to plan for the future.... Everyone should marry at some time.... especially for companionship, guidance, and procreation. Each should be faithful to the other and both should be good parents...."
- Case No. 40 - "Marriage should play the major role in the life of every normal individual.... Both husband and wife should be considerate and faithful to each other.... They should have common social and cultural interests...."
- Cases 42&43 - "Marriage should be the major goal for which one strives.... Both husband and wife should have good moral backgrounds, concepts of the home as a stable, permanent, spiritual institution, and similar ideals and interests...."
- Case No. 44 - Based his ideals of marriage upon the teachings of the Catholic Church.
- Case No. 47 - "To me, my marriage is everything.... I try to keep it holy and happy.... It is important to think in terms of our children...."
- Case No. 49 - "Marriage is a very important institution which should be taken seriously.... It should be everyone's goal...."

7.- Sex

- Case No. 2 - Was sheltered from sexual knowledge and followed the same pattern with her children. She discussed the subject with some difficulty and many restraints...."The less you know, the less curious you will be...."
- Case No. 4 - "Children should be instructed according to age, need, and situation. What should be told and when it should be told depends upon the child.... These things should be explained in a Christian way in order to increase respect.... We weren't told anything, in fact, I was fifteen years old and I still believed I came out of a cabbage.... Pre-marital and extra-marital sexual relationships mar the possibility of good morals and cause family discord.... A man has nothing to lose by such actions, not that it makes him any less wrong.... The girl has less chance of finding a good husband when she engages in pre-marital sexual relationships...."
- Case No. 7 - "Parents should take time and talk to their children about sex.... I learned through experience.... in fact, I had been married a year and was pregnant before I learned the true facts about childbirth." Pre-marital and extra-marital sexual relationships were tabooed. "Virtue should be preserved in all young women to avoid disillusioning their husbands...."
- Case No. 17 - "I think young children and young adults should know all about sex.... I learned through a friend and her mother.... Because of my background, I found myself ashamed to tell my children.... I didn't tell them all I should have nor all I probably would have if I had been reared differently.... Pre-marital and extra-marital sexual relationships are definitely wrong.... against my moral and religious principles...."
- Case No. 20 - "There was no attempt to mislead us.... I cannot overestimate the importance of the understanding of a natural knowledge of procreation. It is necessary for normal and natural mental growth.... A more completely natural outlook would cause the avoidance of many pitfalls.... No natural function should be hidden.... People should be more realistic about nature.... Pre-marital and extra-marital relationships are morally wrong...."

- Case No. 25 - "It is more necessary to discuss life with children today.... Pre-marital and extra-marital relationships are definitely wrong.... I was sheltered and I followed the same pattern with my children...."
- Cases 26&27 - "Children are exposed to more in school now than we were.... Now, the knowledge of sexual facts is necessary for the formulation and maintenance of proper attitudes in order to keep children from getting information from the wrong sources...." Both were very sheltered from sexual knowledge in their childhood.
- Case No. 29 - "I was fortunate in having brothers to explain quite a lot to me that I didn't understand.... On the whole, we were all sheltered by my parents.... I feel that a natural knowledge of sex is necessary for young people today because if they are guarded against things that are harmful, they may not be misled and may avoid experiences that are harmful to them...."
- Case No. 30 - First learned about sex around the age of ten. He was sheltered to a large extent, however, he did not follow the same pattern with his children because he believes a child should hear about sex correctly -- through his parents. He disagreed with the idea of pre-marital and extra-marital relationships because "it is a part of my rearing to taboo them...."
- Case No. 31 - "I was first taught at the ripe old age of ten by outsiders.... My children will be given the proper knowledge whenever they ask for it.... We teach them correct biological names for all the organs and their functions...."
- Case No. 36 - "From my experiences, I have found that pre-school aged children are not too curious about sex. There is no need to explain too much to them but when they ask, they should be told the truth.... Children learn a lot through movies, television, and school.... We were very much sheltered.... When a girl reaches her menstrual period and a boy his teens, they should be told all they don't know by their parents...."
- Case No. 38 - "I was taught by my parents in early childhood, in addition to what I learned in school. Pre-marital and extra-marital relationships are completely out of place.... Sexual knowledge is important for the understanding of individual functions.... It removes the curiosity which often causes indulgence in pre-marital sexual activities...."

- Case No. 40 - "I didn't gather as much knowledge of sex as a teen-ager should have until I was taught by a high school teacher.... I had previously been wrongly informed through filthy jokes which I picked up around school and on the streets.... I tried not to follow the same pattern with my children.... Knowledge of sexual facts is very important because it teaches the facts of living from both moral and scientific viewpoints, if given properly. It makes for the awareness of any actions individuals might be tempted to take.... Pre-marital and extra-marital sexual relationships are both morally wrong...."
- Cases 42&43 - Were both sheltered and followed the same pattern with their children. "A true knowledge of sex is more important now than formerly due to greater freedom of young people and the absence of former taboos. Young people live far less wholesome lives now. It is important to learn about sex from wholesome sources." Both violently disapproved of pre-marital and extra-marital sexual relationships.
- Case No. 44 - Stressed the disrespect of "our men for our women" which he believes is due to lack of an intelligent approach to the subject of sex. "The more we teach about sex, the less trouble we will have." He pointed out that thus far parents have refused to allow teachers to give any knowledge of sex to high school students. "We should be more realistic with our children, and should teach them things as they ask.... I had very conservative parents...." The subject disapproved of pre-marital and extra-marital sexual relationships on social, moral, and psychological grounds.
- Case No. 47 - "Sex was not discussed in my home when I was a child.... This knowledge, if given properly and by the right person, is important. Not everyone is qualified to give this.... Pre-marital and extra-marital sexual relationships are contrary to Church teachings...."
- Case No. 49 - Was unsheltered. "Proper direction and guidance are necessary to discourage promiscuity.... Pre-marital and extra-marital sexual relationships are morally and spiritually wrong...."

C. Group Three1. Religion

- Case No. 1 - "I think religion is a good moral and spiritual guide and I have very strong religious feelings, however, I am not as staunch a Catholic as I think I should be.... In thinking of Protestant religions, I always think of the term 'Protestant' which denotes that they arose out of protests against Catholicism. That makes me appreciate my faith moreso." The subject is a college graduate, and elementary school teacher.
- Case No. 3 - "Religion is an important element in every life, however, I feel that each person should be entitled to practice his own religious beliefs. In childhood, religion should be preached and drilled, but after the individual reaches his upper teens, if he has had the proper teaching, he should know right from wrong and what is necessary for him to merit salvation." College sophomore.
- Case No. 5 - "Religion is, in itself, very important. It has a lot to do with influencing the inner ideals of an individual. Protestantism is a fine way of worship if that's what the individual wants.... Catholicism has made life puzzling for me." College sophomore.
- Case No. 6 - "Religion is the most important thing with which a man has to contend. It can be the source of all greatness in any individual. Basically a firm belief in God and a love of our fellowmen are those things for which we strive as of the greatest value in life.... The only balanced people in the world are those who recognize a religion as tops in their scale of values. Religion has been too much neglected.... My faith has given me the aspiration to become a saint.... It has given me an outlook on life which is spiritually and mentally, as well as materially beneficial.... Protestants who have firm beliefs, who adhere to religious laws, represent worthwhile individuals, however, I do believe that Protestantism is inferior to Catholicism, though the faith fills a need where complete knowledge is lacking...." College senior.
- Case No. 8 - "I do not follow my religion as strictly as I should.... I am inclined to take my faith for granted...." College graduate, elementary school teacher.

- Case No. 10 - "I am not a Catholic.... I have been greatly influenced by my husband who is a Catholic, and by my Catholic friends.... Congregational faith has given me a broader outlook in that I am allowed to reason for myself...." College graduate, elementary school teacher.
- Case No. 11 - See Case No. 12, Group Two.
- Case No. 13 - "A man without some religious habit is like a boat without an anchor. Religion provides moral stability.... I am a Catholic.... Catholicism has given me higher moral principles.... If a person chooses to be a Protestant, that is his business.... I have not been reared to show disrespect for other religions...." College graduate, elementary school teacher.
- Case No. 16 - "Everyone should have some belief in the Creator.... My faith has given me a greater knowledge of God and has taught me what is necessary to prepare for the final end.... The Protestant religions are all right for those who believe in them, but I think they lack authenticity of origin.... I don't believe Protestantism could be the true faith...." College senior.
- Case No. 18 - "Religion is the most important factor in life because it gives essence to everything we do. It helps us to enrich our lives and keeps us going when there is something to believe in.... Religion gives life a reason above and beyond pure materialism.... It has aided in my avoidance of evil and has taught me how God's creatures should live and how to help others.... It has become a part of me and comes first in everything I do.... Protestantism is contrary to Catholicism.... It has a few good points but these do not outnumber the good points of Catholicism, however, others should not be condemned for their beliefs...." College graduate, librarian.
- Case No. 19 - "I am a Catholic.... With me, religion comes first.... I don't object to Protestantism because a person has the right to worship in the manner he chooses...." College graduate, teacher.
- Case No. 21 - "Catholicism is the nucleus of my life.... No, I am not prejudiced where other religions are concerned." College graduate student.
- Case No. 22 - "Religion is the centrifugal force in my life.

I am a Catholic.... As long as people believe what they practice, I have no objections to other faiths...." College graduate, teacher.

- Case No. 23 - "In my life, religion is the coordinator of all the fragments of knowledge I possess. It gives substance and purpose to my being, and consoles me regarding my curiosity about the hereafter.... So far as Protestants are concerned, we must be tolerant and understanding...." College graduate, teacher.
- Case No. 24 - See Case No. 25, Group Two. This subject is a college graduate, mother of one child, and a social worker.
- Case No. 28 - "Religion is important because man is a being who must die. Religion is the means by which he lives forever after death. It is the foundation of life. It influences everything I do in some way. It aids in setting up moral standards and prevents a state of chaos and turmoil. All other religions, except Catholicism, were founded by men who should belong to religions rather than found them. The foundation of a religion is inherent only in a Supreme Being.... Catholicism gives us peace of mind in the complex reality of the world. It relieves the tensions of daily life and establishes in one a desire to love and to be loved by God and fellowmen.... I have no prejudices where Protestantism is concerned because I know that Catholicism is the one true faith...." College senior.
- Case No. 32 - "Religion comes first in everything I do.... We are not a completely Catholic family -- my mother is Baptist.... I have no prejudices where Protestantism is concerned...." College junior.
- Case No. 35 - "Religion awakens one to the spiritual side of life.... and the value and importance of morality.... My life has been patterned according to the teachings of the Catholic Church.... Everyone is entitled to his own religious beliefs...." College graduate.
- Case No. 39 - "Religion plays the major part in my life because I have been trained in a religious atmosphere. I am a Catholic, however, I feel that God-worship is a matter of choice...." College junior.
- Case No. 41 - "Religion plays the major part in my life because it is the essential principle of life...."

It is necessary for better understanding among men and for wholesome living.... Everyone has the right to practice religion as he chooses as long as he is sincere in his beliefs...."
College junior.

- Case No. 45 - "My religious training covers just about all of my thinking.... My philosophy of life is developed around and rooted in Catholicism.... Everyone is entitled to his own way of worship...."
College art instructor, father of two children.
- Case No. 46 - "Without religion there should be no goal in life.... It would be almost hopeless for man to try to achieve his final end.... Religion should be the cornerstone for everything we do. God should be in all our plans.... I believe that man has the right to choose his manner of worship...." College senior.
- Case No. 48 - "Catholicism governs everything I do.... Any sincere person can be saved...." College graduate, housewife, school teacher.
- Case No. 50 - "I was born and reared as a Catholic, naturally my actions are governed mainly by Catholic doctrines...." College graduate, lawyer.

2. Education

- Case No. 1 - "Southern education is too limited.... Education is one of the most important factors in life.... Northerners are much more broadened by their education than are Southerners...."
- Case No. 3 - "Education is, to a certain extent, important to everyone, however, I don't feel that a college education is absolutely necessary to everyone since some people are able to adapt themselves quite intelligently to any circumstances.... One might say, that for some, a college education is absolutely necessary, while for others, it is a mere luxury...."
- Case No. 5 - "Education is important in order to maintain a specific place in the world. Since it is important to the world, it is important to me. It has helped greatly in the formulation of attitudes-- especially toward segregation. Education makes for a more easily attained future...."
- Case No. 6 - "Education is the one thing that should be taken regardless of the sufferings involved, second, of course, only to faith. It helps one to see

things clearly and to act decisively.... It has made me aware of factual material as well as helped me to perfect my ability to reason through to the abstract and to form my own attitudes, ideas, and opinions concerning myself and my associates and surroundings...."

- Case No. 8 - "Education means everything.... It takes up a large percentage of a person's life.... Professional education depends upon the individual...."
- Case No. 9 - "Education makes for better understanding in the home.... I would like for my children to have a professional education but I want them to make their own decisions.... Above all, I want them to be happy...."
- Case No. 10 - "Education is economically important.... It broadens one's outlook and helps one to place a different value on material and aesthetic things.... I would like for my children to receive some of their education through travel experiences...." The subject completely favored educational integration.
- Case No. 11 - See Case No. 12, Group Two.
- Case No. 15 - "Education is necessary for economic security It is also broadening.... Everyone mentally capable and financially able should have it. It made me more capable of living with others and of making a living.... It has also helped me to appreciate others more and to see people as individuals...."
- Case No. 16 - "Education is necessary in order to improve conditions and also because of rapid social and cultural changes. It has taught me many things but most important, it has broadened my outlook on life...." The subject completely favored educational integration.
- Case No. 18 - "Education is important in helping the individual to get ahead, to realize his goal, and to work toward that goal.... to demand the respect of others as well as to help others.... It also helps in the development of skills and knowledge and it helps to uplift racial standards. Integration is a wonderful step and if done in the right way, it will work well.... It is our right to have equality of opportunity in all respects and most respects lead back to education.... It will also help us in understanding

others and in assimilating ideas. We should think in terms of a better world and in terms of helping each other."

- Case No. 19 - "Education enables the individual to live intelligently and harmoniously with others. It has given me a broader outlook on life and has increased and influenced my interests.... I wouldn't advocate racial integration now but if it started gradually, it would work effectively.... There would be less demand for Negro teachers, however, this should not happen." College graduate, teacher.
- Case No. 21 - "Education helps in the formulation of unbiased attitudes and helps one to become more well-rounded in his development.... to develop an appreciation for finer things and an appreciation of others.... I am against educational integration because the Negro is not ready for it...." College graduate student.
- Case No. 22 - "Education is necessary to prepare individuals to fit into society, to make them up-right citizens, to fit socially in a democratic world and to gain a wide range of attitudes and interests.... It leads one to the most promising channels.... It supplements and guides the factors with which nature has endowed us.... I'm 100% for integration.... All are equal and should be given equal opportunities.... It will enable work and socialization with others regardless of race or creed...." College graduate, teacher.
- Case No. 23 - "It is vital for an individual to have an acquaintance and knowledge of the world. Education enables him to understand people and to utilize those things which make for personal happiness.... Racial integration is a social necessity in view of the present international concern regarding the rights and the dignity of each individual, and also in the light of communistic propaganda which exploits the defective areas in American social culture...." College graduate.
- Case No. 24 - See Case No. 25, Group Two. "Integration is long overdue. It is the one means by which complete education can be had. It must begin in the schools. It will probably work well in the grammar schools and colleges. The most trouble will be had in high schools and I do believe that eventually, it will all smooth out...."

- Case No. 28 - "Education is important for the training of the will, the acquisition of knowledge, ideals, habits, and virtues in order to make better individuals and thereby to improve society. It is important to produce whole and wholesome individuals. It aids most of all in gaining the end for which we were created.... I favor educational integration because Negroes are not exposed to as good an education as are whites...."
- Case No. 32 - "Education is important in order to solve problems and in order to be of service to society and to meet social standards...." The subject completely favored educational integration.
- Case No. 35 - "The importance of education lies in the fact that it develops the intellect and gives professional training thereby giving a secure foothold.... I definitely favor integration -- especially for the development of brotherhood."
- Case No. 39 - "Education is very important at this time because it is very hard to find a job without it.... Integration would be very beneficial to Negroes because it would represent more adequate educational facilities...."
- Case No. 41 - "Education is the basis for a good foundation in life, in order to be successful.... It is the means by which social stratification can be secured...." The subject strongly favored educational integration.
- Case No. 45 - "In the present society things have become so technical that education is necessary to earn a living.... It is most important to get a job, a better outlook on life, a better understanding.... Racial integration is one of the best things to happen, but it must be gradual...." Graduate student.
- Case No. 46 - "Education is important especially for Negroes to disprove theories of prejudiced whites... I believe education is necessary in both races to overcome racial barriers. The educated individual commands the respect and admiration of his colleagues." The subject favored educational integration.
- Case No. 48 - "Education broadens one's outlook.... It widens areas of interest, prepares one to live as a good citizen, and to earn a living.... Separate facilities could never be equal.... Negroes would always feel as they do now, as though they were being discriminated against...." I

completely favor integration."

Case No. 50 - "I am for wholehearted and complete integration--educational, social, and otherwise.... Creoles are indicative of the fact already that integration has long been started, socially deplorably, of course.... It has thrown a bad light on America's morals. Legal sanction is necessary to repeal preventives of integration. The greatest impetus to Negro education will be integration.... The importance of education is evident in everything we do...."

3. Politics

Case No. 1 - See Case Two, Group Two.

Case No. 3 - "At present I have not been directly influenced by my political participation--therefore it does not hold too much interest for me, however, I do feel that the field should be clean and honest...."

Case No. 5 - No response due to no direct contact as yet.

Case No. 6 - "Political participation is a definite civic responsibility of each citizen.... Everyone including political officials should take an active interest in governmental affairs, not restricting themselves solely to one locality Political organizations should be honestly run by honest persons...."

Case No. 8 - "Every Negro should be a registered voter because this affords a means of gaining respect and it can also help in overcoming minority group problems.... I am a Democrat because the Democratic Party is outstanding in Louisiana...."

Case No. 9 - Aspires to be a Democrat. "By the Negro vote, the Negro can advance.... Maybe someday soon we will have Negroes holding political offices."

Case No. 10 - "It is very important that Negroes participate in order to get equalized educational, job, and governmental opportunities.... Participation is also necessary to raise racial standards, neighborhoods, etc.... It is necessary to combat the brutality experienced by Negroes at the hands of whites and other Negroes.... Political action is the best measure.... I am a Democrat more because my parents are Democrats than for any other reason.... As a Negro it is hard to say which party is best...."

- Case No. 11 - See Case No. 12, Group Two.
- Case No. 15 - "It is important to take advantage of our rights as American citizens.... The system needs to be cleaner.... I am a Democrat...."
- Case No. 16 - "Politics is an important part of community life.... It has helped a great deal in the advancement of Negroes.... The influence of political participation is especially evident in the increase of educational and job opportunities.... I am a Democrat...."
- Case No. 18 - "Many things can be solved without political interference.... Politics is especially helpful, however, in keeping down confusion.... I am a Democrat, however, I disagree with the bipartisan system.... I would like to see the interests of both parties pooled...."
- Case No. 19 - "Political participation has increased my interest in governmental affairs.... I am a Democrat...."
- Case No. 21 - "It is important for the individual to understand the importance and mechanics of political participation.... I don't know much about the subject.... I am a Democrat because the Democratic Party is for the poor man...."
- Case No. 22 - "Political participation is necessary for the successful management of government affairs.... I am not as yet a registered voter, but I am Democratic in spirit...."
- Case No. 23 - "The underlying fabric of any governing body is political inasmuch as this facilitates the election of people to govern.... I am a Republican.... I believe in states' rights rather than National supremacy...."
- Case No. 24 - See Case No. 25, Group Two.
- Case No. 28 - "It is urgent that we participate because there is a need for competent individuals to guide society and the welfare of its citizens.... In this way, individuals can express their beliefs concerning their government.... Too many seek political offices for personal gain only.... Many political injustices have influenced my political attitudes and have created problems in my mind which I must weigh very carefully...."
- Case No. 32 - "Through political participation we are given

the opportunity to have a voice in our government.... I have Democratic aspirations...."

- Case No. 35 - "The nation survives through politics.... politics is also necessary in dealing with other nations.... I am not yet a registered voter...."
- Case No. 39 - "I have never given really serious thought to politics.... It is necessary now that I begin to think more seriously on the matter."
- Case No. 41 - No response.
- Case No. 45 - "Everyone should use his privilege to participate actively in government.... I am a Democrat...."
- Case No. 46 - "It is important in a Democratic society for all individuals to exercise their rights to vote and to take an active interest in their government.... When one has experienced the results of bad politics, it increases the desire to remedy the situation.... I am a Democrat...."
- Case No. 48 - "Negroes are just beginning to be actively assimilated into the political field.... It is extremely important for them to participate.... I am a Democrat...."
- Case No. 50 - "My profession, is to some degree indicative of the extent to which I believe politics is important.... Politics, to me, is second only to religion.... I am a Democrat...."

4. Race

- Case No. 1 - "I believe in the equality of all men. Prejudice is due more to ignorance than to anything else. I do not have any harsh feelings toward members of other races.... If I were in love with a white person, I would have no qualms of conscience about marrying him.... I don't see anything wrong with it, however, because of the racial antagonism in the South, it might be harder here than elsewhere.... My first awareness of the racial situation was certainly nothing to mar my ideas about whites and Negroes. I imagine I must have been aware of the situation before I entered high school-- I really don't remember...."
- Case No. 3 - "I did not come directly in contact with the race problem until I was in sixth or seventh grade. Even then, it did not occur to me that people were different, or at least believed to be

different, because of their colors.... No, I am not prejudiced toward any whole race, but toward individuals.... I would be willing to marry a person of any race if I were really in love with him...."

- Case No. 5 - "I lived next door to whites all my life, but around the age of ten years, I noticed a change in the attitudes of my white playmates. Then I realized the difference that was being made. This did not leave me prejudiced.... I don't think race has anything to do with marriage.... I look for magnetism in a man, not color...."
- Case No. 6 - "The whole idea of racial prejudice is basically absurd.... It sets up arbitrary differences founded on ignorance rather than on facts. Because it is an act of God, it is no dishonor for a person to be of a particular skin color. In a Southern city, it doesn't take long for even a child to become aware of the racial situation.... It's all around you.... I don't believe in trumping up offenses against people just because they have been stereotyped.... Racial facts are not included in my conception of the kind of man I'd like to marry...."
- Case No. 8 - "I first became aware of the racial situation when we moved into a mixed neighborhood near the Vieux Carre when I was about nine or ten years old.... Personally, I don't trust whites-- all of them are prejudiced to a certain extent.... Even when Northern whites come to the South, their attitudes change.... I know I'm wrong to feel that way but I just can't help it.... That's why I think integration will be a good step -- it will help to keep children from forming prejudiced attitudes...."
- Case No. 9 - "When my white playmates began to call me 'nigger' I was about eight or nine years old. That was enough to make me aware or at least curious about the situation.... No, that didn't leave me prejudiced.... I feel that we are all just people-- the color of our skins doesn't add to or detract from that.... There's nothing wrong with interracial marriages.... Color makes no difference...."
- Case No. 10 - "Ignorance is the basis of prejudice.... I first found out about the racial problem through riding the busses in high school.... More than likely, I wouldn't have considered marriage to a white person.... Of course, if the situation had been different, perhaps I would have.... I really don't know...."

- Case No. 11 - See Case No. 12, Group Two.
- Case No. 15 - "If I am prejudiced, it's only slightly so.... My first awareness was as a child when screens on the busses and streetcars aroused my curiosity I wouldn't marry a white person for two reasons: first, there would be too much difficulty involved, and secondly, I don't come in contact with them enough to feel that I could ever fall in love with one of them...."
- Case No. 16 - "I was first aware of the racial situation between the ages of five and seven years.... I don't know if I'm prejudiced or just resentful I would probably marry a white person if I could fall in love with her...."
- Case No. 18 - "I first became curious about racial differences at about four years of age.... I didn't understand the situation then but as I grew older, there were other things which were more easily understood.... and which left me slightly prejudiced.... I don't hate them and I would help them if I could.... but I wouldn't marry a white person because I would always feel that if he ever had to make a decision between me and giving up the racial double standard, he would change over to the attitude of other whites...."
- Case No. 19 - "I like people and I think they are all the same, regardless of color.... I first came in contact with the race problem through neighbors.... I wouldn't mind marrying a white person if I loved him...."
- Case No. 21 - "I played and had a close association with whites in my early childhood. The impact of the racial situation hit me hardest after I had finished college and applied at the Family Services Association for a job.... I was told that there were vacancies but not for colored.... The experience left me angry rather than prejudiced.... I have no objections to interracial marriages...."
- Case No. 22 - "I don't feel that I was ever prejudiced because of my belief in and love for all human beings.... I don't see anything wrong with interracial marriages.... I was first aware of the racial situation through living in New Orleans.... but especially through riding public vehicles...."

- Case No. 23 - "I can always remember having been aware of the racial situation.... Yes, I have what I consider a normal resentment toward things as they are and have been.... Concerning interracial marriages, I am indifferent.... I think of race as an accident.... I do believe in social diffusion...."
- Case No. 24 - "My first bitter experience came when I was visiting the home of my supervisor after a field trip to the State School for the Feeble Minded. The supervisor, after having invited the whole group of us to her home, insisted that the Negro social workers eat in the kitchen with her maids, while the whites ate in the dining room.... This didn't leave me prejudiced because I realized that the woman sorely misrepresented the white race.... It did irritate me because I believe in justice and equality.... I have no objections to interracial marriages, but practically speaking, they are not always possible...."
- Case No. 28 - "When I was a boy, a little white neighbor and I began going to the movies together, and we both became curious when we had to sit on opposite sides of the theatre.... I believe that every individual has a definite role to play and no one else has the right to stand in the way of his making a contribution to society.... Marriage is a contract based on love and understanding rather than on race or color...."
- Case No. 32 - "I lived in a mixed neighborhood and played with white children and all of us seemed to become aware of the situation at the same time.... I have no objections whatsoever to interracial marriages...."
- Case No. 35 - "I lived in a predominantly Negro neighborhood.... This made no difference, as I do not feel that I am prejudiced.... Interracial marriages are, in themselves, completely normal."
- Case No. 41 - "I am prejudiced toward individuals rather than toward races. My first awareness of the fact that I am a Negro came through riding public vehicles.... This didn't leave me prejudiced but confused.... There's not a thing wrong with interracial marriages...."
- Case No. 45 - No response.
- Case No. 46 - "I am not prejudiced.... I don't believe in

looking at the color of the skin but at the individual himself.... There is nothing wrong with interracial marriages...."

Case No. 48 - "I have noticed the manner in which aged Negroes are addressed by white attendants in the hospitals.... This leaves me angry, not prejudiced.... Interracial marriages are all right but a lot depends upon community sentiments...."

Case No. 50 - "I am strongly of the opinion that everything the white man represents is objectionable.... I can remember a time when I attempted to help an elderly white lady across a street and I was almost immediately reminded by a younger white person that I was not supposed to help whites if it meant touching their persons.... It left me with a feeling of contempt.... It made me wonder how biased these people could be.... To what extremes would they go in order to maintain a sense of personal superiority based on skin color?.... Where would they stop?"

5. Class

Case No. 1 - "I believe that intelligence rather than wealth determines class.... I say that I am of the middle class because intelligence determines the material gains made by individuals. I do not mean that persons in the upper class are intellectually superior but that I still have quite a lot to learn.... I suppose I've also expressed my belief in social mobility...."

Case No. 3 - "I believe in only two classes - the good and the bad. I believe that class is determined by morals.... I belong to the good class...."

Case No. 5 - "Money determines class.... I am in the middle class...."

Case No. 6 - "Class is based upon income, profession, and family background.... It naturally follows the line of human instinct to group likes with likes...."

Case No. 8 - "Education determines class.... Our standard of living and our educational background could be termed upper middle class...."

Case No. 9 - Believed that class is determined by education and financial status.

Case No. 10 - "I disagree with the assumption in New Orleans

that family background determines class....
 There aren't any blue-bloods among Negroes....
 Class is determined by finance.... This is a
 materialistic world. Each person is trying
 to see how much material goods he can accumu-
 late. Education is merely a means to a material
 end.... We belong to the upper middle class...."

- Case No. 11 - See Case No. 12, Group Two.
- Case No. 15 - "Class should not be determined by financial capacity but by cultural and family background and cultural background...."
- Case No. 16 - "Class is determined by financial background, and to a certain extent by social status and environment.... Among New Orleans Negroes, name carries a lot of weight, but I don't agree with this...."
- Case No. 18 - "Class is determined by morals; morals are determined by religion, family background, and individual principles and philosophies.... According to these standards, I belong to the upper class...."
- Case No. 19 - "Class is determined by occupation and salary. I belong to the upper middle class...."
- Case No. 21 - "Class is determined by money and prestige.... I am in the middle class...."
- Case No. 22 - "Class is determined by money, however, the whole set-up should be based on fraternal charity...."
- Case No. 23 - "Class is determined by occupation and economic status...."
- Case No. 28 - "Wealth is the main determinant of social class, and I believe that this is a false value predominant in the twentieth century. Class should be based on the individual's worth rather than upon material wealth...."
- Case No. 32 - "Class is determined by educational standards and occupation...."
- Case No. 35 - "Social class is actually determined by finance and education.... The personality factor should enter somewhere.... but, without finance, there would be no class system.... My family is in the lower middle class...."
- Case No. 39 - "Heredity determines social standing among New Orleans Negroes.... I don't know where I belong...."

- Case No. 41 - No response.
- Case No. 46 - "Class is determined by education and money."
- Case No. 48 - "Family background determines class among New Orleans Negroes.... We are middle-class...."
- Case No. 50 - "Class is based on color. Being tabbed 'Creole' has helped the whites keep the Negro race divided. It is an excellent weapon to 'keep us in our places.' It prevents unity and cooperation among Southern Negroes.... I believe class should be based upon character, hence there would be only two classes-- the good and the bad.... I belong to the good class...."

6. Marriage

- Case No. 1 - "I believe marriage is a lasting institution, hence one should be very careful in the choice of a mate.... I would choose someone with similar characteristics; I believe it is safest to marry someone with the same essential religious faith.... I want a nice home, two or three children, maybe four if we are well enough able to support that many.... I would also like to travel with my husband...."
- Case No. 3 - "I want my marriage to play the most important part in my life. In a husband, I look for initiative, dependability, personal pride, decency, a certain amount of dignity, and religious beliefs which coincide with mine.... A husband's duties are to take an active interest in his family, to support them, moderately providing them with necessities and some luxuries, and above all to set an example above reproach. The wife should be devoted to her home and family, willing to sacrifice for her family.... I want from three to six children...."
- Case No. 5 - "Marriage is tops-- it should be everyone's goal. It will play the major part in my life. A husband's duties should be all the obligations centered around the family.... He should live to support and provide for his family.... The wife should maintain a pleasant atmosphere in the home.... Her obligations are centered around direct or indirect concern for her family.... I would like to have six children.... I want my family to be a representation of Christ's family...."
- Case No. 6 - "Marriage will play my complete life's work along with its consequences.... I have no intentions of mixing it with a career.... A man should

support his family as completely as possible and give to the home fatherly devotion in the form of outward expression of his love for his wife and his children.... The husband should be unselfishly devoted to his family.... The wife should also be unselfishly devoted to her husband and children.... I would like to have thirteen children -- twelve boys and one girl, if possible."

- Case No. 8 - "Marriage is a fine vocation. The wife should be devoted to the upkeep of the home, the rearing of children, and the love of her husband and family. I want happiness and security for my children more than anything else...."
- Case No. 10 - "Marriage should be very carefully planned because it is a very important step in life. One should seek physical attraction, love, security, and understanding in a husband.... I love every minute of my life as a married woman.... I wouldn't trade it for anything...."
- Case No. 11 - "In looking for a husband, one should seek security, love, physical attraction, and intellectual ability. A wife should have the ability to rear children, to help in their education, and to keep family unity, and to give spiritual guidance. I would like to have five children, if the Lord is willing...."
- Case No. 15 - "Marriage is the greatest happiness a woman can achieve. It tends to make a person more flexible and less selfish in his ways. In a husband, I would look for respect, the same social status as my own or a higher one, education equivalent to mine, or better, similar religious beliefs.... I want to rear my children as I was reared.... I would like to give them all the advantages and opportunities possible and to teach them how to use good judgement.... I would like to have at least five children...."
- Case No. 16 - "Marriage plays an important part in the rest of my life.... In a wife, I would look for a nice disposition, understanding, thoughtfulness, and ideals similar to my own. A husband's duty is to provide for his family's security and happiness.... Both parents should strive to develop a sense of independence in children.... I would like to have at least four or five children...."
- Case No. 18 - "In seeking a husband, one should look for good moral character, devotion to some faith which

will set standards for him, initiative, compatibility, social and economic adaptability, attractiveness, and good health. I want my marriage to be second in my life.... Of course, religion comes first. I think my duties as a wife would be to love, understand, comfort in sorrow and disappointment, to rear my children to help in their education, and to develop in them good moral character.... The husband should love, support, understand, and show interest in his family.... I want as many children as God sends...."

- Case No. 19 - "Marriage should be second only to religion. A husband should be kind, generous, loving, understanding, willing to make sacrifices, and a wife should possess the same qualities."
- Case No. 21 - "Marriage should play the most important part in life; it should be taken very seriously if one really intends to marry. A husband's duties should be to provide financial security for his family. I would like for my husband to have good health, and average looks.... The duties of husband and wife are to love, appreciate, honor, and cherish each other and their children...."
- Case No. 22 - "Marriage is of considerable importance.... I would look for love, faithfulness, temperance, financial security, a Catholic, and a good sense of humor in a husband.... He must be a good provider, and an understanding father.... The woman should be a good mother, wife, and budgeter...."
- Case No. 23 - "Marriage is important because it embodies the procreation of the race and also emotional fulfillment. In a wife, I would expect psychological compatibility, the realization that the man has the last word in all important matters, the realization that her vocation as a mother is the highest and should be devoted to the rearing of children, and the care of her home and family.... She should have a charming personality, attractiveness, high ideals and morals, faithfulness to marital vows, and affection.... I would like to have four or five children, depending, of course, upon my financial status and my wife's health...."
- Case No. 28 - "Marriage plays no part in my life now but it probably will later. It will give me more ambition and responsibility and faith in womanhood. I would look for a woman with the same religious background as my own, a sense of social poise, good cultural background, under-

standing, patience, willingness to sacrifice, equipped to have children.... As a husband, I would look after the spiritual welfare of my children and family, set an example for my family to follow by my behavior, do my best to keep unity in the home.... The wife should also respect and obey her husband.... I would like to have four children...."

- Case No. 32 - "Marriage is a state of life where the ultimate end is sought and reached.... In a husband, I would look for good morals, financial background, college education, if possible, but I would accept high school education if he had a very good financial background, and I would like for him to be a Catholic.... My children must be reared as Catholics.... Both husband and wife should have a common goal and should be unselfishly devoted to each other...."
- Case No. 35 - "I look forward to marriage as one looks forward to stability and security. The wife should have a pleasant personality, be broad-minded and understanding.... I want to be able to find her without the aid of a magnifying glass.... She must be pleasant to look at.... I don't want to wake up having nightmares.... The duties of both are those toward spiritual happiness and to home and family...."
- Case No. 39 - "If an individual is married, his marriage should be most important to him.... The husband should be loyal to his wife and family, support them, set an example for them, and display initiative.... The wife should be loyal, keep the home pretty and happy, have initiative, and set a good example.... The major duties of both are love and cooperation."
- Case No. 41 - "Marriage is most important. The wife should have a charming personality, the ability to socialize, and she should be able to meet people. She should also be understanding, affectionate, and loving, and should radiate contentment.... I would like for her to possess normal intelligence, attractiveness, and cleanliness...."
- Case No. 46 - "Marriage is the focal point of my ambitions and desires-- the crown atop my career. To find the one girl who will be my companion for life, and God willing, the mother of my children, will be the golden day of my life.... I would like for my wife to be understanding, sincere, and affectionate.... She should love, honor, cherish, and obey the man she has chosen for her husband....Of course, we can't have planned

parenthood.... I would like to have at least three children."

Case No. 48 - "Marriage will play the major role in my life... I think the mutual duties of husband and wife are to make each other happy, to be considerate, understanding, good companions, and to possess a sense of humor...."

Case No. 50 - "Marriage is most important in life.... I have yielded to my belief.... Marriage, procreation, and race propagation are the principle purposes of our existences. Everyone should marry...."

7. Sex

Case No. 1 - "Sex is something that one should know all about because it is something natural but sexual satisfaction should definitely be reserved. I don't approve of pre-marital or extra-marital relationships. I look forward to my first sexual experience as something new and beautiful-- as a procreative function.... My first awareness of sexual differences was at the birth of my two brothers.... Otherwise, I was completely sheltered.... Even now, attempts are made to withhold sexual knowledge from me...."

Case No. 3 - "At eighteen an unmarried person should know all there is to know about sex, except those things which experience teaches. Sex plays an important part in life, but not the most important part. I first learned about sexual differences at about ten, through books and through mother.... I think the idea of pre-marital and extra-marital relationships is absurd.... Had God wanted it, He would never have instituted the sacrament of matrimony.... I believe the best things in life are worth waiting for...."

Case No. 5- "At seventeen, one should know all there is to know concerning those things which might confront one between the ages of thirteen and seventeen.... I think sex plays a minor part in life.... I was first taught about it at about eleven years of age by my aunt.... I think pre-marital and extra-marital relationships are wrong.... I am guided by my religious beliefs...."

Case No. 6 - "I think I should know all but lack experience.... Sexual activities are the basis of life. In marriage, they should play the major part, but they should not be overemphasized.... I learned

about sex through my membership in the Girl Scouts.... I think pre-marital and extra-marital relationships are decidedly wrong and injurious to all persons involved...."

- Case No. 8 - "Sexual knowledge was hinted by my parents.... They didn't come out and tell me anything.... I found out on my own and through friends in grade school.... I don't approve of pre-marital or extra-marital relationships...."
- Case No. 10 - "Every girl should know about sex.... It is, in itself, a form of education.... A wife should help her husband to promote sexual harmony.... The perfect home is constituted from sexual satisfaction.... Pre-marital relationships are personal.... I do disapprove of extra-marital relationships.... I would like to have two or three children...."
- Case No. 11 - "Girls should know enough to protect themselves and not go into a situation innocently. I first learned about sex in my health classes in elementary school.... Pre-marital and extra-marital sexual relationships are definitely immoral...."
- Case No. 15 - "Sex is important because through it life begins. We should know everything legitimate about it.... I first learned through my mother at about eight years of age.... Pre-marital and extra-marital relationships are definitely wrong...."
- Case No. 16 - "I think I should know all there is to know about sex. It plays an important part in life, but not the most important part.... I learned about it through a priest, but mostly on my own.... Pre-marital and extra-marital relationships should not exist but depend upon the emotional stability of the individuals involved. I have been aware of sexual differences as far back as I can remember...."
- Case No. 18 - "I think I should know all about sex.... There should be a moderate amount of emphasis placed upon it because it is natural.... and can be beautiful if properly used.... Relationships between an unmarried couple should be anything except those things which belong to the married state.... I disapprove of extra-marital relationships because marriage should not be abused by making it sordid.... Two people become one and share the most intimate thoughts and actions.... This should be kept sacred.... I was first aware

of sexual differences at about three or four.... I was told stork stories by my parents and relatives...."

- Case No. 19 - "I have been aware of sexual differences for as long as I can remember.... I was not sheltered from sexual facts and I intend to follow the same pattern in rearing my children.... I was taught by my parents whenever I asked or showed interest.... Pre-marital and extra-marital relationships are wrong.... A true knowledge of sex is important because it reduces the fear of sexual relationships later on and gives one an adult outlook...."
- Case No. 21 - "I was sheltered from sexual facts but I do not intend to follow the same pattern with my children.... My first knowledge was obtained through friends.... I do not approve of pre-marital or extra-marital relationships. I do think that a true knowledge of sex makes for a better appreciation of morality...."
- Case No. 22 - "I was not sheltered from sexual facts.... I did learn quite a bit from my friends when I was older, but basic facts were explained to me at home.... I think the idea of pre-marital and extra-marital sexual relationships is utterly provoking...."
- Case No. 23 - "I was sheltered from sexual knowledge, and I intend to follow a similar pattern in the rearing of my children.... I feel that pre-marital and extra-marital relationships are unnecessary as they are departures from the natural purpose of sex.... A true knowledge of sexual facts is vital at certain age levels for normal psychological development...."
- Case No. 24 - "I don't have very outspoken parents at all.... I won't follow the same pattern with my children.... It is important to tell them as much as they want to know.... Many pitfalls are due to lack of proper knowledge and curiosity.Pre-marital and extra-marital sexual relationships are wrong because of the Christian principles by which I pattern my actions."
- Case No. 28 - "I think I should know as much as possible about sex and should use this knowledge to my spiritual advantage.... I should also realize that with sex goes the purpose and dignity the Creator had in mind.... Sex should be used primarily for the propagation of the race rather than for the satisfaction of animal

desires.... I received my first true knowledge of sex in high school.... Pre-marital and extra-marital relationships should be avoided on religious, moral, and social grounds."

- Case No. 32 - "As my children grow into different stages, I'll tell them what they want to know.... I was taught by my mother at about nine or ten.... Pre-marital and extra-marital sexual relationships are against my religious and moral principles...."
- Case No. 35 - "I was not sheltered from sexual facts.... I first learned about sex through my mother at about twelve or thirteen.... Pre-marital relationships are sometimes necessary but people with strong enough will power to resist them should make use of it until after marriage.... A true knowledge of sexual facts is very important to growing children and young adults.... I disagree completely with the idea of extra-marital relationships...."
- Case No. 39 - "I was first taught about sex at eleven years old by my father.... I intend to follow the same pattern with my children.... A true knowledge of sex prevents mistakes due to ignorance Pre-marital and extra-marital relationships are unnecessary and against Catholic Church teachings...."
- Case No. 41 - "No, I wasn't sheltered. My mother was the source of my sexual education.... I cannot speak for others concerning pre-marital relationships Everyone should know what he wants or doesn't want.... They are, however, a psychological drawback.... I disagree completely with extra-marital relationships.... because a man has his whole life to find someone to satisfy his sexual emotions and should be sure the woman fits into his plans before marrying...."
- Case No. 46 - "Youngsters should know all the facts of life in order that they may avoid the pitfalls of youth.... That is part of the education of a well-rounded individual.... I didn't learn too much about sex until I was about sixteen.... I learned a lot on the streets and some from my parents.... Pre-marital and extra-marital relationships can be dangerous and harmful.... Ignorance of hygiene can lead to venereal diseases and illness which may inhibit full sexual life...."
- Case No. 48 - "I was sheltered from sexual facts.... I don't think such knowledge should be forced upon

children.... Don't lie to them, but be subtle.... I disagree with both pre-marital and extra-marital relationships.... The girl has everything to lose...."

Case No. 50- "I have long been an advocant of the enlightenment of people on every single thing that affects or may affect their lives.... I have always decried the fact that in the past, society has looked upon many of the most important phases of life as taboo.... I most forcefully call for the repeal of such social mores.... I do disagree with pre-marital and extra-marital relationships...."

CHAPTER IV

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE ATTITUDES AND CUSTOMS OF THREE GENERATIONS

Creole culture among these New Orleans Negroes insofar as attitudes and customs which are of French origin are concerned, is presently only one or two generations removed from the time of its greatest prevalence. It is now beginning to be replaced by customs, habits, attitudes and traditions of American origin. It was believed that these three generations afforded a most effective comparison and analysis of this trend. For this reason an attempt has been made to compare and contrast the customs and attitudes of subjects representing three generations.

A. Religion

So universal, permanent, and pervasive is religion in human society, that unless we understand it thoroughly, we shall fail to understand society.¹

Despite the fact that all other attitudes and customs of this group have tended to change, to diminish in the rigidity with which they were practiced or maintained, or to fade away completely, religious backgrounds and beliefs have remained constant in every respect in all three groups.

¹ Kingsley Davis, Human Society (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950), p. 509.

Therefore, this phase of the analysis will be inclusive of all subjects in the survey. The French influence is readily seen in the religious sphere, for Catholicism has remained the dominant faith among these people.² More than any other single criterion, religious norms have formed the basis of individual and group philosophies; they have set the moral standards by which the lives of this group of people are governed. In other words, Catholicism has acted as the most potent social control in this group. So pervasive is religion, that it is entwined in every important phase of life from birth until death.

In an attempt to present a clearer picture of the manner in which religious beliefs and customs influence the lives of these individuals the role of religion in the life cycle of the individual is described below.

Usually between two and six weeks after birth, an infant is introduced to Catholicism through baptism. The celebration of a baptismal or christening ceremony is, in most cases, as elaborate as the one for a birth. This is because baptism is viewed as the beginning of the life of the soul of an individual. It is customary to invite relatives and friends in to celebrate after baptismal ceremonies. The gifts which are brought to the infant symbolize the gifts

² Although three non-Catholics were interviewed in the survey, the fact that religious beliefs regulate the lives of the members of this group holds true in these cases. The degree of importance placed upon religious faith is strikingly similar to that of Catholics.

which were brought to Christ on the first Christmas. In many cases the celebration lasts all day. The role of godparents is significant. In most cases, in addition to accepting full responsibility for the child in the event of its parents' demise, godparents are actually regarded at all times as the second parents of the child. Here a cultural parallel to the French white family is evident.

When children reach school age, they are usually sent to parochial schools to insure proper religious training. At seven years of age, a child is eligible, after having been instructed in the doctrines of the Catholic Church, to make his First Holy Communion, often referred to as the Private Communion. This event also merits celebration by relatives and friends, for at this point the child gains admission to full participation in Church rites.

About the age of eleven or twelve, there is another celebration similar to that of the First Communion which consists of the reception of the sacrament of Confirmation.

In the majority of cases, matrimony³ is the next sacrament, the reception of which merits an elaborate celebration. In many cases, the sacrament of Holy Orders is received. In the case of a young man who becomes a priest, the custom is for friends and relatives, as well as other Catholics, to flock to receive the first blessings which he confers after his ordination. A great celebration is that of

³ Marriage is discussed in detail later in this chapter.

his first Mass, after which many parents hold open-house if the priest is fortunate enough to be able to say his Mass within the vicinity of his home. It is noteworthy that despite the large number of Negro Catholics in New Orleans, there is no parish in which Negro priests are engaged.

In the case of a young girl entering the convent, the manner of preparation is very similar to the one for a secular bride, though the celebration after the ceremony is not always as elaborate.

In all cases, in trials, fears, or sorrows, special devotions are offered to God, the Blessed Mother, and the saints.⁴ It is also customary to keep small altars, saint pictures, blessed articles, and other outward manifestations of faith in the home.

In extreme illness, an attempt is always made for the sick person to receive the last rites and sacraments of the Church before death. The religious influence does not end with the Church burial of an individual. Prayers and Masses are offered for the repose of the soul of the dead by friends and relatives.

In all three generations, the importance of religious customs and beliefs has remained constant. The only change which is evident is that in the third generation individuals are not usually taught in childhood to recite their prayers

⁴ For example, it is customary to burn blessed candles, to bless the house with holy water, and to have family recitation of prayer during storms.

in French, as was done in the first and second generations.

The influence of Catholicism will also be seen throughout the remaining sections of this chapter.

B. Education

In this sphere, striking differences can be seen in the attitudes of three generations. Although the members of all three groups agree that education is practically a necessity, the importance placed upon it during the earlier lives of the members of the first and second generations differed markedly from each other and from the stress placed upon education by the members of the third generation.

In the case of the first generation, the subjects felt that education in their early lives was not as important as it is today. With the increase of scientific techniques and inventions, specialization became more necessary. To illustrate the increasing importance of education, one interviewee said, "In my day, you could get a fairly good job with just an eighth grade education. Now everybody's crying for college degrees...." During that time, an elementary education was considered almost a luxury by the average Negro. A few who were more fortunate were able to pursue secondary training, and in rare cases, even attend college. The existence of such a situation was not due to the fact that education was not important to Negroes but rather, a reflection of limited job opportunities. The majority of employment opportunities open to Negroes required little or no education. Hence, the reason for regarding education solely as a stepping stone

to economic success is readily seen. Another reason for the existence of this situation was the lack of educational facilities for Negroes, as has already been pointed out.

As the educational facilities and job opportunities gradually increased, the educational status of this segment of the population began to rise. In the second generation, there was an increase in the awareness of the importance of education for economic advancement. All of the subjects interviewed in this group had some high school training; most of them had completed high school; some had attended college; several had completed college; and a few had received higher degrees. The realization of the fact that more and better education was prerequisite to economic security and therefore to higher living standards, was largely responsible for the increase in the educational status of the members of the second generation. It was found that the more educational opportunities to which an individual was exposed, the broader his outlook where views on education were concerned. Some of the members of this group were able to look more closely at education and see that it had other advantages besides the one of giving a secure economic foothold. One person said:

Education gives one broader objectives and makes important contributions, especially in the study of cultural patterns.... It makes for more responsible citizens.

Still another saw education as the salvation of the race, "as the only hope the Negro has of getting what is rightly his." Another applied the use of her education to her daily life:

It has helped me to supervise my children properly and to help them in their education.... It has also helped me to live respectably with members of other races..... It is tremendously important because it makes good citizens.... and teaches us how to govern ourselves in such a way that we can take our rightful places in society.

Education was also viewed as a wise use of leisure time, "the only means through which we can arrive at a lasting peace," and in many other ways.

With the ever increasing awareness of the importance of education, it is only natural to expect that the members of the third generation would be exposed to more educational opportunities than were their parents. Among those persons interviewed as representatives of the third generation, all were college graduates or were in pursuit of some professional training. Many expressed the opinion that college education had become a necessity; however, some believed that college education was not imperative. One person said:

I do not feel that a college education is absolutely necessary for everyone, since some people are able to adapt themselves quite intelligently to any circumstances. One might say that for some a college education is absolutely necessary while for others it is a mere luxury....

Others felt that the amount of education one received should be left to individual tastes. Education was deemed to be important for many reasons besides the economic one. There were some who believed that education should not be confined to schools. One informant said: "I would like for my children to receive some of their education through traveling." Still others believed the importance of education lay in the fact that it aided in "the formulation of unbiased

attitudes" and in "the appreciation of other individuals."

The above discussion has shown that with each generation new ideas have evolved concerning the importance of education for each individual. Those ideas have broadened from viewing education solely as economically important to regarding it as necessary in almost all phases of life. Despite this fact, however, education is still primarily thought of as a means to an end -- a means by which economic security can be achieved. Here one can find traces of the American capitalistic economy. Even in seeking a spouse, as will be seen later, a good education was listed by several of the members of group three as one of the necessary qualities. Possibly, this is due more to the social prestige accompanying college education than to the actual importance placed upon education as such.

Probably the only outstanding custom in connection with education is that of sending children to parochial schools to insure proper religious training, as was previously mentioned. This pattern is followed, whenever possible, from elementary school through college. Hence, the religious influence is often felt keenly throughout the course of one's education. A knowledge of this fact increases the understanding of why so many social attitudes are rooted in and governed by religious backgrounds.

C. Politics

It has already been stated in the historical background that the Negro has never regained the position of political importance which he held during Reconstruction. It is

probably quite evident that after the abrupt end of the "reign" in Louisiana of "the Negro and his Republican allies,"⁵ the interest of the Negro in politics began to diminish rapidly. According to the findings of this study, in the first generation, which was closest to the Reconstruction Era, interest and participation in political affairs were sought mostly by men. Here the French influence is quite evident, for the belief that affairs of government should be left to men is common among the French, however, many other forces may have combined to produce this apathy within this group. Generalizations concerning party affiliations within this group may be invalid; however, according to persons interviewed as representative of the first generation, the Democratic Party seemed to be favored.

In the second generation, however, there is an excellent contrast afforded by the participation of women in political affairs. Here is represented a departure from traditional attitudes and an active entrance on the part of Negro Creole women into politics. The American influence is quite evident here; in fact, in the political sphere this generation is probably more American in attitude than in any other aspect. The cultural transition of political attitudes is almost complete here. Of the persons interviewed among this generation, there was only one who was not a registered voter. Again, as in the first generation, the Democratic

⁵ C.B. Rousseve, The Negro in Louisiana (New Orleans; Xavier University Press, 1937), p. 106.

Party was favored. There was only one Republican, who held that "Negroes have no representation on a policy-making level in the Democratic Party in Louisiana and can only participate as spectators in a state or national convention..." Those who expressed Democratic sentiments did so for one major reason -- because the Democratic Party was the only one through which participation in all elections could be achieved. Other reasons for Democratic support were expressed. For example, several persons were Democrats because "of the Democratic concern for the needs of the small man." Many believed that only through political participation could the Negro force the enactment of legislation in his favor.

In the third generation a large amount of traditionalism was found. Many persons registered as Democrats merely because their parents had been or were affiliated with the Party. Several persons in this group had not reached the age of suffrage; however, they also expressed Democratic tendencies. Despite this fact, there was a much broader interpretation of the importance of political participation evident in the third generation. This participation was held to be responsible for the solution of many minority group problems, such as equalization of job opportunities, educational facilities, and living conditions. In a more nationalistic vein, one person said, "The underlying fabric of any governing body is political." Said another, "It is urgent that we participate because there is a need for competent individuals to guide society and the welfare of its citizens."

On the whole, the political background of these three

generations may be characterized by a gradual change from apathy to renewal in interest and participation of Negroes in the political field. Presently, the degree of political participation is probably at its highest point since Reconstruction, and, under normal conditions, it is quite unlikely that interest will diminish. More will be said about the future of politics within this group in Chapter Five. Even in the political sphere, the religious influence is slightly evident.⁶

D. Race

The question of the racial situation presents a very interesting picture. In this group there are several outstanding attitudes concerning the Caucasian race. The three groups may be characterized by hostile, ambivalent or resentful, and friendly attitudes respectively, with overlapping tendencies, of course, in all three groups.

In the first generation, as might be expected, there were attitudes reflecting the caste-like stratification within the race during slavery. There were many references made to "light-skinned" and "dark-skinned" Negroes. Attitudes generally reflected preference for fairer Negroes.⁷ The in-

⁶ In the case of Amendment 16 in the state election of 1954, directed toward the establishment of police power in an attempt to defeat desegregation measures, priests urged their parishioners to vote against the amendment.

⁷ It is noteworthy that while in some cases, admiration was expressed for fair Negroes who were able to deceive or confuse whites, complete contempt was expressed in cases wherein fairer Negroes abandoned racial ties to cross color lines.

fluence of the attitudes of the members of the second and third generations upon this group was made apparent by attempts to camouflage this preference. The same situation was found in the attitudes of group one toward whites. Most of the members of this group held that they were not prejudiced; however, conversations with them led to an opposite conclusion. In an attempt to confirm this belief, the question was asked, "How do you feel about interracial marriages?" Almost invariably, the response was a violent disapproval or no response at all. Most of these persons based their "lack" of prejudice upon their religious philosophies. Another manner in which negative racial attitudes were detected was through the belief that a separate but equal basis for both races should be maintained. One respondent said, "No, I don't think I am prejudiced, but I think that as long as whites stay to themselves and leave us alone, we can do well." The majority of these attitudes stemmed from unpleasant experiences with members of the opposite race. These experiences may have been of a personal nature or may have been injuries suffered by friends or relatives at the hands of whites. Attitudes of distrust were also apparent. One person said, "They're deceitful people.... You have to keep right up with them." Another said, "It's always good to get to know them well before you trust them too much." Still another, who held that he was not prejudiced, said, "I am suspicious and resentful of them.... You can't help being that way when you think of the things they can do." These same attitudes persisted on the question of educational

integration. Because of the belief that educational integration would lead to integration in other spheres, the idea was, in most cases, condemned. The idea of separate but equal facilities remained. Said one respondent, "We would be satisfied if our schools were just as good as theirs."

This generation was truly characterized by hostile attitudes toward whites and toward those Negroes who attempted to or succeeded in crossing the color line, commonly referred to by the members of this group as the attempt to "passer pour blanc."⁸

In this generation there was a considerable projection of attitudes. Whites were accused of harboring hostile attitudes toward an entire race because of the errors or faults of a few members of that race. This, however, was to be expected, for this generation was both culturally and chronologically closer to slavery than either of the other two, and naturally, a large number of the attitudes found here were rooted in the evils of the institution of slavery.

The second generation was characterized by more ambivalent and resentful attitudes, rather than by intolerance or prejudice. In those cases where deep-seated prejudices were apparent, economic and social conditions forced the display of tolerant attitudes. It was noticeable throughout the survey that on the whole, the more educational opportunities to which an individual had been exposed, the broader and more

⁸ Translation: "to pass for white."

tolerant was his outlook in almost every sphere. Operating on the principle that the majority of early attitudes were developed in the home, the author concluded that in many cases the attitudes of the parents were transmitted to the children. Experience and education were primarily responsible for the eradication of many deep-seated prejudices and the rise of resentful attitudes. In many cases, however, personal experiences have caused the feelings of prejudice to grow rather than to diminish. To illustrate the manner in which personal experiences have affected different individuals, the following responses are presented:

My first awareness of the racial situation came when I was not allowed to play outdoors on election day on account of whites.... I can't help it, I just don't like white people.... I certainly would disapprove of the marriage of any of my children to a white person.

I first came in contact with the racial problem as a child when I was told to sit in the back of the street-car 'where I belonged.' I became resentful and aggressive rather than prejudiced.... This feeling deepened when I was old enough to realize the full effects of segregation.... So far as marriage is concerned with regard to race, the choice should be left to the individual....

There was no unpleasantness for me until a little neighbor tried to tell my daughter that she was colored and therefore different. My daughter resented it.... I had never explained the situation to her because I had always lived in the neighborhood and no difference had ever been made.... This did not leave me prejudiced. Insofar as the racial situation is concerned, I consider myself very open-minded."

Conditioning has made me prejudiced.... I wouldn't object to my children marrying whites if that's what they wanted and if society would let them live as they so desired.

The situation created a feeling of resentment.... My prejudices are not directed against the white race but rather against individuals.... The white race is, on the whole as good as the Negro race.... Interracial marriage is a personal choice.... I have no objections.

Parental influence was seen in many cases, but especially those wherein parents terrified their children through using the white policemen and firemen in very much the same manner as the "bogy man" has been used. This created a fear which was followed by prejudiced and aggressive or resentful feelings.

Within the group, the caste-like stratification had begun to disappear. One person wisely said, "No matter how light-skinned we are, we're still considered as Negroes." The belief that by crossing the color line more opportunities are available, is fast dying out in the face of legislative actions which are rapidly increasing opportunities and opening new doors to Negroes.

The majority of the members of this group favored interracial marriages and educational integration. This was interpreted by the author as a valid indication that on the whole, negative racial attitudes are not nearly as deep-seated here as in group one.

Resentment of the racial situation was apparent in the responses of individuals interviewed in this group when questioned about integration in education:

Integration is the only way by which we can get equality. There can be no separate but equal system.

If integration is the only way we can have equality, then I'm for it.

Integration in the American educational system was also viewed as the only way through which world peace and harmony could be achieved, and as proof that "America can solve its own problems and thwart the attempts of those enemies of de-

mocracy who are trying to overthrow it by maximizing its weaknesses."

In the third generation, the racial situation was more nearly summed up for what it actually is, and more objective views were taken. Many of the beliefs that might later have become prejudiced or resentful attitudes were eradicated by earlier association with whites on the same social and educational level. In quite a few cases, reasons for prejudiced attitudes among whites were thoroughly evaluated, and by looking at the situation objectively, racial prejudice was held in the majority of cases to be due to ignorance. Here it was realized that with the two races living so closely in contact with each other, peace and harmony were necessary.

Within this group unpleasant experiences had a very limited influence upon the attitudes of individuals where the racial situation was concerned. To illustrate this fact, one individual said that she first became aware of the fact that she is a Negro at about eight or nine years of age when her white playmates began to refer to her as a "nigger". She said, "That didn't leave me prejudiced.... I feel that we are all just people -- the color of our skins doesn't add to or detract from that...." In another case, an individual was sharply brought face to face with the situation when she was refused a job for which she was qualified because she was a Negro. She said, "The experience didn't leave me prejudiced or change my attitude but it made me very angry."

An excellent contrast in the manner in which persons have been affected by personal experiences, as compared with

group two, is afforded by the following:

My first bitter experience came when I was visiting the home of my supervisor after a field trip to the State School for the Feeble-minded. The supervisor, after having invited us to have dinner in her home, insisted that the Negroes should eat in the kitchen with her maids while the whites ate in the dining room. This did not leave me prejudiced because I realized that the supervisor misrepresented the white race.... It irritated me because I believe in justice and equality.

Among those persons who were prejudiced, there was a realization of the fact that their attitudes were wrong, but there was no attempt to hide these attitudes. One person said:

I know that I'm wrong to feel that way but I can't help it.... That's why I think integration will be a good step -- it will help children in the formulation of correct attitudes.

The percentage of prejudiced persons in this group, however, was relatively small.

Within this group, there were only four objections to interracial marriages and two objections to educational integration. Most of these individuals had been a part of or had actively experienced the attempts to desegregate education. They viewed the situation quite favorably without any doubt that integration would be successful.

E. Class

Class is defined here as "a horizontal division of society embracing persons of the same or similar economic function and rank, religion, or political status with common cultural characteristics."⁹

⁹ Maurice R. Davie, Negroes in American Society (New York: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1949), p. 415.

As was previously noted in the historical background, the class system of New Orleans Negroes probably had its beginnings during slavery. The major determinant of class at that time was probably skin color. Within this group, however, this criterion has begun to fade as more prestige and importance are attached to education and individual achievement.

The class system in New Orleans today represents a strange picture, especially within this group. Among the French Negro population, two distinct views may be taken. In the first, the middle class may be excluded, since these persons do comprise the elite of Negro society in New Orleans and since the members of this segment of the population manifest all upper class characteristics except for the financial aspect. Education, morality, family background, social prestige, and achievement are all very apparent. In another vein, a more materialistic sense, the upper class could be excluded since there are not a sufficient number of Negroes with outstanding financial backgrounds to comprise a separate class. For the purpose of this study, this segment of the population shall be viewed as the lower upper class. The educational status of this class is relatively high and in the occupational bracket, the members of this group hold some of the highest positions open to Negroes in the city. Many are in professional fields. The incomes are comfortable; however, they are not comparable to those of whites belonging to the same social class. Home ownership is outstanding, and in the majority of cases, women are not em-

ployed outside the home. When cases occur in which women are engaged away from their homes, this is not usually due to financial necessity. Davie's description of the upper class family may also be applied to this group in that the families "tend toward the patriarchal type, Good manners, correct speech, polite behavior, and cultural attainments are stressed."¹⁰

Many authors have noted that one of the outstanding characteristics of the Negro upper class is lightness of skin. This is also true, to a certain extent, of New Orleans, although this characteristic as a criterion for upper class membership is not as pronounced now as formerly. The color-caste system of stratification originated during slavery when the darker Negroes served as field hands, while the light-skinned Negroes were house servants. The social prestige attached to being a house servant, which was merited by lightness of skin, was transferred to the system of social stratification after the dissolution of slavery. At one time in New Orleans, the class system rested primarily on color. The Negro upper class was truly a "cafe au lait" society.¹¹ Remnants of this situation may still be found among Negroes in New Orleans; however, it is more common to Creoles of the lower class.

As the attitudes of each generation concerning the class system are presented, a clearer picture may be developed.

In the first generation, almost all persons interviewed

¹⁰ Davie, op. cit., pp. 416-419 and passim.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 417.

referred to a time when color was the determinant of social class. It is necessary to remember that almost all persons interviewed as representatives of this first group belonged to old families in which distinctions based on color were recognized. As the importance of skin color began to fade, however, it was necessary to define and emphasize other criteria of class which, of course, were already possessed by upper class families. Thus they were able to maintain their upper class status. Wealth and education were quite rare, and therefore family background was stressed. As education began to increase it became one of the major determinants of social class. Those persons who had traditionally belonged to the upper class but whose status was threatened because of the newly developed criteria began to set up their own class determinants in order to maintain their social status. In many cases, morality was used; however, some persons attempted to revert to the color-caste system. According to the interviews, wealth, education, and morals were held to be the determinants of social class by the members of the first generation. Family background held a somewhat receding position.¹²

¹¹ Ibid., p. 417

¹² One major reason for the receding position of family background was that many families had white ancestry. With the establishment of morality as one of the criteria for upper class status, family background proved to be a threat to many families. As a result, white ancestry was viewed as a "blighted area" in the family background of these individuals. This also reflects the religious influence, for according to religious beliefs, the manner in which this racial mixture occurred was considered licentious and sinful.

In the second generation, education, financial status, family background, morals, social environment, and social contacts were held to be the major determinants of social class.

In many cases, there were objections to the use of the word "class." Said one person, "The whole thing is based upon imitations.... I don't want to be labelled as belonging to any." Said another, "I hope I belong to the class of people who look forward to brotherhood." In this generation, material achievements and educational background seemed to be the basic criteria. Family background was held to be even less important than it was in group one.

In the third generation, wealth, education, and family background were the major determinants of social class. In this group the importance of family background began to reappear; however, there were many dissidents. One person said, "I disagree with the idea of family background as a determinant of social class.... There aren't any blue bloods among Negroes."

Quite to the contrary of the upper class as described by E. Franklin Frazier, this group of Negroes is not characterized by conspicuous consumption.¹³ The majority of them own their own homes, which are usually located in mixed or in the more exclusive Negro neighborhoods.¹⁴ Those persons in this

¹³ E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro in the United States (New York: Macmillan Co., 1949), pp. 292-300 and passim.

¹⁴ One major reason for the attempt to purchase or rent property in mixed neighborhoods by these people was the neglect of the city, until recently, for solid Negro neighborhoods, with regard to paving, lighting, etc. The more exclusive Negro neighborhoods are occupied usually by members of the middle and upper classes.

group who rent their homes usually rent in mixed neighborhoods. Many of them own cars, belong to social clubs, participate in civic activities, and dress attractively. However, very seldom is the manifestation of status materially transported with one's person.

On the whole, this group may be viewed as having middle class aspirations and financial capacity, with upper class educational, cultural, occupational, and moral manifestations. The importance of color in the class system is being eradicated and replaced by personal achievement.

F. Marriage

The role of husband or wife usually plays a major role in the lives of the members of this segment of the population. As a rule, preparation for marriage begins at a very early age in the rearing of both boys and girls. The importance placed upon marriage has not decreased in three generations. It ranks second only to religion in the lives of the majority of these people; however, because of the increase in educational and employment opportunities, the ages at which individuals marry have tended to be extended more in each generation. Here again, the materialistic influence of American capitalism is evident. Marriage practices in this group are guided almost wholly by Church dogma.

To illustrate the importance placed upon the marital state, one person in the first group said, "When I was a girl, that's all we looked forward to.... We began preparing for marriage almost as soon as we knew what the word meant." Another said, "Every woman should get married.... We prepared

at an early age.... You didn't hear of nearly as many divorces either."

In the course of preparation for marriage in the first generation, much time was devoted to making a trousseau. The majority of the articles in this trousseau were hand-made by the individuals themselves. In some cases, this was begun at as early an age as twelve or thirteen. Security and good family background were sought in most cases and, in many other instances, the color of the skin played a predominant role. The families of young girls had a great influence in the choice of their mates and, in a few cases, made all the necessary arrangements. Large and small weddings followed by all day receptions and celebrations were not uncommon in this group. It was, and still is, customary to take the marital vows at a Nuptial Mass.¹⁵

In the second generation, many of the practices of group one were carried over, especially those concerning the preparations for marriage; however, there was a tendency to marry at a slightly later age and for women to seek more than security and family backgrounds in husbands. For example, in addition to security, love, and family background, many persons in group two sought husbands who were willing to educate their children to the fullest extent possible, who would share in the responsibilities of the home, and who would guide the religious backgrounds of their families. On the other hand, the men sought wives who were compatible in every respect-- socially,

¹⁵ Nuptial Mass affords special graces and prayers that the couple may be blessed with children.

culturally, and where religion was concerned, who were stable, with high morals, and who would give themselves completely to their duties toward their husbands and children. Marriage was viewed as the only manner by which the race could be procreated. There remained quite a bit of family influence in the choice of a spouse; however, it was not nearly as great as it was in the first generation. Skin color did not outwardly play as important a role, and preparations for marriage began at a slightly later age.

In preparing for marriage, the female members of the third generation did not spend nearly as much time in the making of a trousseau as did the members of the parent and grandparent generations. Many of them bought articles; however, some made their trousseaus by hand. In a few cases, hand-made articles were contributed by parents, grandparents, and other relatives. Since the majority of women in this group were college graduates or in pursuit of college degrees, they sought husbands who had achieved the same or a better educational status. The amount of formal education sought by men in women was not as great. Other qualities sought by the members of this group were common religious beliefs, good financial and moral backgrounds, understanding, love, willingness to sacrifice, compatibility, and fidelity. Family influence in the choice of a mate was found to be far less important in this generation than in the two previous ones; however, it was customary to have family opinions expressed on prospective spouses. The amount of influence of these opinions usually depended

largely upon the individuals themselves. That skin color was in any way significant, was never admitted; nevertheless, several attitudes showed that some value was placed upon it.

In all three generations, the religious influence was evident when birth control was mentioned. The majority of persons interviewed violently opposed this idea. The attitude that marriage was primarily for procreation prevailed. A childless couple were considered victims of a grave misfortune.

The French influence was especially evident in the first generation insofar as employment of the wife outside the home was concerned. Work outside the home was permitted only when absolutely necessary. There was a much milder attitude in the second generation. Many of the women in this group were not employed outside the home; however, the idea was favorably viewed. The third group held largely to the idea that if a woman wanted to work, she should do so before marriage and continue after marriage until there were children. At this time she should stop working long enough to give the children proper care and guidance, or at least until they could enter school. A career should never be allowed to affect the unity of the home. In this respect, marriage should come first, regardless of the sacrifices.

Another noteworthy fact evident in the interviews was the increasing aspirations of each group for their children, in all respects.

Divorces were absent altogether in the three groups used in the study. For this class segment in New Orleans, the

divorce rate is reputed to be very low.

The family behavior of wedded persons and their children was controlled largely by the social mores and the opinions of other members of the group, as well as by the backgrounds of the individuals themselves, all of which are based largely upon Church teachings. Another probable reason for the lack of divorce within this group may be seen in the statement of one person, which expresses the common attitude of the group: "Marriage is a lasting institution; hence one should be very careful in the choice of a mate."

The families of this group are relatively large. There were approximately 161 children in the families of the twenty-five persons interviewed as representative of the first and second generations. Included in this number were the children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren of the subjects interviewed. This is not, however, too indicative of the distribution within this group, which is fairly evident in Chapter III where the number of children per family is given.¹⁶

G. Sex

The subject of sex has long been one of the least discussed topics, at least outwardly, among New Orleans Negro Creoles. It has always been viewed as something which should be kept covered until experience uncovered it. For this reason,

¹⁶ The third generation was not included because of the fact that the majority of the individuals were not yet married. It is noteworthy, however, that those married and childless, or unmarried, aspired to have from three to five children.

it was most difficult to obtain information on the subject, particularly in the first and second generations.

Despite the early preparations for marriage experienced by the members of group one, sex, the basis of the institution, was the subject in which those individuals were least instructed. In most cases, excessive attention to sex was avoided because of two extreme underlying beliefs -- one, that sex was so intimate that it should be kept hidden, and the other, that sex was something sordid and knowledge of it should be delayed as long as possible. In most cases the major source of sexual education was close older friends and the second most important source was through post-marital experience. Sexual practices, like marriage habits, were, and in most cases still are, based on Catholic dogma. The clandestine attitude toward sex prevalent in the first generation was exemplified by several persons. One said, "I don't see anything wrong with keeping it from youngsters." Another said, "I liked to see their minds kept innocent as long as possible." In all cases, the subjects expressed violent disagreement with pre-marital and extra-marital sexual relationships. Chastity before marriage was a highly prized virtue, and marital fidelity was held in highest esteem. In many instances, the influence of the first generation was very apparent in group three also.¹⁷

¹⁷ This was especially evident in those cases in which one or both of the grandparents lived with or near their children or grandchildren.

In group two, the majority of the subjects reported that they had been very sheltered from sexual knowledge in childhood, adolescence, and in many cases, in adulthood. Exposure to better educational facilities made those persons in the second generation more aware of the realities of life, and therefore many of them abandoned the pattern of concealing sexual knowledge from their children. In many instances, however, the subject of sex was discussed with much difficulty and many restraints. To illustrate the changing attitudes within two generations, one person said, "Children should be instructed according to age, need, and situation. What should be told and when it should be told depends upon the child." Another said, "Parents should talk to their children concerning sex.... I learned through experience.... No one told us anything." Many persons in this group failed to give their children proper knowledge of sex because they had not yet learned to express themselves on the subject. Lack of proper instruction was believed to be the cause of many pitfalls and was deemed necessary by many individuals "for the formulation and maintenance of proper attitudes." Others felt that a true knowledge of sex was more important now than formerly, due to less parental control, absence of former taboos, and the greater freedom of young people. Insofar as pre-marital and extra-marital sexual relationships were concerned, the attitudes of the first generation was maintained. Because of the high value placed in virginity and fidelity, culturally and traditionally, these qualities are sacredly guarded.

In group three, many individuals were also sheltered

from sexual knowledge, but in very few cases was there found the intention or the practice of following the same pattern in the rearing of the children of the members of this generation. It was the general experience of the members of this group that parents did not openly discuss sex with them, but gave them books to read. In several cases, however, there were sexual discussions whenever there was a need for them. The outstanding attitude toward sex in this group was that a more natural outlook should be adopted, and that children should be instructed in sex as they become curious about it. In those cases where the influence of parents and grandparents was very evident, emphasis on sex, especially pre-maritally, was considered dangerous because it aroused curiosity. Pre-marital and extra-marital sexual relationships were viewed as immoral and degrading.

In all three groups, especially the first two, some secretiveness was to be found; hence, as has already been mentioned, there was difficulty in obtaining facts. However, the author has attempted to present at least the basic attitudes of three generations of the Negro Creoles of New Orleans.

CHAPTER V

TRENDS AND PROSPECTS

The present study has attempted to give some insight into the lives of one segment of New Orleans' Negro Creoles in an aspect other than historical. In this chapter, the author attempts to describe some possible future attitudes and trends within the group under study.

Inasmuch as the religious factor has remained constant in its influence upon the lives of the members of this group, it is likely to continue to be a dominant social control and to exercise potent influence over those aspects of the lives of the Negro creoles to which its dogma is related. At the present time, the religious influence is most keenly felt in those areas which are of primary importance to the individual, namely, those in which primary group relations are concerned, as in the cases of marriage and sex. In the educational sphere, the religious influence is evident in the custom of sending children to parochial schools. There is likely to be little if any change in attitudes concerning marriage habits and sexual behavior, especially where there are religious laws enforcing customs, or vice versa. A broader outlook is gradually developing, however, and the subject of sex has tended to be more openly discussed and more naturally approached.

Where race, politics, education, and class are concerned, far less religious influence is seen in the attitudes of the members of this group. This is because of the limitations placed upon the Church where the exercise of state or civil government is concerned. Whether admitted or denied, it is an evident fact, that except in primary group situations where religion has a dominant influence, the racial situation ranks second in controlling the attitudes and lives of both whites and Negroes in New Orleans. Within this group, the trend has been to increase political participation in order to combat racial discrimination. Many of the Negro civic leaders in the New Orleans community are creoles of the middle and upper classes. With the aid of other prominent Negroes, they have converted an increasing number of Negroes to the philosophy that improved social and economic opportunities can best be achieved through political organization. In the past few years, this action has been evident in the attempts on the part of Negroes to gain representation in practically every civil and political field. This political action has been focused upon the breaking down of job sealings and the broadening of opportunities for Negroes.

The situation mentioned above may be viewed in two separate ways:

1. Political action has broadened job opportunities, and, as a result of this, has of necessity increased the educational aspirations of the Negro.

2. The Negro has become better educated. However, with no outlet for his services, his frustrations and sensitivities reached the point at which an outlet was sought

through political action.

Whatever view the reader may choose, the conclusion which follows demonstrates that the Negro-creole has become thoroughly Americanized in the political field, because he has learned that political pressure, if applied in a manner which is not in contradistinction to the ends of society, can be wrought to his advantage. In all instances, the members of this group are constantly pushing toward the goal of equalization of opportunity through political action.

The attitudes entertained by the members of the group under study where whites are concerned have previously been divided into three categories.¹ With the advent of integration, the degree of outward hostility on the part of the first generation will probably disappear, though the attitudes will be more difficult to overcome. In the second generation, a more positive attitude will probably develop, and since the third group is already characterized by positive attitudes, despite the lack of intensive knowledge about whites, the cultural and educational enrichment afforded by the intermingling of ideas and ideals will be gained. Ambivalent feelings toward educational integration due to lack of true knowledge and to its social implications will, more than likely, be carried over to personal feelings toward whites. However, time and circumstances will, in all probability clear up any difficulties.

With the advent of educational integration, the mono-

¹ See Chapter IV.

poly of denominational schools over the education of Negro Catholics will probably decrease considerably, and with the increase in the number of Negro children attending public schools, Negro leaders will push for representation on school committees.

In the event of complete integration, the class system of Negro creoles will tend to assume the characteristics of the American society, for then the Negro will have the opportunity to maintain the same socio-economic determinants attached to various class levels as do whites. Those cases, more especially common to Negro creoles of the lower class and found to a limited extent among the members of the middle and upper classes, in which a premium is placed upon lightness of skin and texture of hair will become increasingly less important until they have reached the point of diminishing returns. With integration, the basic reason for the importance attached to hair and color distinctions-- namely, the seeking of racial equality through proximity in appearance to the white race-- will have been largely invalidated.

An attempt has been made here to indicate that practically all of the secondary attitudes of the members of the group under study are centered around the equalization of opportunity through integration, or otherwise. In the event of integration, there will probably develop a marked difference in the attitudes and the direction of the efforts of these people.

The customs and attitudes which are rooted in a traditional French background will probably become weaker, and as

the members of each generation are influenced more by American customs and ideals, Creole traditions will eventually disappear. Nevertheless, the system of common values generated by Creole culture has been so deeply assimilated that any prediction of its complete disappearance would be in the realm of speculation.

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APPENDICES

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION OBTAINED
IN THE RESEARCH STAGES
OF THIS STUDY

APPENDIX A - FAMILY BACKGROUNDS

In conducting interviews for this study, the author found that approximately ninety percent of the persons interviewed were able to trace a paternal or maternal French background. Those who were unable to do so had reason to believe they belonged to that ancestry because of customs and practices that had persisted in their families. In the event that those persons were not of French background, they were believed to afford an excellent example of the diffusion of French culture. In many cases, the surnames of persons interviewed did not indicate their French ancestry because it existed in the maternal line. To illustrate the manner in which surnames proved to be indicative of French background, a few of the names of persons interviewed and their ancestors are mentioned here: Veasey, Peche, Dejoie, Brunious, Boutte, LaSalle, Biagas, Broussard, Maurice, DeBlanc, DeLaste, Chaligny, DeLatour, Labat, Braud, Melancon, LaRose, Berteaux, Troullier, LeFrere, Cousine, Bissant, Lafon, Rousseau, Bousquet, Placide, Berraud, Narcisse, Jourdain, Blanc, Dejean, Tureaud, Mansion, Rousseve, Robichaux, Gregoire, Jean, Gautier, Gourrier, Trudeau, and Millet. These names were not mentioned in connection with Chapters Three and Four because of the request for anonymity by many of the persons who cooperated in making this study possible.

The majority of these individuals traced back only two

or three generations to their white ancestry. Many persons requested that their names be withheld because of white relatives living in the New Orleans community.¹ There were also many revelations concerning relationships between white and Negro ancestors of the members of this group. One individual told of her great-grandmother, a freed slave who eventually married a white plantation owner upon the death of his wife. She bore him ten children, five of whom disappeared across the color line. The great-grand aunt, a white woman, of another individual reputedly owned at one time Amite, Louisiana, for whom the place is named today.

In another case, one person told of a split in her family in which the daughters of her grand-uncle had crossed the color line, while their brothers still live in the community as Negroes.

There was still another case in which the individual related that his father was a white slave owner, and all of his sons, except the interviewee, had either crossed the color line or were actually white. Cases such as these furnish reasons for the anonymous nature of this study.

In other instances, the Creole ancestry was proudly spoken of and no request for anonymity was made. One person

¹ Many of the "white relatives" had crossed the color line; however, many were actually white. In a few cases, it was pointed out that Negroes who had crossed the color line two or three generations ago had become completely absorbed in the white population. The children of these individuals, as well as any of their descendants, were usually unaware of their Negro ancestry. Negroes, however, were found to be aware of their white ancestry in almost all cases studied.

was able to trace her ancestry back to France where her great-great-grandfather allegedly served as a general under Napoleon Bonaparte.

The grandfather of another individual was reported to have been a blockade runner in the Civil War who was captured by Union forces and later freed.

Another person interviewed was related to Thomy Lafon, outstanding Negro philanthropist. Others recalled stories of slavery and of the Civil War which had been handed down from their slave ancestors.

One individual claimed ancestry from one of the families studied by Grace King, and was able to trace back even farther than did Miss King. Still another traced her family back to a famous Negro legislator during Reconstruction.

The author held the family backgrounds of the individuals interviewed to be especially important as a strengthening factor for her use of the term "Negro Creole."

APPENDIX B - CUSTOMS

This section has been devoted to the discussion of outstanding French customs which are most common to the group under study and which were not previously discussed in connection with Chapter Five.

Chaperoning and Debuts

The first of these customs is that of the chaperoning of young girls. It has been a prevailing practice among Negro creoles to have young girls closely chaperoned. The degree of intensity of the chaperoning has changed over three

generations from the practice of chaperoning until marriage to practically no chaperoning at all. In the first generation, a young girl was very seldom seen without a chaperon-- usually her mother or her aunt. She was not allowed to frequent public places or to be seen accompanied by a young man, without a guardian. This chaperoning began at a very early age and lasted until the young girl married.

In the second generation, this pattern was closely followed; however, chaperoning usually stopped with engagement or betrothal, and often before.

In group three, this custom was modified in that young girls were allowed to date in groups unchaperoned; however, they were usually accompanied by their mothers on their first dates. There was usually little, if any, chaperoning after a young girl reached the age of sixteen.

Another custom closely allied to that of chaperoning was that of making a debut, or of a young girl's being formally presented to society after she had reached marriageable age. This was originally done to insure the entrance of a young woman into the proper social circles and in order that she might meet young men of her own or of a higher social status. Before making a debut, a young girl was not allowed to frequent public places, such as night clubs or to attend public dances. The first public appearance of the debutante was at her formal introduction. This tradition still exists however, it has lost much of its original significance.

Culinary Habits

The "Creole cuisine" is probably one of the most per-

sistent customs connected with the French tradition. In only a very few families has the French style of cooking yielded to the American mode. The foods are very highly seasoned, employing the use of thyme, bay leaves, and file to complete the Creole touch. Many outstanding dishes are reserved for special celebrations or as a treat for visitors to the city. It is not uncommon to find file gumbo served in most homes on Sundays or at regular intervals. This group takes considerable pride in its traditional delicacies. To illustrate this, an individual said, "Everyone just can't cook Creole style. It's a wonderful gift to be able to do so." Recipes for the majority of Creole dishes can be found in the cook books listed in the bibliography.

The following are just a few of the outstanding foods common to this group of people:

1. Crayfish bisque, in which the crayfish are cleaned, dressed, and cooked in a highly seasoned gravy.
2. Shrimp a la Creole -- a shrimp and rice dish colored with tomato gravy and very highly seasoned.
3. Grillades -- meat cooked with green peppers and tomatoes.
4. Rice calas -- rice patties, usually sweetened, floured, and fried.
5. Court boullion -- a stewed, de-boned fish delicacy, smartly seasoned.
6. Rio lait -- rice sweetened with sugared milk and spiced.
7. Grillades pannees -- breaded meat with additional

spices.

To the above mentioned list could be added many other dishes too numerous to mention and describe here.

Another custom is the drinking of wine with meals and coffee after meals.

Other Customs

Other customs which do not require as detailed a discussion as those already mentioned but which nevertheless are significantly regarded by Negro creoles will be presented here.

Although these people are of French background, there are very few cases wherein the pure French language is spoken. This was most prevalent in the first generation. In the majority of cases, however, Creole French is either spoken or understood. The author was led to believe that the Creole language is a French dialect because of the recurrence of a great number of French words. Many Creoles, however, argue that it is a mixture of French and Spanish. A close observation leads one to conclude that it is basically French, though it is possible that some Spanish may have been absorbed. The language was not used nearly as much by the members of the second generation and was scarcely used at all by members of group three, though, in many cases, it was understood. The author was informed by one member of the first generation that there were three outstanding languages spoken, but all were basically the same. These were French, Cajun French, and Creole gibberish.

Through observation of the home furnishings of the

persons interviewed, the author noticed that much of the French influence was to be found there. Many homes had very high ceilings with elaborate chandeliers, or at least chandelier-type lighting. Tall mantelpieces and fireplaces were not uncommon in these homes. The furnishings in many cases were almost completely French, featuring French period furniture. Also evident in most cases was the outstanding ability of the women in this group with regard to needlework. Crocheted and embroidered scarves and doilies ornamented the sofas, chairs, and furniture throughout the houses.

Another noteworthy custom is practiced by the women of this group on Good Friday. To denote willingness to make any offering to God, the hair is cut or trimmed on that day. This custom, possibly due to changing modes of hairdress, has lost much of the significance attached to it in earlier generations.

Whether or not the custom about to be discussed is completely of French origin is unknown to the author; however, the piercing of the ears of women is characteristic of the females of this group. This is done by massaging the ear lobes until they are numb. Then a cork is pressed behind the earlobe and a sterilized needle and thread are pierced through the lobe. The thread is tied and oiled so that it can be turned around within the lobe to prevent the hole from closing. After a period of time, the thread is removed from the ear and a straw is inserted until the ear has healed enough to use earrings.

Finally, a custom which no longer exists as such but which is believed to have laid the foundation for Negro insurance companies in New Orleans will be discussed. In the early lives of the members of the first generation, societies were developed to help families defray funeral expenses and to help sick persons. These societies usually developed among persons engaged in the same trade who wanted their wives and families to be provided for in the event of their deaths. In most instances, upon the death of a member, the society arranged the funeral and provided in some measure for the dependents of the deceased until their deaths or until such time as they were able to provide for themselves.

Wakes were held in the homes of the deceased individuals rather than in funeral parlors. It was customary for everyone to walk to the funeral except the closest relatives of the dead person, and the society band accompanied the procession playing the funeral march. The widow was expected to remain away from public contact for a long period of time and to wear black mourning for a period of at least two years. The most outstanding of these societies were The Artesians, Les Jeunes Amis, Les Frauns Amis, and Dieu Nous Protege, all located in downtown New Orleans, and The Vidalias in uptown New Orleans.

These customs which have been discussed are not all of the customs characteristic of this class of people; however, they are those which have had the most far-reaching effects and therefore to which the most sociological importance is attached.

VITA

The author was born August 14, 1933 in New Orleans, Louisiana. She received her elementary education at Blessed Sacrament Catholic School and McDonogh #6 Public School. She graduated from Xavier University Preparatory High School in June, 1949. From September, 1949 through May, 1953, the author attended Xavier University in New Orleans, where she majored in Sociology and minored in Spanish and Philosophy. In May, 1953, she received the Bachelor of Arts degree.

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EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

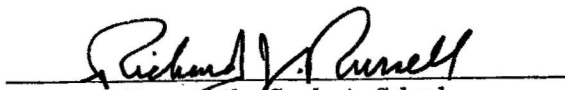
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Title of Thesis: Cultural Patterns of Colored Creoles: A Study of a Selected Segment of New Orleans Negroes with French Cultural Orientations

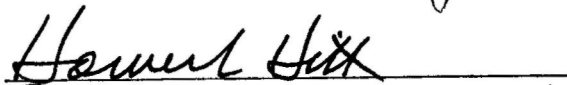
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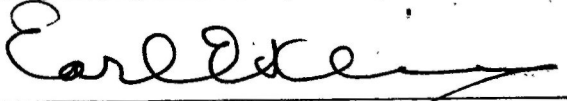

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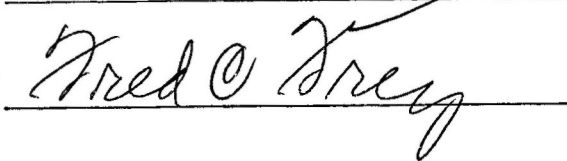

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EXAMINING COMMITTEE:









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