EXAMINING THE EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY OF HENRIETTE DELILLE:

A CASE STUDY

by

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Dedication

First, I dedicate this dissertation to God for ordering my footsteps, and then to those who chose to travel this journey with me.

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This doctoral journey has been a period of intense learning for me, not only in qualitative research but also on a personal level. Since the writing of this dissertation has been instrumental in broadening my worldview and pushing me past my self-imposed limitations, I would like to take this time to reflect on the people who have supported and helped me throughout my dissertation journey.

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Abstract

This dissertation explores Henriette Delille's educational philosophy that was developed during the antebellum era of New Orleans and her contributions to modern day education. The researcher investigated the pervasive culture of White privilege, which existed and denied the enslaved Black populace access to education. Within the literature, there was a lack of information examining the foundation of Delille's philosophy of education as a free Black woman in antebellum New Orleans. The purpose of this qualitative case study was to explore the factors that influenced Henriette Delille's educational philosophy as well as her contributions to modern day education through the theoretical framework of W. E. B. DuBois' (1903) theory of double consciousness, which included the theoretical constructs of self-consciousness and racial identity. The researcher developed questions that addressed validity, value, and credibility as well as the depth and breadth of the research through the use of descriptive data. Historical and archival data became the voice of Henriette Delille because she is deceased. Major findings included emergent themes of racialization, political manipulation, religious influence, imperialism, and enslavement. The researcher concluded that race, religious influence, and the social strata of antebellum New Orleans guided Henriette Delille's philosophy of education. Implications of this research resulted in policies to address curriculum inequalities, racialization, and inclusive pedagogy. Future research will benefit from the examination of White privilege, disparities in the availability of quality education, and classroom segregation in modern day New Orleans' schools.

Chapter 1: Introduction

White society in the antebellum South viewed education as a privilege, while enslaved Black people desired education for social, economic, and political upward mobility from their enslaved status (Davis, 2004). Henriette Delille, a mixed-race Catholic nun, dedicated her life to the education of enslaved Black people (Gould, 2012). However, the literature lacked information that examined Delille's educational philosophy. Consequently, the following research questions were developed based on the literature reviewed to explore her philosophy of education: (a) What factors contributed to Henriette Delille's philosophy of education, and (b) In what ways did Henriette Delille contribute to education in New Orleans? Therefore, the purpose of this qualitative case study was to explore the factors that influenced the educational philosophy of Delille in antebellum New Orleans as well as her contributions to education in New Orleans through the theoretical framework of W. E. B. DuBois' (1903) theory of double consciousness.

The study of Delille's philosophy of education during the antebellum era of New Orleans expanded the knowledge of her life as an educator. Her philosophy of education was significant because this study informed the reader of diversity issues in antebellum schooling, racialization, and unequal access to education. The researcher's objective was to examine Delille's life as a mixed-race Catholic religious educator, broaden scholarly knowledge of antebellum education in an oppressive and segregated learning environment, and inform the reader of the impact of racialization on the Black population. Chapter 1 includes the background of the study, the problem statement, the purpose statement, an overview of the theoretical framework and methodology, the research questions, the delimitations and limitations of this study, the significance of the research, the definitions of terms, the organization of this study, and a chapter

summary. The next section discusses the background and contextualization of Delille's philosophy of education.

Background and Contextualization of the Issue

Social status and skin color determined who gained access to educational opportunities in the antebellum South (Batchelor, 2015; Rury & Darby, 2016; Watson, 2012). Public school leaders denied Black students' access to public schools and education due to a pervasive culture of White domination (Baumgartner, 2017; Hinks, 2012; Rury & Darby, 2016). Consequently, Black students of the antebellum era received an inferior education when compared to the education provided to White students because Black students' education was either denied or limited by legal mandates (Davis, 2004; Hart, 1976; Woodson, 2004).

Enslaved Black people were bound by the *French Code Noir* and *Spanish Las Partidas,* which prescribed detailed regulations regarding "holidays, marriage, religious instruction, burial, clothing and subsistence, punishment and manumission" ("Code Noir," 2019, para. 1; Owens, 2017). Therefore, the education of enslaved Black people was limited to the teachings of Catholic religion whereas reading and writing was excluded from their educational instruction (Davis, 2004). Consequently, Vaughn (1974) claimed disparities in the education provided to enslaved Black people were due to the slave revolts of Vesey in 1822 and Nat Turner in 1831. After the revolts of Vesey and Turner, southern states passed statutes that limited the education of free people of color, forbade the instruction of enslaved Black people, and initiated the beatings of free Black people who taught enslaved Black people. Furthermore, it was a crime to teach Black children to read or write, so they were not allowed to participate in the education provided to White students (Anderson, 1988). Although Black students in present-day New Orleans have access to education, inequalities in access to quality public education exist according to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (2012). Moreover,

Burt, Ortlieb, and Cheek (2013) stated that White privilege, negative attitudes by White teachers, and low expectations of Black student achievement by White teachers impact Black students' ability to receive quality educational opportunities.

According to McIntosh (2015), White privilege in education results in the inequality of teaching and learning resources for Black students and differences in quality learning in White-centered versus Black-centered schools. Harper and Davis (2015) and McIntosh (2014, 2015) viewed White privilege as subconscious prejudice propagated by societal norms formed by White people's unawareness that they hold the power of privilege over people of color. Kendall (2013) defined White privilege as "having greater access to power and resources than people of color do; in other words, purely on the basis of our [White] skin color doors are open to us that are not open to other people" (p. 1). Consequently, Black students perceive that White teachers provide White classmates with unearned privileges and academic advancement (Harper & Davis, 2012).

Alonso, Anderson, Su, and Theoharris (2009) pointed out that the achievement of the American dream is a derivative of education; however, many Black students are not provided the proper education and resources to achieve the American dream. These researchers also acknowledged that schools attended by Black students are often vicious, dilapidated, congested, inadequately staffed, and poorly funded (Alonso et al., 2009). Contemporaneously, White privilege appears to dismiss the issues of substandard resources, low achievement scores, and lack of Black cultural acknowledgment in learning activities in Black-centered schools (Burt, Ortlieb, & Cheek, 2013).

The unspoken societal laws of White privilege allowed Catholic leaders to opt out of educating enslaved Black people during the antebellum era of New Orleans (Davis, Gould, Nolan, & Thibodeaux, 1997; Detiege, 1976). Thus, Delille's contribution to the education of

Black people was vital to securing the interest of future generations of Black students (Fichter, 1992). The benefits of her own White privilege were necessary for the education of enslaved Black people in antebellum New Orleans (Harper & Davis, 2012). For example, Gould (2012) recounted that Delille, as a free woman of color, was able to purchase a home at 72 Bayou Road that was converted into a "convent with dormitories, classrooms, dining facilities, and a chapel" (p. 53). The whiteness of Delille's skin and mixed-race social status allowed her White privileges such as home ownership that allowed her to educate enslaved Black people in antebellum New Orleans without consequence (Davis, 2004; Detiege, 1976; Hart, 1976). According to both Fichter (1992) and Davis (2004), Delille's Black and White mixed-ancestry allowed her partial citizenship and limited acceptance in society as she pursued educating enslaved Black people in antebellum New Orleans.

The general problems of Black American education today are limited access to quality education, inadequate educational resources, and inequalities in education (Sanders, 2000). Researchers such as Sanders (2000) and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (ORECD, 2012) found that all students taught in the United States do not receive equitable educational opportunities. For example, Sanders (2000) stated that Black "students are more likely to be taught core academic subjects by teachers who did not major in these subjects than are students of more affluent schools with small minority populations" (p. xv). Therefore, Black students receive inadequate educational preparation by teachers not educated in core subjects, which results in a lesser quality of education (Sanders, 2000). The OECD's (2012) research confirmed that disadvantaged schools are not always staffed with the highest quality teachers" (p. 12). Resultantly, Krueger and Card (1992) determined there is a correlation between the quality of education and the rate of students' return to education.

Charter schools and school voucher programs have addressed disparities in the education of Black students, neither choice has eradicated the problems of inequalities. Though charter schools have attempted to address the aforementioned issues Black students confront, Brown (2017) reported that "while high-quality, accountable, and acceptable charters can contribute to educational opportunity, by themselves, even the best charters are not a substitute for more stable, adequate and equitable investments in public education" (para. 3). Furthermore, private school vouchers were historically used by "southern communities to resist court-ordered integration by sending White students to private schools" (Eden, 2017, para. 1). According to Kahlenberg, Potter, and Quick (2016) the voucher program "serves a disproportionate percentage of White and wealthy students, the most disadvantaged students do not benefit, religious private schools sort students by religious background, and segregation tends to increase with the use of vouchers" (para. 10-18). Finally, Roda and Wells (2013) found that when school voucher policies are not intended to racially or socioeconomically integrate schools there is a "greater stratification and separation of students by race and ethnicity" (p. 261).

Many teachers may not be prepared to provide the highest quality education to Black students, teachers also deal with inadequate teaching resources (Keisch & Scott, 2015; Kohli, Pizarro, & Nevárez, 2017). Krueger and Card (1992) determined that students taught by better-educated teachers have a higher rate of return for additional schooling. According to the OECD (2012), educational resources and how those resources are spent can negatively influence learning opportunities for Black students. Multimedia, manipulatives such as globes for social studies, videos, computers, tablets, software, internet access, and multicultural add on curriculums are a few basic resources that can positively support learning for Black students if teachers have access to them (Voltz, Sims, & Nelson, 2010).

Finally, the OECD (2012) determined that equitable education that is inclusive and supportive of the learning potential of Black students can be attained by not setting the student up for failure with preset barriers and low educational achievement expectations. The OECD's (2012) findings confirmed the research of Carter and Wer (2013), who associate educational disparities with skin color, ethnicity, linguistics, and social class status. Additionally, the longer equal access to education has been denied, "the more inequality has compounded the adverse effects on these groups–in some cases, rendering it difficult to catch up in subsequent generations" (Carter & Wer, 2013, p. 1).

White society influenced the rigors of slavery, political exclusions, and the lack of education for the enslaved Black populace (Bertocchi & Dimico, 2014). Concurrently, enslaved Black students experienced issues with obtaining an adequate education in the antebellum South (Bertocchi & Dimico, 2014). According to Walters and James (1992), enslaved Black children received an inadequate education because of Southern antebellum era school boards controlled by county governments. Furthermore, learning opportunities provided to enslaved Black people were not considered to be a respectable part of Southern antebellum society (Bullock, 1967).

Southern antebellum society believed that "the continuation of slavery depended upon keeping the Black in a state of ignorance" (Vaughn, 1974, p. 1). Consequently, enslaved Black people were not allowed to read or obtain necessary literacy skills (Carter & Wer, 2013). Furthermore, White-dominant Southern economics and politics denied enslaved Black children educational opportunities because enslaved Black children's labor was necessary to support the production and harvesting of cotton plantations (Walters & James, 1992). This study sought to discover Delille's philosophy of education for enslaved Black people during the antebellum era of New Orleans as well as her contributions to the education of Black students in New Orleans today.

Problem Statement

The pervasive culture of White domination and privilege that existed during the antebellum era controlled enslaved Black people's access to functional schools and denied enslaved Black people quality education (Baumgartner, 2017; Hinks, 2012; Rury & Darby, 2016). For example, the Code Noir, a French law that governed antebellum New Orleans, obligated every plantation owner to educate the enslaved Black population in the Catholic religious faith every Sunday (Woodson, 2004). However, the Code Noir only provided limited education, such as learning the Lord's Prayer and reciting the Catholic creed and the Ten Commandments (Bly, 2013).

Enslaved Black people believed they could attain upward social mobility by learning to read and write (Bullock, 1967); however, antebellum White society maintained social and economic superiority that perpetuated the inferiority of Black people established by White privilege (McIntosh, 2015; Woodson, 2004). Consequently, those individuals who supported the education of enslaved Black people were harassed, intimidated through violence, and hated by the White people who wanted to maintain a superior status by preventing the education of enslaved Black people (Baumgartner, 2017; Leeson, 1966). One of these supporters of educating enslaved Black people was Henriette Delille (Davis, 2004; Gould, 2012). According to Hart (1976), Delille was motivated to educate enslaved Black people of antebellum New Orleans to dispel the myth created by the French that enslaved Black people were on a path to eternal ruin. Today, education for Black students in New Orleans is characterized still today by instances of unequal access to quality education that enslaved Black people encountered in antebellum New Orleans (Bly, 2013; National Urban League, 2016; Vanneman, Hamilton, Andrew, & Rahman, 2009).

Green (2014) explained that modern-day curricula in New Orleans are culturally as well as racially biased and restrict access to equal educational opportunities for Black students. Rasheed (2006) provided an example of Black students' restricted access to equal education by explaining the New Orleans school board's careful selection of Black girls for admission into the William Frantz and McDonough No. 19 elementary schools in a study that emerged from the unequal access to quality education experienced in present-day New Orleans schools (Buras, 2013). Black boys were not allowed to apply because they were deemed too threatening (Green, 2014; Rasheed, 2006; Toldson, 2014). According to Rasheed (2006), 137 Black female kindergarten students were tested and applied for admission to the Frantz and McDonough No. 19 elementary schools, but only five of them were allowed to proceed into the two elementary schools. As students of the Frantz and McDonough No. 19 elementary schools, the five Black elementary school girls encountered harassments, threats, and physical attacks for daring to interfere with the established White power structures of New Orleans (Rasheed, 2006).

Examinations of Delille's philosophy of education as well as her contributions to education expanded the literature regarding Black students' unequal access to quality education (Davis, 2004; Deggs, 2001; Detiege, 1976; Gould, 2012; Hart, 1976). However, these studies did not explicitly compare curricula from the antebellum and contemporary schools of New Orleans. Therefore, the current study examined the educational philosophy of Delille during the antebellum period of New Orleans to explore the historical context of inequalities in education provided to enslaved Black people.

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this qualitative case study was to explore the factors that influenced the educational philosophy of Henriette Delille in antebellum New Orleans as well as her

contributions to education through the theoretical framework of W. E. B. DuBois' (1903) theory of double consciousness.

Overview of Theoretical Framework

During the antebellum era, mixed-race people experienced social and political disparities that affected their ability to obtain an education because they were neither enslaved nor entirely free (Anderson, 1988; Boselovic, 2015). The dominant White society of antebellum New Orleans afforded mixed-race people education but limited their ability to educate fully Black citizens (Bullock, 1967). Therefore, navigating White society's design to deprive Black people of education was difficult for mixed-race persons such as Delille (Brett, 2011).

To understand the impact of Delille's mixed-race status on her philosophy of education, first it must be understood that she was neither an entirely Black nor White person living in the antebellum era of New Orleans (Brett, 2012; Davis, 2004). Secondly, she lived during a time that outlined specific rules for its Black and White citizens (Gould, 2012). Thirdly, Delille committed herself to educate enslaved Black people because she believed Black citizens' social and political upward mobility in antebellum New Orleans was possible through education in a segregated society (Gould, 2004, 2012). Therefore, the current study used W. E. B. DuBois' (1903) theory of double consciousness. DuBois' theory provided a theoretical framework for understanding the challenges Delille faced as her philosophy of education was developed.

The social context of DuBois' theory of double consciousness was initially used as a medical theory to diagnose psychosis (Bruce, 1992). According to Bruce (1992), double consciousness was a medical term used for psychological diagnosis 75 years before DuBois' use of the term in a sociological context. Pittman (2016) confirmed that before the turn of the 20th century, medical professionals studied double consciousness to diagnose the psychological pathology of psychiatric patients. After medical professionals used double consciousness for

medical diagnoses, social scientists studied the phenomenon of double consciousness as the social, psychological, or historical disposition of Black people in America whose experiences were framed by colonization and segregation (Kirkland, 2013).

DuBois (1897) initially introduced the social theory of double consciousness in an essay published in *The Atlantic,* titled "The Strivings of the Negro People.″ In 1903, DuBois included the essay in *Souls of Black Folk*, bringing national attention to his theory of double consciousness. DuBois developed the social theory of double consciousness because he believed that Black people lived in a White society that oppressed and devalued Black citizens (DuBois, 1935). DuBois also regarded himself as viewing life through the lenses of both his Black ancestry and his White ancestry, which produced inconsistent images of a world that provided him with no real singular identity (DuBois, 1897, 1903). Conversely, the duality of his Black and White ancestry only offered Dubois a perception of himself through the reflections of White society (DuBois, 1903).

Consequently, in “Of Our Spiritual Strivings,” DuBois (1903) articulated his feeling of “twoness” (p. 3) or duality of self when he explained that his only wish was to make it possible for Black people to belong to both cultures. DuBois (1903) defined his twoness or duality of self as “an American, a Negro: two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body” (p. 3). DuBois’ definition of double consciousness described the experience of mixed-race individuals in America who were neither entirely Black nor entirely White (DuBois, 1903; Landsman, 2010). DuBois also believed that White society forced double consciousness upon mixed-race individuals by viewing mixed-race people with contempt and pity because of their inhabited racial duality (DuBois, 1903). The theoretical constructs of DuBois’ theory of double consciousness are self-consciousness and racial identity; DuBois’

theory of double consciousness was used in this study to frame Delille's self-consciousness as a mixed-race woman in antebellum New Orleans that influenced her philosophy of education.

Delille resided in an antebellum White society that allowed her freedoms based on her White ancestry, but imposed restrictions based on her Black ancestry (Davis, 2004; Gould, 2012). Delille, whose personal ancestry included both Black African and White ancestry, represents the characteristics of double consciousness, and she used the advantages of her mixed race and White privilege to educate oppressed Black people (Allen, 2002; DuBois, 1903). DuBois's (1903) theory of double consciousness framed this study because Delille's ability to educate enslaved Black people was pragmatic and rooted in a string of historical paradoxes, such as enslaved Black people having limited freedom due to a Black racial status in a free land (Denny & Walter, 2014). The next section presents an overview of the qualitative research methodology used in this study.

Overview of the Methodology

Qualitative research design and the case study method structured the data collected in this study. According to Creswell and Creswell (2018), the qualitative research design explores individual and group meanings associated with a social problem. Concurrently, Yin (2018) defined the case study as a research method used to explain why decisions were made, how the decisions were implemented, and the results of the decisions. Therefore, the qualitative research design and case study method provided a holistic approach to the research of Delille's philosophy of education.

In this study, the qualitative research design was utilized to explore the social problems of unequal education for Black people that Delille encountered in antebellum New Orleans. Also, the case study method was used to explore reasons why Delille chose to educate Black people as well as the development of Delille's philosophy of education and her contributions to

education in New Orleans. Accordingly, the qualitative research design and the case study method were essential to understanding the research questions developed in this study.

The following two research questions developed for this study: (1) What cultural and societal considerations led to Henriette Delille's philosophy of education; and (2) in what ways did Henriette Delille contribute to the education of Black people in New Orleans? In this study, Delille and her educational philosophy were explored by understanding her experiences in ways that could not be expressed numerically or quantifiably (Berg & Lune, 2012). Specific to this study, the qualitative research design utilizing the case study method was best suited to explore both research questions.

According to Ambert, Adler, Adler, and Detzner (1995), using multifaceted sources from qualitative research enlightens the research. Therefore, the data collected for this study were divided into primary and secondary sources (Creswell, 2012). Secondary sources are accounts of an author who provided specific information about specific events based on the discernment of others (Gall, Gall, & Borg, 2005). Pieces of information weaved into meaningful explanations define primary sources according to Creswell (2012).

Before the research data collection began in this study, secondary sources were consulted to indicate the range of materials available (Creswell, 2012). Journals, magazine articles, historical textbooks, histories, criticisms, commentaries, reference books, periodical literature, historical works, monographs, encyclopedias, and bibliographies were utilized to collect information from the secondary sources. The primary data collected for this study included archival information from public records, photographs, drawings, historical landmarks, maps, and autobiographies. Since Delille is deceased, the available primary sources of information were limited to documents, archival data, and artifacts. The primary and secondary research data sources were collected and analyzed.

Davenport and Prusak (1998) defined qualitative data analysis as knowledge management that converts data into information. The information, according to Creswell and Creswell (2018), is then separated into categories as well as chronological order, reviewed recurrently, and continually coded to structure the data analysis. As defined by Theron (2015), coding significantly contributes to the credibility of data and is an essential method that allows the researcher to understand the fundamental values of the data collected. The information in the subsequent paragraphs of this section identifies the process of categorization and coding to complete the data analysis of the data collected for this study.

First, an Apple PDF 3 Pro application for the iPad Pro was used to upload the collected documents and photos. The researcher of this study uploaded PDF documents, which were then reviewed, read thoroughly, and marked with annotations and circles using a digital pen and highlighted with digital markers to identify critical information, as suggested by Saldana (2009). Preliminary coding of the information was first annotated in the columns of the PDF 3 Pro application for each document and later transferred to an Excel spreadsheet to determine the emergent themes from preliminary codes.

Research Questions

The research questions for this study emerged from the literature reviewed for this study. The topic of Henriette Delille's philosophy of education provided the framework for the research questions. To begin the exploration of this topic, the researcher developed the following central research question: What factors influenced Henriette Delille's philosophy of education as a mixed-race educator in antebellum New Orleans and what were her contributions to education in modern day New Orleans? The refinement of the central question resulted in sub-questions that guided the exploration of historical and cultural factors that Henriette Delille experienced in antebellum New Orleans that are listed as follows:

RQ1: What cultural and societal considerations led to Delille's philosophy of education?

RQ2: In what ways did Henriette Delille contribute to the education of Black people in New Orleans?

Assumptions of the Study

Delille lived during the antebellum era as a mixed-race woman; therefore, the assumption was that she provided education to the Black population due to her mixed-race status. Detiege (1976) believed Delille's mixed-race social and economic status provided an opportunity for her to use the "wealth and educational privileges given her by the master class to give charitable assistance to the unfortunate member of her own race, bond, and free" (p. 10). Since Delille was able to navigate the social, political, and educational norms of antebellum New Orleans, the assumption was that she successfully educated many Black people who would not have had the opportunity to receive even rudimentary education.

During the antebellum era, slave laws developed by the *Code Noir* and Spanish *Las Partidas* segregated the Black population of antebellum New Orleans (Magill, Arceneaux, & Lawrence, 2010). Racialization then became prevalent and continued into current day educational opportunities (Fassin, 2011). The researcher made assumptions about the problems of social status, economic status, and race endured by Black students' in modern day classrooms. These assumptions were confirmed by Garcia and Weiss (2015), who put forward the view that social classes complicated by race are the most influential factors Black students face in the public education system. The lack of primary data sources, reliance on secondary data, Delille's mixed-race status, and the disparities in education for Black children based on racialization premised the assumptions of this study.

Delimitations

The data collected for this study occurred between February 2018 and March 2018. The qualitative data used for this study were limited to historical and archival data because Delille and the enslaved Black population of that era are deceased (Davis et al., 1997). The scope was narrowed to antebellum New Orleans between the years of 1820-1865 because those are the years Delille lived and that enslavement, segregation, racialization, and White societal dominance persisted (Davis, 2004; Gould, 2004, 2012; Woodson, 2004). Detailed discussions about plantation owners and their families during the antebellum era were excluded since this study focused on the general antebellum culture of New Orleans. Furthermore, data were not found to quantify the number of enslaved Black persons who pursued or may have pursued educational opportunities. According to Creswell (2012), the case study research design "serves the purpose of illuminating a particular issue" (p. 465). Therefore, the use of the qualitative case study provided a research design that guided and illuminated Delille's philosophy of educating enslaved Black people as well her contributions to education.

Limitations

The limitations of this case study include causal inferences that may not be reliable, since alternative explanations for the education of enslaved Black people in antebellum New Orleans could not be ruled out (Goes, 2015). According to Casmier (1993), the maintenance of vital records was limited for Black people because Black people were not considered to be important during the antebellum period. For example, neither Gould (2012) nor Davis (2004) found vital statistics, church baptismal records, school records, or archdiocesan archives that corroborated Delille's birth date. Due to the limited documentation and recording technology available during the 19th century, the data collected includes historical documents that were recorded by a second

party. Hence, the researcher collected historical data such as birth and baptismal certificates and marriage licenses.

Additionally, the culture of enslavement and segregation practiced in antebellum New Orleans, which prevented the enslaved Black population from reading or writing with the liberties and freedoms experienced by White society (Davis et al., 1997), also resulted in a lack of first-party data. Therefore, primary documents such as diaries, journal notes, or stories were not available to expand on the experiences of either Delille or enslaved Black people in antebellum New Orleans. Therefore, information and resources about the thoughts, feelings, or situations of the enslaved Black population or Delille were limited.

Delille is deceased (Davis, 2004; Gould, 2012; Hart, 1976); therefore, the researcher obtained her perspective from oral history passed on to Hart (1976) and Detiege (1976) by nuns who lived in the antebellum era as well as from other secondary data. Since the available data from Hart (1976) and Detiege (1976) cannot confirm or deny Delille's actual motives for her philosophy of education, the information may unintentionally misrepresent the facts. Likewise, secondary sources such as journals and journal articles were limited to sources that were not first-hand accounts provided by Delille. According to Davis (2004), Deggs (2001), and Hart (1976), Delille's French prayer contained the only information directly from Delille. Delille wrote a brief personal prayer in her French prayer book that stated, "I believe in God. I hope in God. I love. I want to live and die for God" (Gould, 2012, p. 44).

Emergent themes of racialization, politics, educative imperatives, privilege, and education beyond racism in antebellum New Orleans were analyzed and outlined from the historical perspective of the 19th century research. Findings of this study were impacted by the reliance on secondary documents and oratorical history written down about the life of Delille as well as the enslaved Black population of antebellum New Orleans. The data collected on

enslavement, segregation, and White domination in antebellum New Orleans were gathered to provide general knowledge and did not provide full research on each theme.

Significance of the Research

According to Henry and Dixson (2016), schools that are located in urban areas to serve Black students have been "laboratories and experiments in reproducing White dominance and protracted Black suffering" (p. 219). Therefore, the study of Delille's philosophy of education and contributions to education was significant because it expanded literature about the antebellum culture of enslaved Black people and the relevance of their experiences to current educational experiences in New Orleans. Extant literature and research by scholars such as Buras (2013, 2014), Gould (2012), Groleau, Mizell, and Benedict (2018), Ladson-Billings (2010) and McIntosh (2015) discussed the generalities of the experiences endured by Delille and Black people who were enslaved or free. However, these scholars have not focused on Delille's philosophy of education and its relevance to the educational policies in New Orleans public schools today.

Literature. The enslaved Black population of New Orleans was considered to be unfit for socialization and education, while White citizens ascribed to the notion of being socially and educationally superior (Casmier, 1993; Stonequist, 1935; Watson, 2012; Woodson, 2004). Therefore, this study was significant to understanding the issue of racialization and unequal access to education in antebellum schooling. Scholarly research such as Detiege's (1976) *Free Woman of Color*, and Copeland's (2007) *The Subversive Power of Love: The Vision of Henriette Delille* focused on Delille's mixed-raced, Catholic religious pursuits, and founding of the Sisters of the Holy Family (Davis, 2004; Detiege, 1976; Hart, 1976). However, there are gaps in the literature and scholarly research about Delille's philosophy of education. Adding this research to the literature fills gaps in antebellum New Orleans history and expands the literature regarding

the beginning of racialization, opponents to the education of enslaved Black people, and the restrictions placed upon enslaved Black people pursuing education in the antebellum school system.

Furthermore, prior research such as Deggs' (2001) *No Cross, No Crown: Black nuns in 19th Century New Orleans,* Davis' *(2004) Henriette Delille: Servant of Slaves, Witness to the Poor, and* Gould's (2004) *Henriette Delille, Free Woman of Color, and Catholicism in Antebellum New Orleans* primarily focused on Delille's life in pursuit of becoming a Catholic nun and co-founder of Sisters of the Holy Family. However, this study was essential to understanding Delille's life as an educator amid the atrocities of segregation and racialization that were prevalent in the antebellum era of New Orleans (Groleau et al., 2018). By understanding her philosophy of education as well as the educational contribution Delille made, the genesis of current day issues with the public education of Black students in New Orleans can be understood (Harper & Davis, 2012).

Practice. Delille laid a foundation for educating enslaved Black people in antebellum New Orleans because she witnessed their denial of access to public education due to racialized laws developed by White society (Davis, 2004; Copeland, 2007). Currently, Black American parents are provided with the mechanism of school choice that is allegedly linked to the idea of genuine democracy, cultural importance, community uplift, and resistance to White domination (Henry & Dixson, 2016). When Delille's foundation of educating antebellum Black people is applied to current school practices, the lack of equitable access to education, unqualified teachers, and limited educational resources for Black students in New Orleans can be addressed from a historical perspective. By understanding the genesis of the inequalities in Black student education versus White student education, the reason current educational practices continue to fail can be explored and racial labeling issues can be addressed. For example, White teachers

struggle with viewing Black students from the perspective of the Black students' lives versus their own (DuBois, 1935). As a result, White teachers tend to label Black students as disruptive or slow learners who are better suited for alternative education schools focused on behavioral issues that impact student learning (Brannon, Markus, & Taylor, 2015).

Also, language such as "achievement gap," "diversity," and "multiculturalism" is used to discuss race in the classroom (Kohli et al., 2017). Consequently, an actual discussion about racism is neglected even while racial labeling occurs in the classroom (Wormeli, 2016). Brayboy, Castagno, and Maughan (2007) contended, "until we concisely name racism as a problem, we will be challenged to resolve the glaring racial disparities of our educational system" (p. 159).

This study is significant to current day racial labeling because Delille provided education to Black students illegally in the cover of darkness due to their Black race label (Porche-Frilot, 2005). Today, Black students are educated openly and legally in the United States, but

> everyday acts of name-calling and petty exclusions are minor links in a larger historical chain of events, structures, and transformations anchored in slavery and the slave trade. Together, they nourish the racial knowledge that produces and sustains mentalities or subjectivities capable of engaging in the brutal, wholesale destruction of other human beings. (Holt, 1995, p. 7)

The information as mentioned above adds to practice by informing stakeholders in education of the detrimental impact racial labeling has on the Black student population and provides a foundation for correcting the problem (Holt, 1995; Brayboy et al., 2007). Current educational practices can include the removal of racial labels from student classroom rolls and the identification of students by attributes other than race to combat the destructive nature of racial labeling. The decrease in the use of racial labels in schools can positively impact the issue of race

as a determinant of the academic success of Black students in the classroom (Brayboy et al., 2007).

Solóranzo, Allen, and Carroll (2002) argued that "racism is the creation or maintenance of a racial hierarchy supported through institutional power" (p. 15) of public education. Consequently, during the antebellum era the education of Black children was simply viewed as a means to meet the needs of their environment (Woodson, 2004). This study is important to understanding how education in the United States has historically been driven by the racialization and racism which categorize Black students as underachievers (Spring, 1997). First, racialization must be removed from the educational achievement equation. Second, teachers must be equipped with classrooms that support learning for a diverse classroom of students, opportunities for enhanced cultural competence, school district or school board support, and adequate access to resources, funding, and teacher support services (Spring, 1997).

Policy. Today, White dominance continues to "inform and shape supposed color-blind and color-neutral education policies in New Orleans" (Henry & Dixson, 2016, p. 220). Gillborn (2005) and Williams (2002) stated that tacit intentionality of White resistance and control of Black students' education had prevented changes in educational policy and formation. Therefore, race-based educational inequities still exist according to Henry and Dixson (2016).

Inequalities in education, lack of qualified teachers, and role models for Black students in New Orleans public schools are also issues (Raynor, 2006; Williams, 2017). For example, in Louisiana, the Orleans Parish School System, which primarily serves Black students, was ranked as the worst school system in Louisiana (Raynor, 2006). A second example is that "Black and low income students in New Orleans public school are more likely to be taught by rookie teachers that are their White, higher income peers" (Williams, 2017, para. 3). Another example is that New Orleans school districts with predominately Black student populations have had a

"steady reduction in proportion of Black teacher and an increase in the proportion of White teachers. The decrease in Black role models for the Black student populations results in students that are not able to receive culturally relevant instruction" (Barrett & Harris, 2015, p. 3). Therefore, the information from this study can be used to recognize, identify, and develop solutions to prevent the continued racialization that impacts the provision of equal education and educational resources for Black students.

Another policy concern is the hiring of unqualified teachers to educate Black Students in New Orleans. However, New Orleans has created a demographic mismatch between the teaching staff and Black students by authorizing a mass firing of predominantly Black American teachers (Henry & Dixson, 2016). Therefore, cultural understanding is missing from classrooms, which often impacts Black student achievement and retention (Buras, 2013, 2014). Delille's presence and involvement in the education of enslaved Black students allowed her to be the liaison between the owners of enslaved Black people and the enslaved people (Davis, 2004; Gould, 2012). By understanding Delille's position as an educator of oppressed Black people in the White dominated society of antebellum New Orleans, the current day New Orleans public school policymakers may understand the concerns of Black parents and illuminate White dominant roles in Black student education. Through understanding comes change. By understanding the historical significance of the enslaved population and Delille's fight for the enslaved Black populace's rights to education, future policies and procedures that provide equal access to quality education, teachers, and resources can be developed (Buras, 2013, 2014; Gould, 2012).

Curriculum that lacks diversity is a policy concern in current day public schools. According to Keisch and Scott (2015),

> Education systems in all societies are designed to serve as the primary institutions that reproduce dominant social and economic orders, customs, and belief systems. In U. S.

> public education, this makes schooling a function of capitalism, white supremacy and their intrinsic restraints on democracy and social equality. (p. 2)

School curricula are still lacking in diversity and

> evidence paints a clear picture: students who attend diverse public schools learn more, exhibit less racial prejudice, and report higher overall self-confidence. But to fully realize the potential of these benefits, schools must ensure diversity exists on every level by ensuring diverse enrollment, integrating classroom, and crucially implementing curricula which reflects the history and culture of students of all backgrounds – advocates for equitable education reform must be invested in diversifying not only classrooms, but lesson plans too. (Washington, 2018, para. 1)

Another way to support a diverse curriculum is to provide culturally relevant activities that encourage tolerance of other cultures, such as asking students to bring in an object that represents their culture and then have them present it to the class. A diverse curriculum can also be accomplished through the inclusion of culturally diverse music, history, and art throughout the entire school (Kennedy, 2018). Diverse curricula should include activities that support acceptance and tolerance and should not be limited to one lesson plan or one month but taught in every lesson throughout the school year (Kennedy, 2018; Washington, 2018). The following section provides the definitions of terms found in this study that assist in understanding concepts related to education, politics, and religion of antebellum New Orleans.

Definitions of Terms

The historical context of antebellum New Orleans is essential to understanding the life of Delille as well as the foundation for her educational philosophy and contributions to education. The terms introduced in this section represent the period, religious affiliation, and political

environment in which Delille operated and explain the meanings of terminologies used during the antebellum era of New Orleans.

Antebellum period. The term describes the period from 1788 to 1865 that is characterized by republicanism, social pluralism, constitutionalism, and the secondary issues of enslavement, abolition, and future disunion (Volo & Volo, 2004). In this study, the term is used to inform the historical social, economic, and political period of slavery as well as the life of Delille in New Orleans.

Catechism. The term describes the Catholic religion's form of educating people about the mysteries of God as well as the principal way of sharing the Catholic faith with members and people around the world (Ratzinger & Schönborn, 1994). This term was used in the study to understand how the people of New Orleans accessed education.

Catholic. The term describes a religious designation that was derived from the Greek term katholikos that meant one church (Thurston, 1908).

Catholic Church. The term that derived from the Greek terms katholike and ekklesia describes a church denomination (Thurston, 1908).

Catholic Religious. The term describes Catholic parishioners who were not members of the Catholic clergy but engaged in the practice Catholicism (McClintock & Strong, 2018). In this study, the term Catholic religious is used to differentiate between Delille's life as a member of the Catholic Church and her pursuit of becoming a Catholic nun ("Sisters of the Holy Family," 2016).

Enslaved Black people. The term describes the status of Black West African people who were forcefully imprisoned to perform manual labor as they endured abhorrent conditions created by White slave owners (Goldenberg, 2017). In this study, enslaved Black people were

not allowed the same access to social, political, and educational rights as free people of color or White people in antebellum New Orleans (Davis, 2004; Gould, 2012).

French *Code Noir*. The term describes the established French laws of antebellum New Orleans that regulated slavery, Catholic religious worship, and the education of enslaved Black people (Fessenden, 2000). In this study, the *Code Noir* provided the legislative and political structure of antebellum New Orleans.

Parishioner. The term is described as a member of the Catholic Church who believes in the Catholic faith and participates in church services (Leege & Welch, 1989). The French used the term to describe the level in church hierarchy that referred to people who entered the Catholic Church and participated in ceremonies (Bell, 1999). In this study, it was essential to distinguish between clergy and members to understand Delille's ability to serve the Church as well as the people of antebellum New Orleans.

Quadroon. The term is described as a person who possessed one-quarter Black ancestry and three quarters White ancestry or had one grandparent of Negro ancestry during the antebellum era (Aslaskon, 2014)**.** In this study, race was an integral part of understanding the social hierarchy and caste system of antebellum New Orleans. Delille was quadroon (Deggs, 2001; Detiege, 1976) which provided opportunities and access within the city and the Catholic Church that her full Black ancestors and peers were not allowed (Brett, 2011)

Sisters of the Holy Family (SSF). The term is defined as the name of a New Orleans African American order of nuns that was co-founded by Delille and was the first order of Black nuns in Louisiana ("Sisters of the Holy Family History," 2016). The Catholic Church uses the acronym SSF (Souers de Sainte-Famille) to identify the Sisters of the Holy Family (Fessenden, 2000).

Spanish *Las Siete Partidas*. The term is described as the seven-part Spanish code of Roman laws, which governed the treatment of enslaved Black people in antebellum New Orleans (Palmer, 2017). In this study, the Spanish Las Siete Partidas defined the social and political structure of antebellum New Orleans under Spanish rule. The Spanish Las Siete Partidas also provided an explanation for the difference between the treatment of enslaved Black people by the Spanish and French during the antebellum era of New Orleans (Proenza-Coles, 2008).

Organization of the Study

The organization of this study includes the traditional five chapter dissertation style. Chapter 1 includes the background of the study that explores the life of Delille, antebellum New Orleans, and the educational environment of antebellum New Orleans. The problem statement identifies the problem of unequal educational opportunities for Black students in present day New Orleans public schools. Next, the purpose statement provides the objective of understanding Delille's educational philosophies as well as her contributions to education. An overview of DuBois' (1903) theory of double consciousness as the theoretical framework is presented. A central research question as well as sub-questions were developed and are included in this section. The boundaries and factors within the researcher's control are examined in the delimitations section of this study. Reciprocally, the factors that were not under the researcher's control are discussed in the limitations section of this study. Chapter 1 ends with the significance of the research, definitions of terms, organization of this study, and the chapter summary.

Chapter 2 discusses the literature that was reviewed and addressed antebellum New Orleans, the control of enslaved Black people, matters of color and social status, Southern education in the antebellum period as well as women and the antebellum South. Dissertation reviews of prior research studies as well as the theoretical framework of double consciousness are discussed. Chapter 3 delineated the qualitative research design and case study methodology.

The site and participant selection as well as ethical issues and permissions are outlined. The instruments and procedures used to collect the data, researcher positionality, and data analyses techniques are described and explained.

Data analyses as well as the results are presented in Chapter 4. This chapter also includes a discussion of the emergent themes that developed from the research questions in addition to the analysis of the findings. Chapter 5 contains the summary and major findings, conclusions, suggestions for future research, limitations, and implications.

Chapter Summary

Delille's education of enslaved Black people was at the mercy of her acceptance as a Catholic religious nun, permissions of White slave masters, and the governance of antebellum New Orleans by the *Code Noir* (Detiege, 1976). The misuse of power by White society that permeated the history of discrimination and segregation in antebellum New Orleans became the frame within which the communities of enslaved and free Black people were relegated to receive or not to receive an education (Graham, 2010). The problem identified in this study focuses on understanding Delille's philosophy of education and contributions to education in New Orleans.

Antebellum New Orleans was significant to understanding why and to what extent educational opportunities were limited for the enslaved Black population. Delille's mixed-race status provided her with access to educational opportunities that she then passed on to the enslaved Black people of antebellum New Orleans (Detiege, 1976). To further understand the impact of the social and political climate of White society on Delille's ability to provide education to enslaved Black people, DuBois' (1903) characterization of double consciousness was used as the theoretical framework for this study.

DuBois' (1903) theory of double consciousness framed the obstacles formed in Delille's pursuit of educating enslaved Black people as a free woman of color, which was unique to the

antebellum era of New Orleans. Double consciousness in the context of this study demonstrated how the perception of society and its political leaders impacted decisions made in Delille's life based on her mixed-race status DuBois' (1903). Racial segregation and legal boundaries endured by Delille were evidence of the *Code Noir* that governed antebellum New Orleans and thus Delille's dual role as a free woman of color (Davis, 2004). Since Delille was neither wholly White nor wholly Black, she encountered the freedoms as well as the limitations of her mixed-race (Sumpter, 2008). Therefore, DuBois' theory of double consciousness expanded the knowledge regarding Delille's struggle with being a free woman of color embarking on a mission to educate enslaved Black people in a time when it was not favorable to do so.

Based on the problem, purpose, and theory of this study, two research questions were formed. Research Question 1 initiated the examination of the cultural considerations of antebellum New Orleans that lead to Delille's philosophy of educating enslaved Black people and the inequalities in the education of Black students in present-day New Orleans. Subsequently, Research Question 2 provoked the examination of Delille's philosophy and contributions to the education of Black people in New Orleans. The qualitative case study methodology was utilized to inform the research.

Delille as well as enslaved Black people were residents of antebellum New Orleans; therefore, the study occurred in the city of New Orleans. Furthermore, historical and archival data were retrieved between the years of 1820 and 1865 because this period reflected the years of Delille's life that were relevant to this study. Limitations to this study were presented by the restrictions placed on writing and oral histories by segregationist ideals of antebellum New Orleans resulting in limited primary sources of data. There was thus a reliance on secondary documents, which resulted in general knowledge of enslavement, segregation, and White dominance in antebellum New Orleans.

Understanding Delille's philosophy of education and contributions to the education of Black people in New Orleans was vital to gaining an understanding of the historical relevance of the limited educational opportunities available to enslaved Black people and its relation to current educational policies presented to Black students in present-day New Orleans (Graham, 2010). Researching the education in antebellum New Orleans of enslaved Black persons and Delille's philosophy and contributions to their education filled gaps in literature. By understanding the historical significance of the educational policies made against educating enslaved Black people in antebellum New Orleans, strategies for teaching Black students in current day New Orleans may be created that grant equal access to the same quality of education as exists for non-Black students. Chapter 2 consists of a review of the literature that addresses a variety of factors in antebellum New Orleans, including the control of the enslaved during antebellum times, matters of color and social status, Southern education in the antebellum period, as well as women and the antebellum South. Also, dissertation reviews of prior research studies and double consciousness as the theoretical framework of this study is discussed.

Chapter 2: Review of the Literature

All problems that humans encounter should be considered from a standpoint in time (Fanon, 2008). Therefore, the purpose of this qualitative case study was to explore the factors that influenced the educational philosophy of Henriette Delille in antebellum New Orleans as well as her contributions to education through the theoretical framework of W. E. B. DuBois' (1903) theory of double consciousness. This study focused on antebellum New Orleans because Delille was a mixed-race woman of Black and White ancestry who lived during the antebellum era of New Orleans, Louisiana (Davis, 2004; Gould, 2012; LaChance, 1996), where mixed-race people acquired property but were denied their political rights and civil liberties (LaChance, 1996). According to Ruef (2014) and Walter (2013), mixed-race people were allowed some capitalistic advantages but also certain disadvantages due to a White capitalist society that controlled mixed-race people's political, social, and economic status (Ruef, 2014; Walter, 2013).

Accordingly, the foundation of the New Orleans antebellum society capitalism became White citizens' introduction to greater wealth and higher social status through the labor of enslaved Black people (Kenline, 2012). White antebellum society allowed White citizens to benefit from property ownership, which increased their chances of social mobility (Clegg, 2015). Consequently, the social, political, and economic wealth of White capitalist society determined citizens' social and political positions in New Orleans antebellum society (Kenline, 2012).

Reciprocally, enslaved Black people provided the labor for capitalistic antebellum society, but the same society denied them access to basic human liberties (Nelson, 2015; Walter, 2013). For example, slave owners prevented enslaved Black people from practicing religion freely, assembling together, obtaining education, or petitioning the government (Clegg, 2015; Cooper, 2015; Dierksheide, 2014). However, Delille chose to educate enslaved Black people to provide them with an opportunity to benefit from the advantages of capitalism during a time

when it was illegal to educate enslaved Black people (Davis, 2004; Detiege, 1976; Hart, 1976). Therefore, the review of literature in this section explored the factors that influenced the educational philosophy of Delille in antebellum New Orleans as well as her contributions to education through the theoretical framework of DuBois' (1903) theory of double consciousness.

The organization of this chapter consists of a review of the literature on the issues and sub-issues related to the topic under study and the theoretical framework of this study. The literature review discusses enslaved Black people, race and social status, education, and the treatment of women in antebellum New Orleans. Next is a review of prior research studies completed by Byron (2008), Massey (1991), Walker (1996), and Williams (2002). This chapter culminates in a discussion of the theoretical framework of this study followed by a chapter summary.

Topical Literature Review

New Orleans became an American city when the United States signed the Louisiana Purchase on April 30, 1803 (Boselovic, 2015). Immigrants, emigrants from the West Indies, White people, and enslaved Black people's freed descendants from Haitian revolts as well as people from France and Spain racially diversified New Orleans (Davis, 1986; Hart, 1976; Peterson, 2011). There were few White women; therefore, White men from France had intimate relationships with women of Negro descent (Detiege, 1976). Resultantly, the offspring of these relationships possessed both Black and White ancestry that formed a mixed-race of people called *gens de couleur libre* or free people (Davis, 2004; Hart, 1976).

Slaves were part of the Louisiana economy before its purchase by the United States (Hoffman, 2017). Louisiana territory and its laws, including slave laws, were juggled between French and Spanish rule until the union of Louisiana with the United States in 1803 (Palmer, 2017; Riddell, 1925). Napoleon Bonaparte sold the Louisiana territory for $15 million to the

United States; at the time of the purchase, there was a total population of 36,000 people living in Louisiana (Brett, 2011). Citizens of antebellum New Orleans belonged to one of the following races: (a) enslaved 36%, (b) free Black 5%, or (c) White 59% (United States Census Bureau, 1853).

The populace of slaves and free Negroes continued to increase between 1803 until the eve of the Civil War (United States Census Bureau, 1853). By 1840, the total Louisiana territory population, which had increased to 352,000 (Manson, Schroeder, Van Riper, & Ruggles, 2017), included 48% slaves, 7% free Black people, and 45% White people (Davis, 2004; United States Census Bureau, 1853). Antebellum New Orleans thus became known as the leading African city in the country; the Black Africans and their descendants left a permanent impression on the state of Louisiana as well as the city of antebellum New Orleans (Davis, 2004).

The enslaved Black people imported to the English colonies came from the regions of Nigeria and Angola (Hirsch & Logsdon, 1992). Consequent to the exercise of the importation of Black Africans for enslavement, a new social group that consisted of individuals having mixed-race ancestry appeared (Hart, 1976). Black people born in antebellum New Orleans to White owners of enslaved Black people were born in either freedom or bondage since the status of the Black infant depended on the social condition of the mother (Fessenden, 2000). A child of a Black mother and a White father could be released from enslavement at birth, "because neither French nor Spanish gentleman regarded the offspring of their unions with Negroes as attaching any disgrace to his character" (Detiege, 1976, p. 8).

In contrast, a child born to Black parents or a Black father and a White mother was enslaved and given the social status of an enslaved Black person (Fessenden, 2000). Since consummation between a White male and a Black female was allowed in the early years of Louisiana, *Free People of Color* (mixed-race people) became a group who increased in size

rapidly (Hart, 1976; United States Census Bureau, 1853). The rising numbers of the "Free People of Color were unsettling for White wives as well as government officials; therefore, stringent laws were passed to make manumission of enslaved Blacks [Black people] difficult" (Detiege, 1976, p. 8). Manumission was the act of awarding freedom to enslaved Black people either by decree of the owner or by self-purchase by the enslaved person ("Emancipation and Manumission," 2018; Porche-Frilot, 2005).

The governance of antebellum New Orleans vacillated between French and Spanish rule, which impacted the slave laws that citizens and the Catholic church of antebellum New Orleans were bound to follow (Detiege, 1976). Initially, the French Administration established the Code Noir, which was also known as the Black Code in 1724 (Davis, 2004). Through the Code Noir, "Europeans in America solidified the existence of two separate groups in Louisiana; one with rights and the other without rights. This became a condition that was inherited, and mothers passed it on to their children" (Casmier, 1993, p. 6).

Woodson (2004) noted that people of French New Orleans did not regard the education of Black people as a crime. Since the Code Noir designated Catholicism as the only legal religion, all enslaved Black people and Free People of Color received mandatory Catholic instruction (Fessenden, 2000). Initially, White instructors agreed to teach Black students, and White children did not object to attending classes with Black students (Woodson, 2004).

Subsequently, in 1763, Spanish law replaced the Code Noir with Las Siete Partidas, which was based on Roman law (Davis, 2004). The Spanish Las Siete Partidas allowed for the gradual emancipation of enslaved Black people (Palmer, 2017; Proenza-Coles, 2008). When the government freed enslaved Black people, the legal process was called emancipation ("Emancipation and Manumission," 2018). The Spanish government contended that emancipating enslaved Black people would gradually reduce the likelihood of insurrection and

make enslaved Black laborers work even harder (Davis, 2004; Proenza-Coles, 2008). The Spanish policy regarding enslaved Black people was less restrictive than the procedures found in French territory or English colonies in America and made the manumission of enslaved Black people easier (Davis, 2004).

As descendants of White owners and enslaved Black people, the Free People of Color were able to find employment as entrepreneurs, small business owners, and craftsmen (Davis, 2004; Gould, 2012; Hart, 1976). Although the descendants did not possess all the rights that their White counterparts enjoyed, many Free People of Color prospered in 19th century New Orleans (Gould, 2012; Spring, 2012; Wilson & Mohr, 2011). The provisions offered by a combination of French Code Noir and Spanish Las Siete provided Free People of Color opportunities for prosperity (Deggs, 2001; Gould, 2012; Hart, 1976).

According to Aslaskon (2014), the governing bodies of antebellum New Orleans maintained a three-race caste system that consisted of Black people, White people, and Free People of Color; the Code Noir and Las Siete Partidas outlined the mandates for the treatment of enslaved Black people (Garrigus, 1980; Proenza-Coles, 2008). Since Free People of Color benefitted from the freedoms of their White ancestry, mandates of the Code Noir and Las Siete Partidas allowed Free People of Color to live freely within the societal and political norms of antebellum New Orleans (Everett, 1966; Sumpter, 2008). Therefore, based on her Free Person of Color status, Delille was able to provide education to the enslaved Black people of antebellum New Orleans (Clark, 1997; Davis, 2004). The following section provides an overview of the Code Noir and Las Siete Partidas and the implications of race and social status in antebellum New Orleans.

French Code Noir. On May 28, 1718, Law's Company of the West took the first steps toward the importation of Black African people as slaves in New Orleans (Casmier, 1993). The

governing council of Louisiana adopted the laws of the Code Noir to enhance the economy by using the free labor of enslaved Black people. The Code Noir was signed into French law in March 1724 and contained more than 50 articles outlining the obligations, duties, rights, regulations, and restrictions of the enslaved Black population (Casmier, 1993). The Code Noir as well as the nature of the political and religious culture in France formed the French government's Christian justification for the enslavement of Black people (Casmier, 1993; Gould, 2004, 2012). According to the French, the Code Noir perpetuated the genuine Christian faith presented to all Black people arriving in the New World (Deggs, 2001; Watson, 2012).

The Code Noir was a legalized guide for the enslavement of Black people to regulate property rights of owners of enslaved Black people, thereby removing enslaved Black people from the protection offered by French governmental sanctions (Casmier, 1993). The French law viewed enslaved Black people as second-class citizens, farm animals, possessions, or sums of money (Casmier, 1993; Martin, 2014); it was the official guide for slavery that effectively removed legal protection from Black people, establishing in law a support for White racial superiority and cementing the idea of an inferior Black race (Casmier, 1993).

Owners of enslaved Black people believed that enslaved Black people had more advantages than non-Christian Black heathens left behind in Africa (Deggs, 2001). Therefore, the Code Noir mandated that owners of enslaved Black people instruct and baptize enslaved Black people in the Catholic faith (Casmier, 1993; Deggs, 2001). Consequently, in spite of its stringency, the Code Noir provided limited freedoms to enslaved Black people before the exercise of Spanish control through Las Siete Partidas (Proenza-Coles, 2008; Riddell, 1925).

Spanish Las Siete Partidas. The Spanish acquisition of 1763 replaced the Code Noir with Spanish laws that protected a limited number of rights for enslaved Black people and provided legal options for the manumission of enslaved Black people (Proenza-Coles, 2008).

The Spanish Las Siete Partidas was a seven-part mandate codified in Spain based on the Roman law that reflected Spanish culture and religious beliefs (Palmer, 2017; Proenza-Coles, 2008). Roman law provided the underlying principle of Las Siete Partidas: that all persons are free, but according to the laws of certain nations, some of them were enslaved (Davis, 2004).

Resultantly, the Spanish considered "enslavement as an unfortunate and accidental status rather than a natural state, and the burden of proof of a person's enslaved status fell on the owner; without positive evidence, an alleged slave would be freed" (Proenza-Coles, 2008, p. 1). Thus, enslaved Black people received additional rights and advantages from the Spanish Las Siete Partidas when compared to the French or American laws for enslaved Black people (Davis, 2004). Las Siete Partidas guaranteed that (a) owners of enslaved Black people were free to manumit enslaved Black people without government permission, and (b) enslaved Black people who proved abuse by their owners could demand to be sold through the court system (Davis, 2004; Proenza-Coles, 2008).

The laws of Las Siete Partidas addressed entitlement of the owners of enslaved Black people as well as the enslaved Black people (Proenza-Coles, 2008). Rights provided by the Spanish Las Siete Partidas aligned with the laws of the Catholic Church (Proenza-Coles, 2008). However, the social and political environment of antebellum New Orleans, which measured the superiority or inferiority of people by the color of their skin, had implications for the educational opportunities provided to White, Black, and mixed-race people (Davis, 2004; Gould, 2012). Resultantly, the racialization of New Orleans antebellum society caused segregation between the Black and White races of people (Sumpter, 2008).

Matters of color and social status. The antebellum South and the structure of Southern societal rules were interwoven by the rigid hierarchy of racial segregation (Boote & Beile, 2005). White Southerners created a theoretically elevated position in a society of enslaved Black people

based on “innate racial characteristics, not acquired traits like education, virtue or religious conversion” (Watson, 2012, p. 3). According to McIntosh (2015), White people of the South were granted unearned advantages from the beliefs in meritocracy, manifest destiny, utopian monocultural ideals, the idea of White as not a race, and White moral superiority (McIntosh, 2015). The beliefs and ideologies practiced by White Southerners thus placed them in an ascribed position of supremacy in contrast to the inferiority attributed to Black people by Southern White society (Stonequist, 1935). Hence, White privilege and power maintained the definition of Black people as always in need of guidance by White people, thereby continuing the idea that Black people were inferior (Koçsoy, 2013).

Universal humanity was exchanged for hierarchies of skin color and became a privilege or a curse depending on the complexion an individual possessed (Jablonski, 2013). For example, the fair skin complexion of free women of color granted them freedom and opportunities, but the binds of slavery cursed enslaved fully Black people (Bonds & Inwood, 2016). Therefore, Yancy (2016) reasoned that the discussion of privilege based on skin color or race is vital to understanding the ideology of White superiority and Black inferiority in antebellum New Orleans.

Consequently, the enslavement of Black people and the market economy that operated under a shroud of White male paternalism and superiority divided White and Black people based on gradations of skin color (Cobb, 2016). Accordingly, Delille’s free woman of color societal status and ability to pass as White afforded her privileges of financial security, education, and social superiority unavailable to enslaved Black people (Case, 2012; Gould, 2012; Sumpter, 2008). Therefore, Delille was able to educate enslaved Black people due to her racial status as a free woman of color (Detiege, 1976; Hart, 1976). The following section examines religion in antebellum New Orleans.

Consciousness of religion. The Catholic Church of New Orleans also participated in segregation by race during the antebellum era of New Orleans (Davis, 1986, 2004). Wardens of the New Orleans Catholic Church passed a series of resolutions that established a distinction between White and Black people when they approached the holy table for the reverence of the cross (Davis, 1986). Subsequently, the resolution developed by the Catholic wardens prevented people of pure Black ancestry or Free People of Color from making their devotions until after every White person had done so (Davis, 1986). According to Davis (1986), the Catholic resolutions kept Black people from presuming they were equal to White people. Therefore, the White consciousness of antebellum society is examined in the following section.

White consciousness. All distinctions of the human species are manifested in the four ethnicities of White, Black, Hunnish, and Hindu according to Mikkelsen and Kant's (2013) concept of race. Jablonski (2013) inferred that Mikkelsen and Kant's (2013) idea of racial hierarchy determined the superiority of races of a lighter skin over those with darker skin. Therefore, the White dominant position in the antebellum era based purely on skin color was never projected onto White people (Cobb, 2015, 2016; Kendall, 2013). Pitman (2008) surmised that this view perpetuated a "Black versus White segregated society through physical separation based on race" (p. 424). For example, the Spanish government of antebellum New Orleans also referred to lighter skinned people as *pardo* and darker skinned people as *moreno* to make skin color distinctions among Black people (Davis, 2004).

The Code Noir of Louisiana 1724 legally promoted Mikkelsen and Kant's (2013) racial hierarchy by legitimizing the "existence of two groups in Louisiana, one who possessed certain rights and the other without any such rights" (Casmier, 1993, para. 53). Consequently, the Code Noir of Louisiana 1724 promoted the superiority of White people and a status of inferiority for Black people (Burton & Smith, 2011; Sumpter, 2008). Therefore, the idea that Black people

were inferior and subjected to servitude in complete subordination to a superior White society defined the institution of slavery (Sio, 1965).

According to Case (2012), when Southern White people identified themselves as the dominant group in society, Whiteness faded from White consciousness into transparency (Flagg, 1997). This transparency allowed White people to view themselves as individuals versus members of a White group linked to racial domination and unearned privilege (Mahoney, 1997). Davis, Mirick, and McQueen (2014) defined White privilege as an advantage that is unearned but is beneficial to the recipient at the behest of the exclusion or harm of those with fewer benefits. Feagin (2010) commented that the worldview of White privilege was White social dominance as the natural order of society to which Black people should submit, accommodate, and assimilate.

White social dominance and privilege also perpetuated the idea that Black people were morally and intellectually inferior to White people (Reid, 2012). White antebellum Southerners had a robust psychological relationship with the view of Black people as inferior and therefore did not view the subjugation and subjection of Black people to notions of inferiority as an issue (Majzler, 2016). Fanon (2008) concluded that White people sealed by the Whiteness of their skin protected them from any abject treatment like that experienced by Black people.

McIntosh (2014), a well-known and respected scholar of Whiteness studies, described her experience with White privilege as "an invisible package of unearned assets that I count on cashing in each day, but about which I was meant to remain oblivious. Like an invisible weightless knapsack of provisions" (p. 1). The perks of White privilege were not measured according to who owned plantations or who did or did not abide by the "socially arranged and culturally ingrained" (Pin, 2017, p. 22) views of White society; instead, White privilege was measured by White people who had the right to access all of the citizenship perks the United

States of America offered, simply because of the whiteness of their skin (Bergo & Nicholls, 2015; Kendall, 2013). White society through privilege constructed a view of their race through positive images, large homes, and elegant social settings that separated them from the marginalized view placed on Black people by White society (Lensmire et al., 2013).

Feagin (2010) argued that a majority of White society automatically associated Black people with the subhuman traits of (a) animalism, (b) hyper-sexuality, (c) violence and danger, (d) dirt and ignorance, (e) laziness, and (f) incapability to protect themselves due to a lack of determination. Reid (2012) also commented that Black skin equaled enslaved status, and persons with brown pigmentation were morally and intellectually inferior to White people. Consequently, the cultivation of inferiority and marginalization of Black people by White society interlocked with oppressive domination exemplified by White privilege (Lensmire et al., 2013). However, Black and White people participated in unions that produced a mixed-race of Free People of Color (Brett, 2012; Davis, 2004; Hart, 1976).

Merging of the Black and White races. The children born by the intimate unions between French and Spanish settlers with Black African women were labeled Free People of Color and consequently became the most prosperous group of Black people in antebellum New Orleans (Schweninger, 1989). Free People of Color distinguished themselves from both ethnic groups because they were neither Black people nor White people, and they were not enslaved but "free only in a circumscribed way" (Haddox, 2001, p. 758). Foner (1970) described Free People of Color as the privileged people of color who were socially placed between the White population and the enslaved Black population. The privileges of being a Free Person of Color in antebellum New Orleans included an opportunity to accumulate property and acquire economic independence because of the White part of their ancestry (Haddox, 2001; LaChance, 1996). Also, constitutional privileges included voting in elections and serving in the war; however, Free

People of Color were not allowed to be jurors (Reid, 2012). Free People of Color ascended from the degradations of enslavement due to their racial status (Davis, 1986).

According to Hanger (1996), Free People of Color customarily owned enslaved Black people to align themselves with White society; therefore, White society did not fear racial collusion. Some Free People of Color owned large plantations and at times were more severe towards their enslaved Black population than White plantation owners (Freedman, 1999; Hanger, 1996; Wiley, 1866). There were times when Free People of Color had plantations large enough to compete with more substantial White plantation owners due to the sheer size of the number of enslaved Black people they owned ("The Association for the Study of Negro Life," 1993). Consequently, Free People of Color acquired marketable skills that were utilized to build partnerships with influential White people (Hanger, 1996).

The privileges of Free People of Color also included education, political prominence, professional occupations, entrepreneurship, real estate development, and land ownership (Conway, Lipsey, Pogge, & Ratliff, 2017; Davis et al., 2014). Free People of Color amassed real estate holdings through the inheritance of considerable property left in succession upon the death of their White ancestors (Haddox, 2001; Kendall, 2013). Free People of Color held places of prominence within the free Black community as merchants, bankers, editors, and physicians (Davis, 2004; Gould, 2012; Hanger, 1996). French education and private schools provided Free People of Color with an opportunity for upward social mobility and most of the advantages of White privilege (Hanger, 1996). Although the White ancestral lineage of Free People of Color provided some protections, Free People of Color passed as White people to maintain their social standing and real estate holdings in White society (Anthony, 1995; Davis, 2004; Hanger, 1996).

Benefits of passing as White. Free People of Color often had the financial means to accomplish their life goals, but because they were quasi-citizens (i.e., neither enslaved nor

wholly free), they passed as White people (Davis, 2004). According to Anthony (1995), the phrase “passing as White” described Free People of Color masking their marginalization in Southern White society. Anthony (1995) further claimed it was easier to accept the risk of passing as a White person rather than suffer the abhorrent societal conditions of the enslaved Black population.

Bonds and Inwood (2016) explained that passing as White enabled Free People of Color to take advantage of White society’s freedoms and privileges. For example, because Delille passed as White, she was able to own an enslaved Black woman named Betsy, teach other free or enslaved Black people, and form a religious association (Davis, 2004; Deggs, 2001). In another instance, a Black man named Gideon Gibson, Jr., of South Carolina, “escaped the penalties of the [N]egro law,” (Cutter, 2016, p. 2)because he was a light-skinned Black man with Black ancestors who the House of Assembly adjudicated as passing for White (Cutter, 2016). Since the assembly decided he could pass for White, he was allowed to own enslaved Black people and become a prosperous member of White South Carolinian society (Cutter, 2016).

Case (2012) argued that “Whiteness remains invisible to dominant group members” (p. 79) and people of mixed-race [Free People of Color] who passed as members of the White race took full advantage of this privilege (Anthony, 1995). Having the rights of White society became important to Free People of Color because White social structures empowered the dominant White culture to maintain a status of superiority (Conway et al., 2017; Partee & Potapchunk, 2014). By passing as White people, Free People of Color navigated White society and became upwardly mobile socially and economically (Case, 2012; Cheung, 1997). Any amount of personal liberty was meaningful to Free People of Color during the antebellum era and passing as White afforded them a form of dignity and freedom (West, 2012). When Free People of Color passed for White people, it revealed that distinctive Black racial characteristics were purely

White society's invention (Smith, 2006). As a result, Free People of Color decided to take advantage of passing as White to maintain their access to White privilege (Cheung, 1997).

Life for Free People of Color passing as White people was not always advantageous; it included the heavy burden of laws and customs that restricted their daily living (West, 2012). Although Free People of Color passed as White, some laws enforced by White governmental authority restricted the freedom of Free People of Color to fraternize or consort with enslaved Black people, (Cheung, 1997; Detiege, 1976; Foner, 1970). Thereby, Free People of Color endured the separation from their enslaved Black families to be shielded from "the mind-numbing effects of the relentless mantra of White superiority" (Smith, 2006, p. 96).

Hanger (1996) suggested that officials, legislators, and owners of enslaved Black people began to focus on Free People of Color once the Louisiana enslavement and the Louisiana plantation system intensified. White society started to feel the pressures of the Free People of Color's fight and viewed them as pariahs (West, 2012). Legislators, recognizing that the Free People of Color population was growing, worked to curtail their impact on White antebellum society (Reid, 2012). By the 1840s, Free People of Color were placed into a degraded status in slaveholding Southern states ("The Association for the Study of Negro Life," 1993). However, though Free People of Color endured the laws imposed upon them, they never acquiesced to their situation, as evidenced by their engagement in protests in speeches, narratives, and newspaper articles to preserve their human dignity and respect (Walker, 1996).

White society of New Orleans responded by assigning free Black citizens the title of slaves and subjecting them to the same discriminatory laws endured by enslaved Black people (Reid, 2012). Black Africans were ripped from their homeland, stripped of their cultural birthright, and processed through the brutalities of slavery (Foner, 1970). Fanon (2008) summarized the conditions of Black people, free or enslaved, by stating there is a "desperate

struggle of a Negro who is driven to discover the meaning of Black identity. White civilization and European culture have forced an existential deviation on the Negro [Black person]" (p. 6). The following section discusses enslavement as well as the lives of the enslaved Black community.

Enslavement while Black. The enslavement of Black people has haunted Southern history and is often represented as "the architectural flaw, the noxious weed in a garden, the hidden disease in an otherwise sound and growing body" (Davis, 1999, p. 283). People who are of African lineage and were born in the geographical location of Africa are considered to be Black Africans (Nwanegbo-Ben & Uzorma, 2014). Black African people were chosen for enslavement because (a) the cultivation of rice, cocoa, sugar cane, cotton, and tobacco plantations required manpower; (b) they were strong and energetic participants in agriculture and cattle rearing; and (c) they were less likely to contract tropical diseases (Nwanegbo-Ben & Uzorma, 2014). The practice of enslavement in the antebellum South was dehumanizing and oppressive to Black Africans (Walker, 1996).

Black African people in the antebellum South were permanently separated from their families in their homeland of Africa (Sweet, 2013). White enslavers considered enslaved Black people as subhuman, intellectually inferior savages who needed to be tamed to colonize them (Moss, 2009; Nwanegbo-Ben & Uzorma, 2014). According to Cooper (2015), enslavement not only displaced millions of Black Africans from their home country to the United States, it also became the foundation of the commodification and dehumanization of Black Africans socially, culturally, and politically.

Due to the dark color of African skin, Black African people were identified as property, and the prevailing sentiment of White antebellum society was that Black African people were inferior human beings destined to become slaves (Casmier, 1993; Gould, 2012; Groleau et al.,

2018; Turner, 1974; Walker, 1996). The leaders of White society taught young people growing up during the 16th through 19th centuries that Black African people were less than human (Nwanegbo-Ben & Uzorma, 2014). Therefore, enslaved Black people became a commodity (Cooper, 2015), and by being labeled as inferior, were instrumental in preserving White privilege, which allowed poor White farmers to believe they had gained a sense of power purely based on their White skin (Reid, 2012; Sio, 1965).

There was an amplified economic demand for the labor of enslaved Black people as the number of tobacco plantations decreased and the number of cotton plantations increased (Franklin & Moss, 2000; Walker, 1996). The White dominant culture of the enslavement of Black people extended its authoritarian position over the oppressed and enslaved Black people by creating values, religious practices, and scientific discourses to justify their right to maintain control over them (Koçsoy, 2013). To maintain control of their property, owners of enslaved Black people rationed food to deny enslaved Black persons basic human needs, used language to perpetuate the idea that oppressed Black people were inhuman, and used social annihilation to guarantee their obedience (Cooper, 2015). Slave codes were the legal instrument used to control the minds and bodies of enslaved Black people (Groleau et al., 2018; Walker, 1996).

Groleau et al. (2018) claimed that the overall purpose of Slave codes was to control the enslaved Black population by:

- Identifying them as property and not humans,
- Disallowing testimony in courts against White people or the execution of contracts,
- Preventing travel outside of the plantation without permission,
- Removing their right to self-defense when struck by a White person, and not prosecuting the murder of enslaved Black people,

- Blocking the sale of goods or firearm ownership, as well as prohibiting social gatherings without a White person present,
- Censoring anti-slavery literature and the visitation of the homes of White people or Free Persons of Color. (Appendix A)

Furthermore, the natural reproduction of the enslaved Black labor force through childbirth meant that family ties would make enslaved Black people less likely to incite an insurrection or run away (Sweet, 2013). The owners of enslaved Black people also hoped to dissuade instability on the plantations by criminalizing the education and literacy of the enslaved Black inhabitants (Schoeppner, 2013). The following section discusses the availability of education to antebellum Southerners, whether enslaved or free.

Catholic views of the antebellum South. Catholic leadership thought of enslaved Black people as part child, part animal, and part saint (Casmier, 1993; Davis, 1986; Feagin, 2010). For example, in 1858, William Henry Elder, an Archbishop of Cincinnati, stated that enslaved Black people were "so entirely animal in their inclination, so engrossed with the senses, that they have no regard for anything above the gratification of the body" (Davis, 1999, pp. 44-45). Archbishop Elder's statement perpetuated the idea that enslaved Black people were less than human (Davis, 1999). Although enslaved Black people were perceived as less than human, they continued to grow in number (Casmier, 1993; Davis, 1999). Consequently, the French Administration established the Code Noir of 1724 in New Orleans to govern the newly acquired land of Louisiana (Davis, 2004; Gould, 2012; Hart, 1976). Subsequently, enslaved Black people whose owners did not provide the Catholic religious education to them as mandated by the Code Noir were confiscated from their owners (Davis, 2004; Fessenden, 2000).

The Code Noir also established Catholic Churches as integrated places of worship by assigning Catholicism as the only legal, religious entity that was mandated to provide religious

instruction to people of color (Fessenden, 2000). However, the Catholic Church was conflicted on how to accomplish Catholic instruction for the enslaved Black population since neither White Nuns nor White Priests, who viewed enslaved Black people as non-human, desired to work with enslaved Black people (Davis, 1986). Additionally, Catholic religious orders owned enslaved Black people for various reasons. For example, Vincentian superior, Felix DeAndreis of Missouri, justified the ownership of enslaved Black people by claiming both that there was a lack of laymen available to perform manual labor and that other seminaries and Sulpicians acquired enslaved Black women for domestic work (Davis, 1986). Moreover, laymen of the Catholic Church saw menial jobs as labor for enslaved Black people and thus began to refuse to do specific tasks that they believed warranted the further use of enslaved Black laborers (Davis, 1986). Having seen that the nature of enslavement stripped enslaved Black people of dignity and self-worth (Casmier, 1993; Davis, 2004; Sio, 1965), the Catholic Church leadership was affected by the knowledge that the enslavement of Black people had become an integral part of antebellum life (Davis, 2004).

Southern education in the antebellum period. White people of the antebellum South valued learning whether it occurred in the home, public schools, or private schools (Hyde, 2016). However, the availability of education depended on race as well as the social and economic status of the individual (Boselovic, 2015; Brown, 1952). Wealthy White planters sent their children to private schools, but poor White sharecroppers utilized the public school system (Bohlen, 2017; Hyde, 2016). Conversely, White leadership denied education both to enslaved Black people and to women (Batchelor, 2015; Blokker, 2012; West & Knight, 2017). This following section addresses education in the antebellum South through the issues of race, gender and socioeconomics.

Education eludes them. History has depicted Southerners as "shiftless bumpkins content with illiteracy and ignorance" (Hyde, 2016, p. 1). However, concerted efforts were made to provide education in Louisiana during the antebellum era that began when colonization established a need for education (Blokker, 2012). Political and economic freedoms were tethered to literacy in the antebellum South (Freedman, 1999). In the mid-19th century, White Southern children from modest means received in-home education provided by educated relatives or hired tutors (Montgomery, 2018). According to Hyde (2016), White Southerners tended to associate public schools with charity and refused to accept the label of a pauper. Conversely, wealthy White Southerners sent their children to convents, boarding schools, and private schools to acquire an education (Spring, 1986, 2012; Suarez, 1971).

The progress in public education before 1845 was painstaking because the general White population did not want to send their children to free schools due to the fear that they would appear to be indigent (Morris, 2010; Spring, 1997). The wealthy residents of the region did not want the financial burden of supporting educational programs that would levy hefty taxes against them (Montgomery, 2018). Furthermore, the White community did not want to admit a need for education because it would make them appear inferior and equal to enslaved Black people. Watson (2012) captured this sentiment in the following statement: "the South's poor White voters were most unwilling to be likened to Black [people] who could turn on any upper class do-gooder who tried to do so" (p. 4). Nevertheless, the mid-19th century brought governmental involvement that enforced the development of statewide school systems for the first time (Hyde, 2016). However, these school systems were not developed to include Black students (Bell, 1999; Moss, 2009).

Education and people of color. Although free or enslaved Black people were receptive to public education, the idea of public schools to educate the general Southern population and to

prepare children for certain rights and responsibilities of citizenship was not available to Black students (Moss, 2009; Pinkney, 2016). Black children were wholly excluded from the public school system of the South and especially that of antebellum New Orleans (Bell, 1999; Hyde, 2016; Pinkney, 2016). White society classified Black children as subhuman and excluded them from the public school system (Moss, 2009).

Although enslaved Black students desired education, teaching them to read and write repulsed owners of enslaved Black people (Perry, 2012). According to Rury and Darby (2016), White society believed that Black people were inferior both mentally and morally, and thus not worthy of education equal to that of White people. Along similar lines, Moss (2009) argued that opposition to Black education by White citizens was part of a plan to dismiss Black people from the polity during the antebellum era. Thus, because the Black community viewed education as a necessary act of freedom and liberation, White citizens perceived the Black community as a threat (Ricks, 2014).

Many historical researchers believe that this opposition to educating Black people was due to the widespread anxiety in White society about Black people as citizens and to their trepidations regarding potential competitions for labor (Baumgartner, 2017). When White citizens formed the public school system, the opposition by White society was so intense that violence erupted to demonstrate their objection to the education of Black students (Moss, 2009). Southern states of the antebellum era were so opposed that they enacted legislation to make it a criminal act to educate or instruct enslaved Black children to read or write (Ricks, 2014).

Brown (1952) identified attitude types used by both White and Black people when discussing White society's opposition to the education of Black students. White society opposed the education of Black students because they viewed Black attitudes as militant, passive, and compromising (Brown, 1952). DuBois (1935) put forward the view that

> It is difficult to think of anything more important for the development of a people than proper training for their children; and yet I have repeatedly seen wise and loving colored [Black] parents take infinite plans to force their little children into schools where the White children, White teachers, and White parents despised and resented the dark [Black] child, made mock of it, neglected or bullied it, and rendered its life a living hell. (p. 330)

Regardless of the risks, Black people sought education as a way of surviving the atrocities imposed on them by their oppressors (Walker, 1996). However, the dominance of the White society influenced decisions about whether or not to provide Black people with access to education (Moss, 2009).

Some White people admitted there was inequity in Black education while also pursuing the legitimization of placing Black students in separate and inferior accommodation (Kohl, 2013). Leaders such as Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and other dignitaries opposed the enslavement of Black people although they themselves were owners of enslaved Black people. These leaders, who only supported partial racial equality, were committed to supporting churches and schools that would provide moral and intellectual assistance to Black people but not a full-scale public education (Rury & Darby, 2016).

Woodson (2004) noted that not all White people objected to attending special and parochial schools that were accessible to Black people and White people (Woodson, 2004). However, according to DuBois (1935), Black students in public schools were “admitted and tolerated, but they are [were] not educated; they are [were] crucified” (p. 329). For example, Black students placed among White students and teachers in public school were despised by White parents and resented by White teachers and students who mocked and bullied the Black students (DuBois, 1935).

On the other hand, Drs. John H. Van Evrie and Samuel Cartwright supported racism that was backed by scientific evidence when they classified humans as superior or inferior and portrayed the brains of Black people as "underdeveloped and small" (Melancon & Hendry, 2015, p. 303). Although there were some White men in influential governmental positions capable of exerting intellectual authority over racism, White men supported the legal unavailability of education for Black students (Anderson, 2005; Pinkney, 2016; Rogers, 2013). However, according to Johnson (2013), "like members of the White elite, leading free Black families valued education, and like rich Whites, they educated their children either by means of tutors or private schools" (p. 12). Consequently, segregated education obscured how White supremacy blighted Black education and denied them equal opportunity and access to education (Fairclough, 2007).

The students who were members of the anomalous group of free Black people viewed access to school education as their opportunity for social advancements (Ladson-Billings, 2010). Free People of Color also perceived their schooling as an essential weapon to fight against the continuous rise of racial quantifiers such as inferiority and incapacity developed by White society to legitimize the exclusion of Black people from opportunities for social and political advancement (Baumgartner, 2017). At a minimum, Black leaders desired education to provide their children with learning opportunities not available to their ancestors that would result in their right to control their future (Peterson, 2011). Free Black people believed that learning was essential to developing a Black community sated with school facilities, libraries, and scholarly societies (Logan, 2008). Inevitably, legalities did not avert their pursuit of educational opportunities to liberate Black people enslaved and free (Ricks, 2014).

Education of women during the antebellum era. White males of the antebellum era believed that educational instructions should not interfere with the essential preparations of

women becoming wives and mothers (West, 2016). Wiley (1866) described the critical attributes of White antebellum women as pious, pure, submissive, and domestic because these characteristics represented the ideal wives and mothers who would be the salvation of the American republic. Therefore, there was an ongoing debate between traditionalists and educational reformists about the education of girls (West, 2016).

Traditionalists did not want non-homemaking education to undermine the training of girls for their future domestic duties, while educational reformists argued in favor of education that prepared girls for their roles in society (West, 2016). Though Abbott (1840) believed that women should receive a higher education, he did not encourage the breakdown of traditional gender roles. Abbott (1840) cemented his position on female education in his book *The School Girl: Or, the Principles of Christian Duty Familiarity Enforces*. In his book, Abbott (1840) wrote, "God never intended that there should be confusion between the employment of the two sexes. He has very distinctly marked out our appropriate duties. And a masculine woman and an effeminate man are equally objects of disgust" (p. 157). Resultantly, White males in the antebellum South treated Women as submissive subjects obligated to their demands (Kierner, 2016; Welter, 1966).

The conundrum of race, variations in skin color, superiority and inferiority labels, and freedom or enslavement, along with social status and economic wealth in the antebellum era, created racialization issues in antebellum education (Case, 2012). White male Southerners who separated from Black society to elevate their social status into a fictionalized superior position also created issues of racialization in antebellum education (Baumgartner, 2017). According to Wirzbicki (2015), the higher level of focus placed on self-education and self-elevation among the Black community leaders was a central attribute of Black civic life among the Free People of Color. Historically, the education of Black people in the antebellum South was due to women of color who have acted as educators, administrators, and pupils (Ricks, 2014).

Since free women of color constituted the most significant number of Black inhabitants in America accepted by a majority of the southern White society, they were able to contribute to the education of Black people, enslaved and free, with impunity (Boote & Beile, 2005; Freedman, 1999). For example, Delille, a free woman of color, together with the SSF, converted a home on Bayou Road in New Orleans to educate Black people in reading and writing, sewing, cooking, housekeeping, and laundry work (Freedman, 1999). Enslaved Black females did not have the same liberties as free women of color, but they knew the implications of writing and sought ways to teach other enslaved Black people what they had learned (Ricks, 2014). The following section addresses the treatment of White women and Black women during the antebellum era.

Women and the antebellum South. Racial, ethnic, and class ideologies of the antebellum era forged the historical view of women in the antebellum South (West & Knight, 2017). During this era, Black women, free or enslaved, endured sexual exploitation and the sale of their children (Dunaway, 2008). White men treated white women as unequal partners, domestic laborers responsible for the household finances, and available for their sexual exploits (Hagler, 1980). Thus, White men viewed women as inferior regardless of their race or class.

The audacity of White male dominance. The sexual regulation of women was linked to White supremacy, enslavement, and planter nobility (Gross, 2016). Women were viewed by White society as inferior to men both physically and intellectually (Allain, 2013). Cobb (2016) explained that during the antebellum period, placing all women at the bottom of the White societal order allowed White slave owners to maintain their place at the top of their self-imposed hierarchy.

The value of a Black woman's life depended on her market value (Cooper, 2015). Southern White people defended the devaluation of Black women's lives because they believed

sexual exploitation of Black women preserved White women's purity (Mamrak, 2016). Williams (2013) added that White males preyed upon women of color who were enslaved or free for sexual exploitations through enslavement, domestic servitude, and prostitution. Owners of enslaved Black people knew they could make additional profits by prostituting enslaved women, a practice Pateman (2014) characterizes as patriarchal capitalism. Women of color were not protected from being "sexually stalked, harassed, raped, prostituted or used for concubinage and White men in leadership positions took advantage of their situation" (Groleau et al., 2018, p. 3). Many urban owners of enslaved Black people sought additional profits by selling or leasing enslaved Black women for prostitution (Williams, 2013).

The prostitution of enslaved Black women was neither consensual nor reciprocal; however, according to Stansell (1987), White men sexually exploited enslaved Black women by charging a fee for the time they were leased to men by their owner. White men who participated in the prostitution of enslaved Black women believed that financial gain resulted in an independent relationship between the enslaved Black women and the owners of enslaved Black women into a reciprocal relationship. Cooper (2015) argues that this transaction was fictional reciprocity. In the case of enslaved Black women in the antebellum South, there was no opportunity for a reciprocal relationship with a White man because they were forced to surrender to the patriarchal capitalism plans of the owners of enslaved Black women (Cooper, 2015; Williams, 2013).

White antebellum society saw their dealing with women of color as taboo, so White men attempted to keep their meetings secret to avoid societal repercussions and the wrath of their wives (Cooper, 20015). Southern White women were not pleased with their men's interactions with enslaved Black women, but they accepted it as a part of the secrets kept on the plantation (Hagood, 2012). White women of the antebellum era were bound to appearances of purity and

keeping their husbands' illicit affairs private in addition to remaining passive and in subjection to the superiority of their husband (Cooper, 2015).

Mamrak (2016) explained that deviant sexual exploitation was not limited to enslaved Black women but was also an issue for enslaved Black men. Although the literature reviewed for this study did not discuss enslaved Black men as prostitutes, White women put enslaved Black men in compromising sexual situations (Cooper, 2015; Mamrak, 2016). Elite White women held the power to enhance the lives of enslaved Black men on her plantation or harm them and destroy their lives (Cooper, (2015). Mamrak (2016) supports this ideology in his research that indicated that, "since White men typically dominated white women, these White women most likely sexually abused male slaves [enslaved Black men] for the purpose of domination and control" (p. 6). Although White society allowed the exploitation of people of color, enslaved or free, they protected White women. Their usual role during antebellum times was that of caretaker (Cobb, 2016). Sexual purity, sustained restraint, prudence, and modesty were the uncompromising standards they were assigned (Allain, 2013).

White women of the planter class were (a) considered the property of their husbands, (b) limited in mobility outside the plantation without a chaperone, and (c) subjected to spousal abuse as a method of control (Allain, 2013). The planter class consisted of White southern farmers who lived in poor conditions with the same access to housing, food, and clothing as enslaved Black people; however, they used their White skin to proclaim themselves as superior to enslaved Black people (Otto, 1980). Gross (2016) believed that the wives of the planter class lived above rebuke, which allowed their husbands to boast of their White superiority over the Black population. However, among the wealthy planters, wives of the planter class were treated as low-class citizens (Allain, 2013; Jones, 2015).

Delille was the product of a mixed-race union that subjected her to most of the issues all women of the antebellum era faced. Understanding what Delille encountered when entering into womanhood and the treatment of women during the antebellum era is significant. Problems encountered by the women of antebellum New Orleans provide insight into the obstacles Delille faced as she developed her philosophy of education. To further understand why this study is valuable in filling a gap in the literature, the following section discusses prior research studies.

Dissertation Reviews of Prior Research Studies

Previous research studies documented information on educating Black people who were either enslaved or free. For this study, three major themes emerged from the five research studies reviewed. The emergent themes from these five studies include religious education for Black people, the emergence of education for Black people, and the motivation of Black people to pursue education. This section discusses the themes that emerged from the prior research studies of Williams (2002), Byron (2008), Massey (1991), Glynn (2011), and Walker (1996).

Religious education for Black people. Since apostolic times, Christians have used Catechesis, also known as religious instruction, to perpetuate a religious agenda (Davis, 1986, 2004). Byron (2008) revealed that the influence of Catholic catechism developed over time, eventually establishing itself on American soil. By the 19th century, Americans used catechisms to create religious works for children. Byron (2008) examined the development of religious instruction and its impact on the enslaved Black community during 1820 and 1860, which was the height of catechism for enslaved Black people in the south.

Byron's (2008) research illustrated how the authors of catechism for enslaved Black people composed their educational resources based on previous modes of religious and secular instruction (Byron, 2008; Davis, 1986; Hart, 1976); resultantly, enslaved Black people were not given the same education as southern White people. According to the Code Noir that governed

the life of Delille, Catholic religious education was mandated for all citizens, enslaved or free in antebellum New Orleans (Bell, 1999; Boselovic, 2015). However, the level of education provided to enslaved Black people was ambiguous because some believed the mandates of the Code Noir meant only Catholic religion whereas others, such as Delille, thought it also included rudimentary education (Brett, 2011; Copeland, 2007). Byron's (2008) research study is relevant to understanding the role of religion in the teaching of enslaved Black people during the antebellum era. The education provided through Catholicism to the enslaved Black community of antebellum New Orleans was tethered to the mandates of the Code Noir. However, the research completed by Massey (1991), revealed a new approach to Christian education within the context of the Southern Baptist Church.

Massey's (1991) study modeled the influence of Baptist religion on the process of faith-based education as well as the historical impact of Christianity on the process of education. According to the research, Southern Baptist faith-based education initiatives provided new approaches for presenting Christian education to enslaved Black people of the nineteenth century (Massey, 1991). The enslaved Black community was examined through music, storytelling, and preaching as innovative approaches to sharing and communicating their beliefs and values (Massey, 1991). Literacy was determined to be a problem among the enslaved Black people; therefore, songs and stories helped them hear and memorize biblical stories as well as tenets of Christian beliefs and community values (Massey, 1991). Massey (1991) concluded that education and nurturing occurred in the communities of enslaved Black people. The religious faith approach provided a Christian education that had positive and negative implications within the Southern Baptist context of religious belief.

Subsequently, Walker (1996) completed a historical study focused on Black Catholic laymen and the responsibilities they undertook to evangelize and religiously educate Black

people in 19th century America. According to Walker (1996), Catholic doctrine authored by Priests and Bishops developed the religious beliefs according to the Black populations they were serving. The historical context of the study allowed Walker (1996) to provide insight into the connection between the Catholic faith and the social, political, religious, and economic environment of the Black Catholic laymen that provided religious education to Black people.

However, neither of these studies provides information regarding education that was not faith-based; the education of Black people was limited to religious tenets. The focus was on teaching Baptist or Catholic religious tenets, not the rudimentary training necessary for enslaved Black people to understand religion on their own by learning to read or write for themselves. Conversely, Delille focused on the use of the provisions of the Catholic Church as mandated by the Code Noir to educate enslaved Black people in the basics of reading, writing, and mathematics (Davis, 1986, 2004). Delille used her involvement with the Catholic religion to accomplish the goal of providing education to enslaved Black people for their upward social and economic mobility (Davis, 2004; Detiege, 1976). The studies completed by Massey (1991) and Walker (1996) presented education in the form of religion used to control rather than to teach the enslaved Black populations. By completing research about Delille's education of Black people, this study expands the literature regarding schooling provided to enslaved Black people that was not limited to religious education.

Emergence of education for Black people. Public education in the antebellum South was a point of contention among the poor and elite White population (Brown, 1952). Public education was available for wealthy and poor White people, but the enslaved Black population did not receive rudimentary training due to their racial and social status (Anderson, 1988; Bertocchi & Dimico, 2014). Glynn (2011) examined the emergence of public school in southern Louisiana for Black people. The research revealed difficulties that surfaced for those who were

interested in expanding the educational opportunities for Black people in the South (Glynn, 2011). Southern hostility, restrictive laws, lack of resources, and administrative bickering were a few of the obstacles hindering proponents of Black education. Based on the research, Glynn (2011) concluded that this hostility hampered the efforts to provide quality public education for Black students in south Louisiana. Glynn's (2011) research, which focused on the education of free Black students pre- and post-Civil Rights, is vital to understanding the impact faith-based education versus rudimentary education had on the education of Black students in the South. This study's focus on Delille and the education of enslaved Black people expands the research on the religious education of enslaved Black people as well as her contributions to education in New Orleans.

Black people and the motivation for education. Williams (2002) examined the motivations for acquiring education as well as the strategies used to access educational resources of Southern African Americans [Black people] in pre- and post-civil war America. Furthermore, Williams (2002) researched issues of power and conflict that arose among Black people, Southern White people, and Northern missionaries, and the autonomy of former enslaved Black people in their educational efforts. Williams (2002) concluded that Black people, through self-teaching, did not compromise their endeavors to actualize their visions of freedom or White society's acceptance of their citizenship.

Williams's (2002) study is critical because it presented the historical context of the education of enslaved Black people. This research also introduced the idea that many enslaved Black people autonomously decided to educate themselves. Enslaved Black people not only relied on others but also knew the importance of education to their freedom, their society, and their chances for upward mobility (Davis, 2004; Detiege, 1976; Hart, 1976). The context of this study presented the idea that enslaved Black people knew the importance of education and were

not necessarily awaiting assistance from outside influencers such as White men and women, clergy, or free Black people (Williams, 2002).

The studies as mentioned above are essential to understanding the viewpoints of religious organizations who provided education to the enslaved Black population but did not address the educational needs of those still learning how to read or write. The study of Delille's philosophy of education is essential to expanding the research on rudimentary education in antebellum New Orleans because (a) there was limited information on the education of enslaved Black people in antebellum New Orleans, and (b) though there have been references to Delille as an educator of not only religious ideals but also rudimentary education, limited information is available on this accomplishment during the time of segregation and the enslavement of Black people in antebellum New Orleans.

Consequently, the goal of this research study about Delille's philosophy of education narrows the focus on enslaved Black education to a specific time, location, community, and person to inform the historical gaps regarding education in antebellum New Orleans. Furthermore, the study of Delille's philosophy of education occurred within the theoretical framework of double consciousness as presented by W. E. B. DuBois (1903). DuBois' (1903) theory of double consciousness framed Delille's life as a mixed-race educator operating within the social and political confines of antebellum New Orleans. The literature reviewed for this study explores Delille's life, the social and political environment of antebellum New Orleans, the influence of Catholic religion on her philosophy of education, as well as her contributions to education.

Theoretical Framework of Double Consciousness

The three-race caste system of antebellum New Orleans placed Free People of Color below White people but above enslaved Black people (Johnson, 2013). Since Free People of

Color did not fully belong to the White or Black race they were "always looking at [themselves] through the eyes of others" (DuBois, 1903, p. 5). W. E. B. DuBois' (1903) theory of double consciousness addresses the implication of being mixed-race in America. Therefore, due to Delille's mixed-race status in segregated antebellum New Orleans as she developed her philosophy of education, DuBois' (1903) theory of double consciousness framed this study. This section discussed DuBois' (1903) theory and how it framed this study.

W. E. B. DuBois. William Edward Burghardt "W. E. B." DuBois entered the world five days after the Emancipation Proclamation on February 23, 1868, in Great Barrington, Massachusetts (Green & Smith, 1983; Morse, 2016). While growing up in a European American town, W. E. B. DuBois identified himself as mulatto and freely attended schools with White students where his White educators enthusiastically supported his educational pursuits (Biography, 2014). He began his college career at Fisk University where he earned his bachelor's degree and continued his enrollment at Harvard University where he received a Master's in Art as well as his doctoral degree (Morse, 2016). DuBois became a historian, social leader, philosopher, and sociologist as well as one of the foremost scholars of the Black experience in America in the 19th and 20th centuries (Green & Smith, 1983; Rabaka, 2008).

Throughout his lengthy career, Dubois attempted to understand the social and historical conditions of Black people and the impact those conditions had on their consciousness and inner worlds (Pittman, 2016). Dubois made it his life's mission to combat racism and prejudice to achieve comprehensible citizenship for Black Americans by being "self-assertive without being aggressive [and] assuming without hesitation" (Morse, 2016, p. 1). Bell (1999) put forward the view that Western imperialism, colonialism, and racism against Black Americans influenced DuBois' radical politics.

Rabaka (2008) pointed out that DuBois' views were not based on a scientific view of racism but were developed to generate opportunities for Black people to survive socially. DuBois observed that divided by a racial color line, the United States caused remarkable harm to its citizens and destroyed affectations to democracy (Morse, 2016). Resultantly, DuBois became an essential voice for prompting discussions on the conditions of Black people in America because as Biko (1996) stated, "There is no freedom in silence" (p. 10).

Blurred color lines. Black and White racial color lines had been drawn on the soil of "the land of the free and the home of the brave" (Key, 1814, p. 1). The racial color lines assured division between the races and advertised the perceived inferiority of the Black race and the self-identified superiority of the White race (Alexander, 1888; Collins, 2016). In his youth, DuBois, oblivious to racial color lines, decided to exchange a card with a White female who refused his offer based on the dark color of his skin (DuBois, 1903). DuBois was dismayed and immediately viewed himself as a stranger in the land he inhabited and contemplated the following thought, "Why did God make me an outcast and a stranger in mine own house?" (DuBois, 1903, p. 2).

When DuBois wrote the *Strivings of the Negro People* (1897), he acknowledged this problematic experience of his youth by writing, "Then it dawned upon me with a certain sadness that I was different from the others; or like them, perhaps in heart and life longing" (para. 2). After this life-altering event, DuBois continually felt a racial duality as an African or American but never the merging of the two (DuBois, 1903; Morse, 2016). As DuBois matured, this one incident became the foundation for his characterization of a double consciousness embedded into the purviews of American society (DuBois, 1903).

Double consciousness. Numerous scholars, such as Silviano Santiago, Homi Bhabha, Bell Hooks, and Paul Gilroy, have examined the hybridism of Black life (Nowrouzi & Faghfori, 2015). Fanon (2008) propounded the idea that, "As long as the Black man is among his own, he

will have no occasion, except in minor internal conflicts, to experience his own meaning through others" (p. 82). Biko (1996) perceived double consciousness as a "two-faced attitude of the Black man to this whole question of existence" (p. 103). Although the views of these scholars aligned with DuBois' focus on the plight of Black people in America, DuBois was the first to introduce double consciousness and was also the instigator of empirical research on anti-Black racism (Nowrouzi & Faghfori, 2015; Rabaka, 2008).

DuBois' (1903) *The Souls of Black Folk* brought his theory to national prominence. Double consciousness is premised on the assumption that Black people's experiences did not support a full sense of belonging to either the culture of Black Africans or the culture of White Americans (DuBois, 1903; Nowrouzi & Faghfori, 2015). Double consciousness was a concept that referred to what DuBois regarded as an inward "twoness" (Dubois, 1903) that was "putatively experienced by African-Americans because of their racialized oppression and disvaluation in white-dominated society" (Pittman, 2016, para. 1). DuBois explained that this double-consciousness was developed through the legal, political, and social restrictions imposed on Black Americans that resulted in White supremacy (Noltemeyer, Mujic, & McLoughlin, 2012).

Proponents of double consciousness have acknowledged that Dubois' theory provoked discussions about the ways Black people accepted the abhorrent dialect of White superiority and Black inferiority forced upon them (Rabaka, 2008). DuBois' (1903) theory also provoked mainstream American thought about issues relevant to mixed-race people (Brannon et al., 2015; Kirkland, 2013). DuBois dedicated a substantial amount of time to writing about race and racism as well as criticizing White society's racial myth making about the Black race (Rabaka, 2008).

DuBois (1897, 1903) also articulated his concerns about racism through publications such as *Strivings of the Negro People* and *Our Spiritual Strivings*. Both of these publications

enlightened readers to the stereotypes constructed by White society and to the problems generated from being neither wholly Black American nor White American (Bruce, 1992). DuBois' writings educated American citizens about the dual self-schemas associated with the culture of Black people and American mainstream culture (Brannon et al., 2015). His writings explained that persons of mixed-race faced their dual ethnic backgrounds in their places in society, but since they had also to acknowledge the limited societal view assigned to them due to the color of their skin, they had no true consciousness of self (DuBois, 1903).

The literature about double consciousness is rooted in DuBois' (1903) development of a discourse on race that critiqued racism and provided the philosophical foundation of the debate for the antiracist struggle (Rabaka, 2008). DuBois' (1903) stated his view of this struggle in *The Souls of Black Folk*, in which he pointed out that

> [t]he history of the American Negro is the history of his strife, - this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self. In this merging he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro [Black] and an American [White], without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows. (p. 3)

Landsman (2010) also explained double consciousness by elucidating the sense of White privilege enjoyed by White people with a single racial consciousness without an awareness of a second racial self as viewed by others. Landsman (2010) concluded that double consciousness was a privilege for White Americans and a problem for Black Americans, though Chapman (2013) concluded that double consciousness enabled Black people to traverse racism with a richer comprehension of living in a racialist world. DuBois' (1903) theory had support as well as opposition to his sociologically-based ideas of double consciousness. The following sections

elaborate on the scholars who have contributed to the argument for or against the theory of double consciousness.

White privilege, Black oppression. DuBois' (1897) discussion on race and specifically those who support his sociological view of racism through the theory of double consciousness is evidenced by his statement that

> [r]ace is a vast family of human beings, generally of common ancestry and language, always of common history, traditions, and impulses, which are both voluntarily and involuntarily striving together for the accomplishment of certain more or less conceived ideals of life. (p. 7)

Academics such as Fanon (2008) and Wright (1953) utilized the groundbreaking work of DuBois' theory of double consciousness as a basis for their sociological inquiry into racism (Sung, 2015), although critics such as Rabaka (2008) and Rampersad (1976) opposed DuBois' theory of double consciousness. Proponents as well as the opponents of DuBois' (1903) theory, are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Fanon (2008) was born to a father who was a descendant of enslaved Black people and a mother of mixed French parenthood in the French colony of Martinique on July 20, 1925. Fanon was a psychiatrist, but he utilized his writings to support the upheaval of colonialism and to analyze racism and the impact of the internalization of racism by its victims (Shatz, 2001). Shatz (2001) describes Fanon as a man who was "brave but also reckless, prophetic but often dangerously wrongheaded" (para. 4).

When Fanon (2008) began writing, "his weapon was truth; when he embraced revolutionary violence, truth became a casualty of his decision" (para. 4). Fanon (2008) believed that he had the burden of proving the idiocy of European colonialism and its negative impact on

Black people. Moore (2005) noted that DuBois and Fanon each openly used their writings to fight the ideologies of White privilege, colonization, and racism.

DuBois' influence on Fanon's (2008) views is evidenced by Fanon's statement that "without a Negro [Black] past, without a Negro future, it was impossible for me to love my Negrohood [Blackness]. Not yet White, no longer wholly Black, I was damned" (p. 138). Another example is found in Fanon's (2008) *Black Skin, White Masks* when he observed that there was a constant struggle between Black people who want to find meaning in their identity through forced existential deviation by White society. Finally, the literary works of DuBois and Fanon bravely fought against the mental conflict of life as neither a wholly Black person nor a wholly White person in a society dominated by White people (Moore, 2005).

Fanon was not the only supporter of DuBois; Richard Wright, a Black pioneer of literature and self-identified socialist, also identified with DuBois' (1903) theory (Gomez, 2015). Wright (1953) provided a view of his position on double consciousness in his novel *The Outsider* when he wrote:

> Negroes [Black people] are going to be gifted with a double vision, for being Negroes, they are going to be both inside and outside of American [White] culture at the same time. They will not only be Americans or Negroes, they will be the centers of knowing. (p. 129)

Wright's (1953) *The Outsider* complemented DuBois' (1903) theory that Black people were "gifted with second-sight in this American world. One ever feels his two-ness – an American [White], and Negro [Black]; two souls, two thoughts" (p. 3). Although it was evident that Fanon (2008) and Wright (1953) were supporters of DuBois' theory, critics of double consciousness such as Rabaka (2008) and Rampersad (1976) argued that the theory historically never worked in explaining the plight of Black people, and would be irrelevant in the future (Cook, 2014).

Therefore, the critics were not supporters of DuBois' (1903) position posited in *The Souls of Black Folk* (Rabaka, 2008; Rampersad, 1976).

The souls of criticism. DuBois' (1903) *The Souls of Black Folk* is characterized as a sociological view that addresses the psychological and historical disposition of Black people through the social impediments of racial separation and colonization (Kirkland, 2013). In this book, DuBois (1903) wrote that he felt like a problem in America due to the darkness of his skin, which prompted him to pose the question, "what does it feel like to be a problem" (p. 2). However, critics like Cornel West responded to DuBois' question by arguing that, "No, Mister DuBois, it is not I who is the problem. White supremacy is the problem!" (Maart, 2014, p. 75). There has been a long-standing debate among scholars of African American studies such as Gilroy (1993), Gooding-Williams (2011), Gordon (2015), Rabaka (2008), Rampersad (1976), Reed (1999), and Zamir (1995) about the relevance or irrelevance of double consciousness.

Numerous sociologists did not embrace the theory (Itzigsohn & Brown, 2015). Rabaka's (2008) argument against double consciousness was that it was "primarily preoccupied with emancipating the oppressed and not simply discussing developing sociology or any other academic principle" (p. 255). Rampersad (1976) argued that DuBois' work went against the notion of academic principle, his strategies in controversy were not always understood academically, and his theory was a footnote in the historical aspect of race relations. Rabaka (2008) presented the following criticisms of Dubois' (1903) theory of double consciousness:

- The diverse nature of the essays contained in the work made it too diverse.
- DuBois' (1903) *The Souls of Black Folk* was incomplete and sketchy because there were bits of history, biography, scenes and persons, controversy and criticism, with some statistics and storytelling.

- Historians of the 20th century determined that DuBois' (1903) *The Souls of Black Folk* was too literary to be historical.
- DuBois' work was sociologically insignificant because it denounced lyricism and historical detail.
- Philosophers tagged it as too historical and socialized thus not representative of philosophical ideas.

Asante (2003) added that the theory of double consciousness caused people to be delusional when they allowed their mind to fixate on another person's reality.

The double consciousness circuit. Volumes of articles, journals, books, and other media confirm that DuBois used the term double consciousness to describe his perception of the purgatory the Black race suffered. Conditions Black people were exposed to dehumanized, polarized, and divided darker-skinned citizens from White citizens due to apparent differences in melanin (Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Brooks, 1971). However, inquisitive minds such as Gooding-Williams (2011), Gordon (2015), Reed (1999), and Zamir (1995) questioned the validity of DuBois' application of double consciousness to the Black race as well as his lack of an elucidatory expansion of his idea of "two-ness" (Dubois, 1903, p. 3).

Various scholars believed DuBois' assertion of double consciousness was flawed because his idea only showed up in specific works and was not mentioned again by DuBois after 1903 (Morse, 2016). Pundits such as Booker T. Washington (2003) struggled with the idea of double consciousness because DuBois never explicitly clarified the relationship between double consciousness and twoness. Pittman (2016) concluded that DuBois' theory of double consciousness seemed vague and did not depict what the actual conflict was between American and Negro (i.e., ideals of Black people; Pittman, 2016).

Prior to his death, Dubois had a limited opportunity to reconcile the meaning of double consciousness because of his constant focus on the struggles of Black people in the United States and around the world (Allen, 2002; Morse, 2016; Pittman, 2016). Since DuBois did not address his idea of double consciousness in future writings after *The Souls of Black Folk*, Allen (2002) surmised that DuBois did not want a visible collapse of his limited construction of double consciousness. Allen (2002) also claimed it was unlikely that educated White people would have been incensed by the plight of black socio-psychology.

Finally, Allen (2002) claimed that DuBois circumvented the disrespect and psychological scars incurred by racism through activism and other publications. There is no charted evidence of how DuBois formulated his theory of double consciousness, which resulted in speculation from scholars who attempted to determine what he meant (Bruce, 1992). Therefore, the next section explores the genesis of the term double consciousness.

The genesis of double consciousness. Double consciousness, as a medical term, was used for extensive experimentation, debate, and diagnosis for 75 years before DuBois used the term (Bruce, 1992). For example, James (1890) published *The Principles of Psychology*, which diagnosed a young patient named Mary Reynolds, age 19, with double consciousness. Patient Reynolds reported that after a long sleep she awoke to alternating selves for four years, meaning while she was in one life, she had no memory of the other (Bruce, 1992; Pittman, 2016). As a result of patient Reynolds' diagnosis, psychologists used double consciousness as a psychological diagnosis (Pittman, 2016). The scientific study of double consciousness found by James (1890) is believed to have influenced DuBois' (1903) theory of double consciousness (Pittman, 2016).

Gilroy (1993), a sociologist, studied the social phenomena of double consciousness because DuBois postulated it as a socio-psychological or socio-historical disposition of Black

people that demonstrated how the experience of Black people framed racial and social barriers, segregation, and colonization (Kirkland, 2013). Gilroy (1993) discusses the Atlantic slave trade as a foundation for double consciousness. According to Braziel and Mannur (2006), DuBois' theory of double consciousness exemplified the battle between being both European and Black during the Atlantic slave trade. Gilroy's (1993) sociological view of a struggle between the reconciliation of being European and Black was taken from Dubois' intense anxiety (Morse, 2016) when DuBois (1903) wrote the words, "An American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings" (p. 4). Social scientists believed that double consciousness compromised self-esteem and could not provide a causal significance for the psychological conflict of Black people (Kirkland, 2013; Pittman, 2016). Conversely, DuBois (1897, 1903) viewed the social context of Black people as an evil exposed and that exposure of the sins of racism was necessary; his definition of double consciousness uncovered Black people's absence of "a coherent sense of self and direction to merge his double self into a better and truer self" (DuBois, 1903, p. 4).

Double consciousness applied. Based on the racial lines created in antebellum New Orleans, DuBois' theory of double consciousness best framed the racial environment endured by enslaved and free Black people. DuBois' (1903) theory of double consciousness and its relationship to the unreconciled strivings of a man who is neither Black nor White are included in discussions about the nature of race and its biological, social, and cultural facets today (Bernasconi, 2001). Double consciousness also initiated exploration of the divided mind of a mixed-race person (Allen, 2002).

The racial color lines discussed in DuBois' theory of double consciousness presented the idea "of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of the world that looks on in amused contempt and pity" (Dubois, 1903, p. 4). A duality of

self in the mind of a Black person was the focus of double consciousness in this study because enslaved Black people of antebellum New Orleans lived in a society forced upon them after having been removed from their homes in the Western part of Africa (Nowrouzi & Faghfori, 2015). The racial color lines maintained the segregation of American society, perpetuated Black inferiority, and established White society's self-described superiority (Sumpter, 2008; Woodson, 2004). This study discusses double consciousness as it relates to the development of Delille's philosophy of education within the context of antebellum New Orleans and her life as a free woman of color in antebellum New Orleans, although double consciousness also applies to other races, cultures, and religions (Gould, 2004, 2012).

In DuBois' (1903) *The Souls of Black Folk,* there are undertones regarding the difficulties he faced as a mixed-race person, even though DuBois made only one reference to double consciousness. He referenced the construct when he discussed the rejection he received from a White female student. Conversely, DuBois (1903) also referenced his disdain for the feeling caused by his heritage when he stated, "It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity" (p. 2).

There were proponents and critics of double consciousness. The supporters of DuBois' (1903) theory of double consciousness discussed in this section are Frantz Fanon (2008) and Richard Wright (1953). The authors claimed that Black people were warred mentally to overcome the merging of each racial part of himself or herself into one whole person. However, critics such as Rampersad (1976) and Rabaka (2008) argued that double consciousness had no impact on academia and was a literary work rather than an actual theory that could be used in sociology effectively. Nevertheless, after 113 years, the theory of double consciousness remains part of contemporary sociological and historical studies (Bruce, 1992).

Enslaved and free Black people, along with wealthy and poor White people populated antebellum New Orleans (Davis, 2004; Gould, 2012). Delille faced the fact that her White ancestry provided privileges that were not available to the enslaved Black population. Delille was able to reconcile the Black and White parts of her lineal descent and form one identity to navigate the social and racial dynamics of living in two worlds divided by race (Deggs, 2001; Detiege, 1976; Hart, 1976). Therefore, the theory of double consciousness best framed the twoness Delille experienced not only racially but also as an educator of enslaved and free Black people as she developed her philosophy of education in antebellum New Orleans.

Refinement of the theory of double consciousness. Pittman (2016) defined double consciousness as a form of life experience that DuBois ascribed to Black people living in the Jim Crow South and segregated in the North as well as to those facing the threats and occurrences of racist violence that permeated the country. For example, in DuBois' (1920) *Dark Water*, he discussed the egregious effects of the Jim Crow era on the lives of Southern Black people when he stated, "There is not in the world a more disgraceful denial of brotherhood than the Jim Crow care of the Southern United States" (p. 135). However, the theory of double consciousness was initially used as a medical theory to diagnose psychosis (Bruce, 1992). According to Bruce (1992), double consciousness was a medical term used for psychological diagnosis 75 years before DuBois' use of the term in a sociological context. Pittman (2016) confirmed that before the turn of the 20th century, medical professionals studied double consciousness to diagnose the psychological pathology of psychiatric patients. After medical professionals used double consciousness for medical diagnoses, social scientists began to study the phenomenon of double consciousness as the social, psychological, or historical disposition of Black people in America whose experiences were framed by colonization and segregation (Kirkland, 2013).

DuBois (1897) initially introduced the social theory of double consciousness in an essay published in *The Atlantic* titled, "The Strivings of the Negro People. The essay brought national attention to DuBois' theory of double consciousness (Allen, 2002). As a result, DuBois developed the social theory of double consciousness because he believed that Black people lived in a White society that oppressed and devalued Black citizens (DuBois, 1935).

DuBois also regarded himself as viewing life through the lenses of his Black ancestry and his White ancestry, which produced inconsistent images of a world that provided him with no real singular identity (DuBois, 1897, 1903). Conversely, the duality of his Black and White ancestry only offered Dubois a perception of himself through the reflections of White society (DuBois, 1903). Consequently, in "Of Our Spiritual Strivings," DuBois (1903) articulated his feeling of "twoness" (p. 3), or duality of self, when he explained that his only wish was to make it possible for Black people to belong to both cultures. DuBois (1903) defined his twoness or duality of self as "an American, a Negro: two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body" (p. 3). DuBois' definition of double consciousness described the experience of mixed-race individuals in America who were neither entirely Black nor entirely White (DuBois, 1903; Landsman, 2010). DuBois also believed that White society forced double consciousness upon mixed-race individuals by the White society that viewed mixed-race people with contempt and pity because of their racial duality (DuBois, 1903). DuBois' theory of double consciousness is used in this study to frame Delille's life experiences as a mixed-race woman in antebellum New Orleans that influenced her philosophy of education.

DuBois' career focused on understanding the socio-historic conditions facing Black people in 20th century America and the impact of those conditions on the consciousness and inner world of Black people subjected to them (Pittman, 2016). DuBois' (1903) theory of double consciousness described the conflict within the Black American society to reconcile their identity

as a Black person and an American citizen (Pittman, 2016; Smith, 2000). Resultantly, the theoretical constructs of DuBois' theory of double consciousness were self-consciousness and racial identity.

Theoretical constructs of double consciousness. Social and philosophical concepts of inward twoness (Fanon, 2008) defined DuBois' (1903) theory of double consciousness. Hence, the theoretical constructs of DuBois' (1903) theory of double consciousness were self-consciousness and racial identity. In Leve's (2012) interview of Toni Morrison, Morrison described the aforementioned theoretical constructs as

> confronting the oppressor who is White male or White female. It's race. And the person who defines you under those circumstances is a White mind – tell you whether you're worthy or what have you. And as long as that's your preoccupation, you're defending yourself against that. (para. 10)

Moreover, Smith (2000) referenced the theoretical constructs of self-consciousness and racial identity in DuBois' sense of twoness which

> situates a visual model of subjectivity at the center of what he [DuBois] calls the strange meaning of being black in the United States at the turn of the century. For DuBois, the African American subject position is a psychological space mediated by a white supremacist gaze [self-consciousness], and therefore divided by contending images of blackness [racial identity]–those images produced by a racist white American culture, and those images maintained by African American individuals, within African American communities. (para. 1)

DuBois' (1968) autobiography also discussed the theoretical constructs of self-consciousness and racial identity when he stated that,

> I began to feel the dichotomy, which all my life has characterized my thought: how far can love for my oppressed race accord with the love for the oppressing country? And when those loyalties diverge, where shall my soul find refuge? A social and political regime grounded in the maintenance of rigid segregation in vastly unequal living conditions of social groups ideologically defined as racially distinct and unequal, creating a double environment particularly for members of the subordinate racial group. (p. 169)

Delille was born on soil eventually owned by the United States of America; however, her mixed-race caused her to be self-conscious about her mixed-racial identity in a White society which recognized that she was not of an entirely White ancestry and which kept her thus bound to the oppression of her Black ancestry (Davis, 2004; Detiege, 1976; Kelley, 2003). Her duality of self as a mixed-race woman is evidenced by her life during the antebellum era of New Orleans, a White male-dominated society.

According to DuBois (1968), the dichotomy of two-ness explored in the theory of double consciousness characterized his self-consciousness as a mixed-race person in a society dominated by White people that neither fully accepted nor fully denied him a place in American society. DuBois (1903) presents the issue of self-consciousness within the mixed-race when he stated,

> Why did God make me an outcast and a stranger in mine own house? The shades of the prison-house closed round about us all: walls strait and stubborn to the whitest, but relentlessly narrow, tall, and unscalable to sons of night who must plod darkly on in resignation, or beat unavailing palms against the stone or steadily, half hopelessly, watch the streak of blue above. (p. 5)

DuBois (1903) was self-conscious about his mixed-race status in America; he believed that his White ancestry allowed him to scale “walls strait and stubborn to the Whitest,” (p. 5) but the

same walls were “unscalable to the sons of night [Black people]” (p. 5). DuBois’ (1903) theory of double consciousness thus demonstrates his confidence in the strengths of his White ancestry that was however daunted by the weaknesses of his Black ancestry. Consequently, the construct of self-consciousness was evident in DuBois’ (1903) theory of double consciousness. In this study, DuBois’ (1903) theory of double consciousness explains Delille’s self-consciousness about her mixed-race status in antebellum New Orleans. For example, Delille was seeking acceptance into the Ursuline order of nuns when she prayed “Make them want me, dear Mother. Make them see past my skin and my blood. Make them see my soul and smile upon me” (Kelley, 2003, p. 18). In this prayer, Delille expressed concerns about her acceptance due to her self-consciousness about her mixed-race social status.

In conjunction with the theoretical construct of self-consciousness in this study, the issue of racial identity as a theoretical construct was explored. DuBois (1968) described racial identity in America as bound by social and political regimes that maintain a rigid segregation of mixed-race people who are racially distinct and considered unequal. His position on his racial identity in America is evident in his statement,

> He would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of White Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of opportunity closed roughly in his face. (p. 6)

Racial identity was a factor in Delille’s life as well. When Delille petitioned the Ursuline nuns for acceptance into their convent the Mother Superior replied, “You are a quadroon [mixed-race female] and you know that the Order does not admit women of color” (Kelley, 2003, p. 19). In

this instance, Delille was confronted with the dichotomy of her mixed-race racial identity. Although Delille was fair complexioned and passed for White, she was rejected by the Mother Superior of the Ursuline order of nuns because the mixed-race label automatically indicated that she was neither fully White nor fully Black order (Davis, 2004; Hart, 1976; Kelley, 2003).

During the antebellum era, the lives of mixed-raced people like Delille were defined according to the perceptions of White society (Fassin, 2011). The veil of race dictated the social, political, and educational provisions of Black people who were fully Black or mixed-race (Feagin, 2010). Due to Delille's mixed-race status, she was allowed access to plantations, Catholic churches, public and private schools, and public facilities (Detiege, 1976; Gould, 2004, 2012). Her access to these locations and facilities allowed her to provide education to Black people who were otherwise forbidden by White antebellum society to be educated (Davis, 2004; Gould, 2012; Hart, 1976). As a result, Delille used her mixed racial identity to self-consciously navigate antebellum New Orleans through her Black ancestry as well as her White ancestry to educate enslaved Black people (Hart, 1976). DuBois' (1903) theory of double consciousness is therefore the appropriate theoretical framework to answer how Delille's mixed-race ancestry in racially segregated antebellum New Orleans influenced her philosophy of education as well as her contributions to education.

Theory justification. Delille was a free woman of color who passed as a White woman who nevertheless was resolute in her purpose and devotion to educating enslaved Black people deemed part of the lower social and economic class of antebellum New Orleans by White society (Kelley, 2003). Although confronted with her oppressed Black ancestry, she had certain privileges by virtue of her White ancestry; she operated in antebellum White society as a White woman to accomplish the mission of educating enslaved Black people by passing as a White

woman to hide the social oppression of her Black ancestry. DuBois' (1933) idea of double consciousness further applies to Delille's life:

> Because the upper colored group [mixed-race] is desperately afraid of being represented before American Whites by this lower group [entirely Black people], or being mistaken for them, or being treated as though they were part of it, they are pushed to the extreme of effort to avoid contact with the poorest classes of Negroes. This exaggerates, at once, the secrete shame of being identified with such people and the anomaly of insisting that the physical characteristics of these folks which the upper class shares, are not the stigmata of degradation. (p. 199)

The dual life Delille led in the segregated society of antebellum New Orleans was reflected in DuBois' (1903) discussion about double consciousness as a "twoness" in *The Souls of Black Folk* (p. 5). The twoness Delille experienced, as DuBois (1903) stated,

> is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's [Black American] self through the eyes of others [White American society], of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness, - an American [White American], a Negro [Black American]; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. (p. 5)

As a free woman of color, Delille owned an enslaved Black woman named Betsy (Davis, 2004). Thus, Delille was viewed by antebellum White society as a member of their social circle. However, Delille was also confronted with the oppression of her Black ancestry in the form of her enslavement of Betsy.

Likewise, Kelley (2003) further illustrated Delille's twoness when he explained that Henriette and SSF Juliette Gaudin, co-founders of the SSF, had

> been brought up in formal household, and both had known cleanliness before as a way of life; they had once worn crinolines starched white and stiff as altar cloths. But their years in the service of slaves had somewhat blunted their requirements, had even dimmed their memories of what it was like to be free of the mud and the blood, the stench and the pus, the awful aroma of the dead and dying, and the constant exhaustion that made them lie down to sleep unclean, with the dirt caked about their ankles and bloody spittle staining their patched dresses. (p. 133)

Kelley's (2003) statement about Delille illustrated the twoness of Delille's life as a free woman of color but also a descendant of enslaved Black people. Delille lived her life as a Black woman that passed as White, which provided her entrance into the Catholic Church as an educator as well as an opportunity to educate enslaved Black people based on the Code Noir (Copeland, 2007; Davis, 2004; Gould, 2012). If she were entirely Black, she would have been enslaved and rejected by the Catholic Church as well as White society (Copeland, 2007; Detiege, 1976; Hart, 1976).

However, educating enslaved Black people cost Delille some of the privileges of her White ancestry as evidenced in Detiege's (1976) statement found in *Le Propagateur Catholique in 1862*:

> Henriette Delille had for long years devoted herself without reserve to the instruction of the ignorant and principally the slave. To perpetuate this sort of apostolate so difficult so necessary she founded the House of the Holy Family, a house poor and little known except by poor and the young and which for the past ten or twelve years had produced without noise a considerable good which will continue. (p. 6)

Delille's free woman of color status provided her access to educate enslaved Black people; she utilized it to "work with the bondsmen without offending the master whose permission was

needed to instruct his slave, any offense to the master of the slave would have ended the work" (Detiege, 1976, p. 19). Therefore, DuBois' theory of double consciousness best answered the research questions about Delille's philosophy of education as well as her contributions to education. DuBois' (1903) theory of double consciousness provided the framework for Delille's life as a woman who was neither entirely Black nor entirely White who used her twoness to provided educational opportunities to the enslaved Black people of a racially segregated antebellum New Orleans.

Chapter Summary

The education of Black people who were enslaved or free in the antebellum South was a point of contention for southern White society (Anderson, 1988). White ideologies of superiority made it almost impossible for Black people to acquire educational opportunities (Brown, 1952). Investigating the South in this study, specifically antebellum New Orleans, was essential to understanding slave laws, White Southern education, and the education provided to Black people who were either enslaved or free.

Slavery was a part of the social and economic fabric of Louisiana before its purchase by the United States and continued until the end of the Civil War (Volo & Volo, 2004). During the antebellum era of New Orleans, the city became known as the leading African city in the country (Gould, 2012). Due to relationships between White men and African women, a new racial class formed known as the Free People of Color (Davis, 2004; Gould, 2012).

Free People of Color received privileges based on their mixed-race status (Detiege, 1976). They had to pass as White to benefit from the same opportunities as Southern White people such as home and business ownership, land ownership, and education (Davis, 2004). However, by passing as White and exercising their privileges, they had to deny their Black ancestry and embrace their White ancestry (Case, 2012). Free People of Color were born both

into freedom because of their White ancestry and into bondage due to their Black heritage (Gould, 2004). Their liberties and privileges presented them with opportunities for education and Catholic religious catechism (Deggs, 2001). Conversely, the opposition of White Southerners stifled enslaved Black people's opportunities for education (Suarez, 1971).

Slave laws such as the Code Noir and the Spanish Las Siete Partidas governed antebellum New Orleans (Din, 1999). Each of these laws dictated the treatment of enslaved Black people. The ecclesial laws of the Code Noir as well as Las Siete Partidas required that slaves receive Catholic religious education (Davis, 2004; Gould, 2012). The purpose of this education was to perpetuate the Christian agenda throughout the New World, not to provide for any upward mobility of enslaved Black people (Byron, 2008).

As White Southerners discussed public education, access to public school by enslaved Black people became a point of contention in the White Southern society of antebellum New Orleans (Otto, 1980). Many Southerners opposed education because they did not want to pay taxes for public education, and wealthy plantation owners sent their children to foreign boarding schools (Montgomery, 2018). Southerners perpetuated their self-assigned superiority in White society through public education (Pinkney, 2016); enslaved Black people were not allowed access to public education (Simpkin, 2015). However, Free People of Color were allowed educational opportunities due to the freedom of their mixed race to have access to education (Schweninger, 1989).

Prior research studies reviewed for this literature review examine education in multiple Southern states. Although each of these studies focus on education in the South, religious education, and the availability of education to Black people who were either enslaved or free, none of the studies specifically discussed education for enslaved Black people. Therefore, this

lack of information supported the need for research into Delille's philosophy of educating enslaved Black people and her impact on Black education in New Orleans.

Dubois' (1903) theory of double consciousness framed this study of the life of Delille, a free woman of color committed to educating enslaved Black people (Davis, 2004; Hart, 1976; "Sisters of the Holy Family," 2016). Little is known, however, about the foundation of her philosophy of education. Chapter 3 addresses the research design, qualitative method, site selection, participants, ethical issues and permissions, data sources, research protocols, data collection procedures, researcher positionality, trustworthiness, and data analysis techniques.

Chapter 3: Procedures and Methods

The purpose of this qualitative case study was to explore the factors that influenced the educational philosophy of Henriette Delille in antebellum New Orleans as well as her contributions to education through the theoretical framework of W. E. B. DuBois' (1903) theory of double consciousness. This study examined Delille's life as a mixed-race educator as well as the social, religious, and political factors that influenced Delille's philosophy of education. The following two research questions structured the research findings: (1) What cultural and societal consideration led to Delille's philosophy of education? and (2) In what ways did Henriette Delille contribute to the education of Black people in New Orleans? (Roberts, 2010). This chapter consists of the qualitative paradigm, qualitative method, site selection, participants, participant selection, ethical issues and permissions, data sources, research protocols and instrumentation, data collection procedures, researcher positionality, trustworthiness and rigor, limitations, data analysis techniques, and chapter summary.

Research Design

Researchers utilize the qualitative research design to inductively understand the meaning and complexity of the phenomenon under study (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). According to Merriam and Tisdell (2016), qualitative research is grounded in the principle that the formation of knowledge is an ongoing process constructed by people as they "engage in and make meaning of an activity, experience, or phenomenon" (p. 23). Summarily, qualitative research design can "achieve an understanding of how people make sense out of their lives, delineate the process (rather than the outcome or product) of meaning-making, and describes how people interpret what they experience" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 16). According to Creswell (2014) and Patton (2015), the strength of qualitative research is the researcher's ability to add value and credibility to the phenomenon under investigation.

However, a weakness of this method is that a non-experienced researcher may not observe important events correctly and thus report inaccurate data (Patton, 2015). Therefore, the following section discusses the strengths and weaknesses of qualitative research design.

Strengths of qualitative research. A strength of qualitative research design is the collection of rich descriptive detail about events and their interpretive meanings (Schunk, 2012). Moreover, qualitative research design is flexible and operates within a theoretical framework that provides a holistic view of people, settings, or groups (Steven, Bogdan, & DeVault, 2016). Additionally, a qualitative research design allows the researcher to simplify and manage data without extinguishing the complexity and context of the data (Atieno, 2009). Therefore, the qualitative research design for this study provided a method of discovery that identified emerging themes relevant to the research questions posed.

Weaknesses of qualitative research design. Conversely, there are weaknesses in qualitative research design. Psychologists have traditionally dismissed qualitative research as "subjective and unscientific" (Roller & Lavrakas, 2015, p. 2) and exclusive of scientific strategies to validate the data collected or conclusions found (Berg & Lune, 2012). Merriam and Tisdell (2016) added that weaknesses of qualitative research include biases, potential influences, and researcher vulnerabilities, such as not understanding the phenomenon of study from an emic perspective.

According to Berg and Lune (2012), the weaknesses of qualitative research design include the following: (a) specialized tools and techniques are often required to analyze the collected data; (b) elusive data are on one spectrum of the information collected while stringent requirements for analysis are on the other; and (c) statistical analysis is not required to support qualitative data collection. A weakness of utilizing specialized tools and techniques such as qualitative data analysis software is the number of processes that rely on subjective data but are

necessary to analyze transcriptions, interpret the text, and code data (Creswell, 2007; Creswell & Poth, 2018). For example, in this study, the PDF 3 Pro application required uploading of hard copy documents through scanning or saving from the URL before using the application. Also, the researcher of this study transferred the annotations from the PDF 3 Pro application to an Excel spreadsheet, which required creating multiple headings to document the reviews of data, titles for emergent themes, and codes to develop the final codes. Also, the absence of statistical analysis becomes a weakness because qualitative data do not require objectivity; therefore, there is a possibility of researcher influence on the data collected (Creswell, 2012). The qualitative data in this study did not include numbers to produce objective data analysis because this study required thick, rich descriptive language to answer the research questions.

Nevertheless, the use of the qualitative research design was appropriate for this study because it answered the what, how, when, where, and why of the two research questions posed (Berg & Lune, 2012). Since Delille and the enslaved Black people of the antebellum era are deceased, the qualitative research design explored historical information about the cultural, political, and social context of Delille's life in antebellum New Orleans (Creswell & Poth, 2018). The qualitative research design used for this study expanded the understanding of the meanings, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols, and descriptions of the phenomenon under investigation (Berg & Lune, 2012), and the case study method was used to focus the research in this study on a specific time, place, and individual.

Qualitative Method

Hancock and Algozzine (2017) state that case studies consist of "intensive analyses and descriptions of a single unit or system bounded by space and time" (p. 9). Yin (2018) describes the essence of a case study as a method to illuminate why decisions were made, the implementation of the decision, and the result of the decision; additionally, Baskarada (2014)

defines the case study methodology as an opportunity for the qualitative researcher to gain a holistic view of the research problem.

According to Stake (1995), case studies are specific, complex, integrated systems with boundaries as working parts. In Yazan's (2015) *Three Approaches to Case Study Methods in Education, Yin, Merriam, and Stake*, Stake's (1995) characterizations of case studies are defined as follows:

- A case study is holistic when there is an interrelationship between the phenomenon and context of the study.
- Case studies based on the researcher's observations in the field are empirical.
- A researcher-subject interaction that rests upon the researcher's intuition is an interpretive case study.
- An emphatic reflects upon the experiences of the study participants from an emic perspective.
- A particularistic case study focuses on a particular situation, event, program, or phenomenon.
- Rich, thick, descriptions of the phenomenon of study are a descriptive case study.
- The illumination of the audience's understanding of the phenomenon under study is a heuristic case study.

In addition to general characteristics, case studies have multiple design methods. Case study designs include exploratory, explanatory, and descriptive studies (Yin, 2014). Exploratory case studies occur before the establishment of research questions and hypothesis (Berg & Lune, 2012). Case studies that are useful when conducting causal studies are explanatory (Berg & Lune, 2012; Yin, 2009). Finally, descriptive case studies formulate the theory that establishes the

overall framework the researcher followed (Berg & Lune, 2012; Gerring, 2004). This research study included an explanatory case study method.

The advantages of having used an explanatory case study method is it (a) assisted in explaining the central phenomena of the study, (b) outlined the priorities to be explored, (c) required triangulation of the data to confirm its validity, (d) used multiple data collection tools to obtain rich, thick, descriptive data, and (e) provided opportunities for discoveries (Harder, 2010). Reciprocally, the disadvantage is the difficulty in analyzing large volumes of data accurately (Yin, 2013). However, this is also an advantage because the amount of data collected contributes to richer and more in-depth knowledge about the phenomenon of study (Berg & Lune, 2012; Harder, 2010).

The qualitative explanatory case study research design chosen for this study explained Delille's philosophy of education during the antebellum era of New Orleans. A causal relationship developed between Delille and the social, political, and religious climate of antebellum New Orleans. For example, the imperialist White leadership of antebellum New Orleans labeled Delille mixed-race (Davis, 2004), the politics of the Code Noir determined her treatment based on her mixed-race status (Garrigus, 1980), and the Ursuline order of nuns denied Delille entry into their order because of her mixed-race (Kelley, 2003). This causal relationship occurred through the collection of triangulated data such as vital records, census data, and notarial archives. Delille's education of enslaved Black people presented an emic perspective of this study through the analysis of historical documentation between the years of 1813-1862 (Gall et al., 2005). The emic approach was essential to this case study because it allowed for an application of rich narratives and multidimensional standpoints in the collection and analysis of the research (Liburd & Derkzen, 2009).

Qualitative research design and explanatory case study method structured the research about Delille's philosophy of education and her contributions to contemporary scholarship. The explanatory case study design allowed a focused study on Delille's philosophy of education that answered the research questions with contextually relevant data (Baxter & Jack, 2008). It was not feasible to collect data through observations, interviews, and questionnaires since Delille is deceased.

Site Selection

Creswell (2012) suggested that a researcher's general ability to provide a comprehensive case study becomes unwieldy and diminishes with the addition of new individuals or sites in the study, which results in reduced complexity of the research and the presentation of superficial perspectives. However, this was not an issue for this study because the research examined one specific individual (i.e., Delille) and a single location (i.e., New Orleans). In this section, the researcher discusses New Orleans and the sites visited for data collection.

New Orleans is the 46th largest city and metropolitan area in the country with a population of 1.67 million ("New Orleans Population," 2018). According to the New Orleans Population (2018), the current population consists of 60.2% Black people, 33% White people, 2.9% Asian people, and 5.3% Hispanic/Latino people. Due to the French and Spanish colonial history of Catholic tradition, 35.9% of the population practices Roman Catholicism ("New Orleans Population," 2018).

New Orleans was the site for this study because it was the location of the SSF convent, the home of Henriette Delille, and Delille's convent on Bayou Road. Moreover, Delille's entire life and development of her philosophy of education occurred in New Orleans. Finally, the Notarial Archives of New Orleans and the Archdiocese of New Orleans contained the records of enslaved Black people and the slave owners.

Participants

Creswell (2007) reveals that it is important to involve participants in the study to gain open and honest information. Hence, participants are essential for the narrative of qualitative research, since the researcher becomes the narrator, and the participants become the characters of the study (Holley & Colyar, 2009). Participants are also important for data collection; however, Delille, members of antebellum New Orleans society, and the members of the enslaved Black populace are deceased. Therefore, there were no living human participants in this study. The deceased subjects Delille and the enslaved Black population are discussed in the next paragraph.

Delille was a Free Person of Color positioned between the oppression of the enslaved Black population and the privileges of White society (Davis, 2004; Gould, 2012; Hart, 2013). Although Delille had access to the rights of her White ancestry, she chose to educate enslaved Black people to improve their opportunities for upward mobility. Conversely, the enslaved Black population examined in this study was comprised of Black West African people brought to Louisiana by the French and Spanish to provide free labor according to the Civil Code of Louisiana Article 35 (Marylander, 1847). Thus, the racialized enslaved Black population was exposed to the harshness of enslavement and stripped of their culture, initiative, and purpose (Hart, 2013). The White society of antebellum New Orleans consisted of wealthy White men who owned enslaved Black people (Marylander, 1847; Davis, 2004; Gould, 2012), mistreated White and Black women (Allain, 2013; Clark & Gould, 2002; Detiege, 1976), and benefitted from capitalism (Nelson, 2015). Wealthy White men benefitted from capitalism through the free labor of enslaved Black people who planted and harvested cotton crops that yielded profits for wealthy White plantation owners and traders (Nelson, 2015).

Since this research was of a historical nature and set in antebellum New Orleans during the period between 1813 and 1862, sampling procedures were not required to identify the

participants. The participants of this study were neither voluntary nor involuntary since they were not present to provide consent. Historical documents such as birth records, slave records, marriage certificates, baptism certificates, diaries, and journals captured information used to unearth accounts of what happened during the antebellum period (Berg & Lune, 2004). The data collected for this study included information that illustrated the cultural, political, educational, and religious climates of antebellum times in New Orleans since there were no living participants. Data collection were necessary to understand the behavior and thoughts of Delille and New Orleans antebellum society, enslaved or free individuals who were "trapped in the isolation of their own time" (Berg & Lune, 2012, p. 306)

Participant Selection

There were no living participants to provide interviews or oral histories about their experiences in this study due to the historical context of antebellum New Orleans (Polkinghorne, 2005). Consequently, observations could not be performed on the deceased participants to determine how they related to the research topic for the study, the statement of purpose, or the research questions (Saldana, 2009). The researcher discussed ethics and permissions paramount to the study in the following section.

Ethical Issues and Permissions

Ethical issues and permissions are complex, multifaceted aspects of research considered in qualitative research (Ross, 2014). Ethics means doing what is right for the participants and readers of the study by assuring that no one is hurt or treated unfairly during the study (Sanjani, Bahramnezhad, Fomani, Shughi, & Cheraghi, 2014). Therefore, this section discusses how fabrication and falsification, plagiarism, bias, and the Institutional Review Board process addressed ethical issues and permissions in this study.

Fabrication and falsification. The Office of Research Integrity (2018) defined fabrication as "making up data or results and recording and reporting them" (para. 5). Falsification is defined as "manipulating research materials or omitting data, such that the research is not accurately represented in the research record" (para. 1). Triangulation is defined as data collected through multiple sources to ensure internal validity (Creswell & Poth, 2018). Triangulation was utilized to validate findings and avoid the fabrication or falsification of information (Roberts, 2010). Since the participants were not available to confirm the accuracy of the documents, the data were triangulated by dates, supporting primary documents, and secondary documents such as newspapers and articles (Creswell, 2012).

Plagiarism. Plagiarism entails an individual stealing the ideas or words of another and claiming them as his or her own (Šprajc, Uhr, Jerebic, & Trivan, 2017). The researcher of this study recognized the works of others by utilizing double or single quotation marks on each end of the quote. The double or single quotation marks indicates the use of another author's exact words or ideas. Moreover, if the length of the quotation exceeded a total of 40 words, block quotations were utilized to identify the replication of material from another author's work to avoid plagiarism (American Psychological Association, 2010). Furthermore, the researcher paraphrased and credited the appropriate resources in the textual work when the words of another author were summarized, rearranged, or changed (American Psychological Association, 2010). Paraphrasing was utilized to demonstrate a synthesis of the literature (Roberts, 2010).

Bias. Due to the historical context of this study, words such as African, Negro, White, and People of Color or Free People of Color were used to identify various groups and races in the antebellum New Orleans (Davis, 2004; Gould, 2012). However, the researcher paid due attention to the use of appropriate language that prevented bias towards any group discussed in the study (Roberts, 2010). The researcher of this study is an African American female whose

ancestors were Free People of Color as well as enslaved Black people subjected to the same social, political, and religious pressures the enslaved Black population of antebellum Louisiana encountered.

In addition, Roberts's (2010) guidelines to eliminate bias were utilized as a template to guide this study by (a) using a gender-neutral vocabulary (e.g., educator or layperson) wherever appropriate, (b) avoiding pronouns that may be seen as gender biased, (c) identifying individuals or groups of people on the basis of their racial or ethnic identity wherever relevant for the study, and (d) refraining from the use of language and terms that present a generalized sentiment (i.e., all Black people were ignorant, all White people were cruel) that reinforce a particular stereotype unless the said language was found in a direct quote. Furthermore, Creswell (2012) emphasized the need for specificity when describing individuals or groups and being sensitive towards the labels assigned to individuals or groups discussed in the study. This study focused on the women of color and the enslaved Black people during the antebellum era of New Orleans. Therefore, adopting a gender-neutral perspective was not appropriate when discussing information extrapolated from the existing literature in the field. Additionally, the researcher utilized White, Black, and mixed-race identifiers within the historical context of this study when relevant to convey information appropriately for a greater understanding by the audience.

Institutional Review Board. The University of West Florida has an Institutional Review Board (UWF IRB) tasked with approving research procedures conducted on human participants to ensure participant protection. The UWF IRB is charged with ensuring the protection of participant welfare, privacy rights, and risks (Roberts, 2010). The researcher of this study submitted a request to the UWF IRB for consideration. Since this case study did not involve living human subjects or biological material, the UWF IRB approved the research for exemption (Appendix B).

Data Sources

Data in qualitative research inform the study by creating a picture of the date, time, and space of the study as well as meanings, motivations, and details about the participants (Ambert et al., 1995). Creswell (2012) divided data sources into primary and secondary/tertiary sources. This section discusses each data source type, along with how they applied to this study. There was a reliance on secondary and archival data to recreate situations that occurred during the antebellum period of New Orleans because all of the participants of the study are deceased.

The most common type of primary sources are oral, printed, relics, and in some cases audiovisual media (Grosvenor & Lawn, 2010). According to Creswell (2012), these sources are utilized to "weave these pieces of information into a meaningful set of explanations" (p. 309). For this study, the researcher collected primary data from the following sources: (a) personal journals, (b) life histories, (c) personal diaries, (d) photographs, (e) drawings, (f) audio recordings, (g) historical landmarks, (h) maps, and (i) autobiographies.

For example, archival data located in the New Orleans Archdiocese, Sisters of the Holy Family, The Amistad Research Center at Tulane University, and New Orleans Notarial Archives were reviewed and collected. These documents were beneficial to understanding the life and times of the general population of Black people free or enslaved in antebellum New Orleans. However, due to the documentation limitations of the antebellum era, there was little information regarding Delille and enslaved Black people available for review. Also, museums located in the city of New Orleans were visited to review artifacts, primary documents, drawings, objects, available media, and artwork that may provide a visual of antebellum New Orleans and its inhabitants. The drawback was the inability to replicate the objects or photographs seen for inclusion in this study.

The advantage of primary data collection was the provision of in-depth familiarity with findings of the research problem (Gall et al., 2005) and the acquisition of thick, rich descriptive details. However, the lack of primary sources available to read, view, or hear was a disadvantage to this research study. Primary resources were not available since the participants are deceased; therefore, historical documents were relied upon to recreate the lives of Delille and the community of enslaved Black people in antebellum New Orleans. Other benefits of these data sources were the accessibility and the volume of data available about slavery, education, the South, and antebellum New Orleans. Reciprocally, the disadvantage was that information was limited to secondhand accounts of enslaved Black people and Delille.

According to Creswell (2012), secondary sources of literature summarize primary sources and do not represent the information presented by the initial investigator or originator of an idea. However, secondary sources benefitted this case study by (a) providing information that already existed and accessibility to historical data that proved or refuted an argument or theory, (b) offered general background information, (c) guided the focus of additional primary research, and (d) set the scene for research findings that were advantageous in putting the research into context (Do, 2018). The researcher of this study surveyed the following secondary sources: handbooks that discussed educational topics, annual reviews of issues in education, encyclopedias to research the broad topic of education, dictionaries, and glossaries of terms for current educational terminologies, and summaries to peruse information available on current issues in education (Creswell, 2012). The use of triangulation overcame the disadvantage of secondhand knowledge and information by corroborating secondhand information through various types of data presented in descriptions and themes (Creswell, 2007, 2012).

Documents created by others that relate to a specific research interest (Rubin & Rubin, 2005) and that involve oral or written sources with eyewitness testimony are secondary resources

(Berg & Lune, 2012). Secondary resources are grounded in the account of the author who provides detailed information about specific events based on the perception of others (Gall et al., 2005). However, secondary sources provide details not immediately apparent upon the initial collection of data (Berg & Lune, 2012). At the onset of data collection in this research study, secondary sources were consulted to determine the range of materials available (Creswell, 2012). Consequently, the researcher of this study utilized secondary and tertiary sources such as journal and magazine articles, historical textbooks, histories, criticisms, commentaries, reference books, periodical literature, historical works, monographs, encyclopedias, and bibliographies.

Research Protocols and Instrumentation

Interviews and observations are the most widely used inquiry tools in research, and each tool has a protocol. Creswell (2012) explains that some data sources are categorized into interviews, observations, documents, and audiovisual materials. Since there were no living participants to obtain firsthand accounts relevant to this research, neither the research tools of interviews nor observations were utilized for this study. Therefore, the literature in this research relied upon primary and secondary documents to develop the voices of Delille and enslaved Black people in antebellum New Orleans. The data collected for this research study identified the following emergent themes for RQ1: (a) racialization of the Black population, (b) the politics of educating the enslaved, and (c) the educative imperative: the Code Noir. In addition, the emergent themes of education, segregation, and unmerited privilege and education beyond racism were also developed from the data collected for RQ2. Consequently, the researcher of this study utilized procedural guides as a map to collect the data (Jacob & Ferguson, 2012) that identified the emergent themes listed above, and Creswell's (2012) document collection procedures guided the research for this study.

To acquire documents that provided an understanding of the central phenomenon of this study and address the research questions, Creswell (2012) details the procedures for collecting documents based on the headings listed below:

- Identify the types of documents that may provide useful information to answer the qualitative research questions.
    - The questions that guided the types of documents procured were (1) What are the sociocultural factors contributing to Henriette Delille's philosophy of education? and (2) What do these artifacts say about the contribution of Delille's philosophy to the education of enslaved Black people? The documents used in the study included newspapers, birth records, school records, public records, vital statistics, archival data, census, books, periodicals, and journal articles.
- Consider both public (e.g., school board minutes) and private documents (e.g., personal diaries) as sources of information for the research.
    - Public schools were not available to enslaved Black people; therefore, there were not any records of meeting minutes, memos, or reports. Also, there were no audio recordings, personal diaries, or journals by Delille in this research study. Slaves were not allowed to write documents or record their words, so this information was missing as well.
- Obtain any required permission to use the collected documents in the research study.
    - Documents recovered were located in public locations such as public and university libraries, notarial archives, and public databases; consequently, there was no need for permissions. All of the pictures obtained were either public domain or taken by the researcher.

- Examine the collected documents for accuracy, completeness, and usefulness in answering the research questions in the research study.
    - The researcher of this study examined documents and photographs for accuracy and completeness through the use of triangulation. For example, notarial maps, pictures of the actual location, and newspaper articles confirmed the address and location of the SSF convent co-founded by Delille. Reviewing the research question and then determining whether the data were useful in answering the question determined the usefulness of the document. When the document was considered to be of little use, it was placed in a manila folder and stored in a locked file cabinet for use in future research.

Protocols in qualitative methods of inquiry are used to assist in understanding the phenomena being studied (Gall et al., 2005). However, data collection procedures require steps to complete the process. The data collection procedures utilized for this study are discussed in the following section.

Data Collection Procedures

Data collection generates large amounts of data obtained through interviews, observations, focus groups, video recordings, audio recordings, and written dialogue (Sutton & Austin, 2015). The data for this study were collected from historical primary and secondary sources to learn about Delille's philosophy of education. This section describes the procedures the researcher took prior to, during, and after data collection in this study.

Prior to data collection. According to Creswell (2012), a preliminary working title and the identification of key terms drawn from words or phrases within the working title before beginning the search for data narrows the research topic. The working title was *Delille and her emergence as an educator of enslaved Black people in Antebellum New Orleans*. Next, the

following key terms: Louisiana, New Orleans, antebellum New Orleans, education, women, free people of color, free women of color, slaves, enslaved Black people, enslaved Africans, pre-civil war, and slavery were chosen to search for data preliminarily. Finally, the researcher developed the following research question: What factors contributed to Henriette Delille's philosophy of education? From this question, the primary words (e.g., Delille, education, or antebellum New Orleans) were utilized to summarize the primary direction of this study (Creswell, 2012). The John C. Pace Library was visited to identify the available resources, such as encyclopedias, dictionaries, documents, periodicals, journals, and books available. Also, the librarians at the John C. Pace Library were solicited through email and phone communication to provide a list of resources that were appropriate for the literature of this study. Keyword entries into the computer search system located the available information in the library. The researcher ordered items not available locally through the UWF interlibrary loan service.

During data collection. The collection of preliminary sources as well as primary and secondary sources of data for this research study began in February 2018 and lasted for two weeks. The data collection included daily searches through databases, historical archives, newspapers, journal articles, and photographs. The researcher visited historical sites such as Delille's gravesite, her family home, the Orleans Ballroom, and the SSF on three different days during the first week of the study. An agenda was developed to determine when, where, and how data collection began each day. Between the hours of 8:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m., the researcher visited the aforementioned historical sites and revisited the sites to confirm additional information collected. From 1:00 p.m. until 6:00 p.m., the researcher was in the Orleans Parish Main Public Library Le Musée de F.P.C., and the New Orleans Archdiocese. The researcher determined each location by its relevant position to the historical site visited on a particular day.

Next, articles posted on websites, blogs, discussion threads, and historical association websites were reviewed to gain insight into education in the South as well as antebellum New Orleans. The Louisiana Vital Records indexes as well as the United States Census records from 1810-1860 were utilized to gather data on the demographics during the antebellum period. Current and past newspaper articles were acquired to develop an understanding of the social, political, and religious environments of New Orleans. The following newspapers were utilized to gain initial information: *Times-Picayune*, *Louisiana Weekly*, *New Orleans City Business*, *The Advocate*, *Gambit*, *Tulane Hullabaloo*, *The New Orleans Bee*, *New Orleans Tribune*, and *The Clarion Herald.* The Educational Resources Information Center database also provided bibliographic records of journal articles (Creswell, 2012).

After data collection. Data collection in New Orleans concluded on Friday at noon of the second week of data collection in New Orleans. All hard copy data collected were placed in folders and secured in a rolling file crate. Data that were collected and put on a USB drive or cloud were reviewed and saved before leaving New Orleans. Both the USB and cloud drives were password protected, and the researcher of this study was the only person with access to the digital information. The researcher placed hard data and the USB drives in a secure two-drawer office cabinet with a key lock. The researcher is the sole holder of the key to open this office cabinet. Once the data were secured and protected, the researcher returned home to Pensacola, Florida. When the researcher arrived home, the collected data remained in folders in the file cabinet, USB drive, or Google drive until retrieved for data analysis.

Researcher Positionality

A resident of Louisiana, the researcher has an ancestral lineage that spans Lake Charles, Louisiana, to New Orleans, Louisiana. The researcher's paternal great-grandfather purchased himself for $800 and became a landowner before the Emancipation Proclamation was signed.

Moreover, the researcher's great-grandparents were either indentured or enslaved Black people, and the researcher's paternal grandfather was a free mulatto (Guidry, 1974). Because of this lineage, the researcher's descent influenced the data collection and analysis.

Since there were no living participants in this research study, the researcher of this study was a reviewer and assessor of collected data. The researcher had interest in this topic due to an aunt named Sister Mary Gabriella Guidry who served from the spring of 1933 to August 2, 2003, as a nun of the SSF that Delille founded during the antebellum era of New Orleans (Guidry, 1974; "Sisters of the Holy Family," 2016). The researcher's aunt, Sister Mary Gabriella Guidry, was a nun of the SSF who wrote her autobiography while she was an active member of the SSF. By reading the pages of the Sister Mary Gabriella Guidry's (1974) autobiography, *The Southern Negro Nun*, the researcher learned about the lives of the paternal side of the Guidry family through the rich oral and written history of their lived experiences. The researcher did not interpret the historical experiences of the researcher's aunt as a nun of the SSF with contemporary views, a process otherwise known as presentism, according to Gall et al. (2005).

Although there was a familial relationship between Sister Mary Gabriella Guidry and the researcher, there was no bias in the research of this study. Delille was deceased before the researcher's aunt Sister Mary Gabriella Guidry's entrance into the SSF. Furthermore, the researcher of this study never discussed Delille or the SSF with Sister Mary Gabriella Guidry. Before the initiation of this research, Sister Mary Gabriella Guidry died in 2003 ("Sisters of the Holy Family," 2016). Therefore, there was no information exchanged that would have warranted bias about the SSF in this study.

Ensuring Trustworthiness and Rigor

Qualitative research is designed to search for a deeper understanding of an individual, group or case (Berg & Lune, 2004, 2012; Creswell, 2012). Therefore, trustworthiness was an

important component used to determine whether the research data were from a viable source that had integrity and possessed honest information (Polkinghorne, 2005). Moreover, the audience expects trustworthiness in research. Resultantly, the assurance that the data collected are ethical and trustworthy is the sole responsibility of the researcher (Holley & Colyar, 2009). To demonstrate the trustworthiness of the qualitative research data in this study, the concepts of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability are discussed in this section.

Credibility. By using different methods to confirm the credibility of data such as primary documents, journals, newspaper articles, and any form of audio or visual recordings, the researcher ensured that the data would appear more credible to the audience (Shenton, 2004). Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest that trustworthiness established through the assurance of credibility is the best option. Since the data collected for this research came from primary as well as secondary sources, triangulation was applied to ensure the information was credible from three different viewpoints (Saldana, 2009). For example, there were issues with the credibility of Delille's birth date because birth and baptismal records are missing. Davis (2004) and Gould (2012) admitted there were questions about the birth date; they each decided to use 1813 as the year since she was allegedly 50 years old at the time of her death.

Transferability. Shenton (2004) defines transferability as the characteristic of findings that are "applicable to other situations and populations" (p. 63). For example, the home of Delille is located on Burgundy Street in New Orleans in the heart of the Vieux Carré. A future researcher may find Vieux Carré useful when assessing the demographics, economics, and social structure of that area because according to Gould (2012) this area was

> dominated by Creoles and Saint Domingue refugees. French was the language of the day, where ladies chose their fashions from Paris and where women dominated the pews of St. Louis Cathedral, counting their beads. By 1840, its waterfront and center were

> dominated by large townhouses and commercial establishments; it supported two Quadroon Ballrooms; and it had won the distinction of being the home of the largest slave market in the United States. (p. 26)

Therefore, findings in this research study about education, enslaved Black people, and Delille are transferable to other research situations and subsets of the target research population for use in future studies.

Dependability. When research illustrates that repetition of the same data, methods, and participants yields the same results, it is considered dependable (Shenton, 2004). There are some associations between dependability and credibility (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Dependability can be "enhanced through triangulation to ensure that the weaknesses of one method of data collection are compensated by the use of alternative data-gathering methods" (Krefting, 1991, p. 221). Therefore, the research design, data collection, and data triangulation used in this research study both individually and collectively demonstrated dependability of the research gathered (Shenton, 2004).

Confirmability. Confirmability ensures the results of the findings and experiences of persons or groups of the study are factual versus the characteristics and preferences of the researcher (Shenton, 2004). Disclosing key criteria, such as the affiliation of the researcher with the subjects or places of study in the research, assists in reducing any researcher bias (Miles & Huberman, 1994). In this research study, the researcher of this study disclosed a familial relationship with Sister Mary Gabriella Guidry (Sr. Guidry), a nun in the SSF order. The SSF was the order co- founded by Delille in antebellum era of New Orleans.

Data Analysis Techniques

According to Davenport and Prusak (1998), qualitative data analysis is knowledge management that transforms data into information, then transforms that information into

knowledge, and finally derives wisdom from that knowledge. The researcher organized the data analysis for this study by category and chronological order and then reviewed repeatedly and coded continually (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). The researcher codified the codes by segregating, grouping, regrouping, and relinking information so that meanings and explanations could be consolidated (Saldana, 2009).

In Theron's (2015) opinion, coding significantly contributes to the credibility of data and is a central process that assists the researcher in understanding the underlying meanings of the data collected. Berg and Lune (2012) believe coding is necessary to control the volumes of collected data by separating the information into segments that are readily accessible, understandable, simplified, and transformed into a manageable form. Creswell (2012) further explains that collected data must be organized and analyzed. Therefore, the researcher arranged the collected data by the author, data type, raw data, codes, and themes.

This study did not include transcripts or observations; therefore, all of the collected data were from primary and secondary documents acquired through the data collection process. Reading and viewing all of the collected data were the first steps in the preliminary review of the information. Next, the researcher reviewed written documents from those with the least amount of information to those with large amounts of information as well as visual art, drawings, or objects based on ascending dates. Also, the researcher wrote notes about written documents in the margins of the documents. The researcher used the backs of photocopies of visual art or objects to document meanings or notes of interest. The researcher bracketed text segments, sentences, or paragraphs that related to a single thought (Creswell, 2012).

Creswell (2012) identifies six steps to analyzing qualitative data in a bottom-up approach. These steps were utilized as a guide to describe the techniques identified to analyze and code data in this research study. Collected data were pre-coded by scanning keywords, the tables of

contents and abstracts of journal publications, books, and newspaper articles, followed by a thorough reading to obtain an overall understanding (Creswell, 2012). The researcher then uploaded data into the PDF 3 Pro application.

The PDF 3 Pro application purchased for the iPad Pro is a PDF reader. This reader allowed the researcher to upload PDF documents from the web, web links, files, and servers. Once the researcher uploaded the documents into the application, all of the documents were searched by keywords to identify the initial documents for review. When information was located and read, it was circled, highlighted, and bolded or underlined to distinguish information worthy of attention (Saldana, 2009). Information was worthy of additional consideration when it could inform one or both of the research questions, expand information from other data collected, or provide clarification.

The researcher then marked the literature either with a digital pen when it was in digital format or with a pen and highlighters when the information was in a hard copy. The mark up in either the digital or hard copy format contained annotations that outlined important information included in the data analysis. The researcher documented the annotations along the side margins of the digital or hard copy format of the document.

The researcher separated all of the documents uploaded into individual folders on the application by the following themes: laws for Free People of Color, race, antebellum New Orleans, Southern public education, and the Catholic Church. By using the PDF 3 Pro application, the data collected were available at any time or location on the Mac Book Air, iPhone, and iPad Pro. The PDF 3 Pro application allowed the researcher to review documents and reference lists at any time or location. The coded information included social and political life experiences, activities, perceptions, tangible documents, and artifacts recorded in the data produced by those documents (Saldana, 2009).

The researcher identified the initial codes and transferred the codes to an Excel spreadsheet. The researcher used an Excel spreadsheet to place all coded data in one location so that preliminary codes and final codes could be in one place to identify emerging themes. Since the data only included documents, the first row of headings identified the following titles: author, data type (e.g., journal article, book, research study, or picture), raw data (e.g., direct quotes or descriptions), preliminary code, final code, emerging theme, and final theme. By inputting the data into the spreadsheet, the researcher was able to filter codes. The researcher then analyzed the filtered codes to lessen overlap or redundancy and then collapsed the filtered codes into emerging themes that were then reduced to form the final themes. The researcher identified the final themes as follows: (a) antebellum New Orleans, (b) treatment of people of color, (c) religion, (d) education, (e) Henriette Delille, (f) slavery, and (g) White privilege. This information was used to include descriptive details about the setting, demographics, individuals, and the local social environment (Creswell, 2012)

The researcher collected and labeled images for this study. Images that required permission were attached to the permission from the publisher. The researcher labeled photographed objects or monuments and placed them in order by location and relevance to the study. Once the researcher labeled all of the images, they were grouped together by Delille, New Orleans, historical sites, and other. Items labeled “Other” included pictures that were not used for this study but may be of use for future research. The researcher made two hard copies of each of the images collected. The researcher used one copy to annotate circled items of interest with a pen and highlighter, and then placed them in a folder labeled “Marked Up Images”. A folder labeled “Unmarked Images” contained the images copied onto a USB drive as well as the Google drive to provide accessibility and backup for the hard copies. Subsequently, the

researcher scanned and saved the annotated and marked up images to a USB drive and the Google drive.

Chapter Summary

This chapter identifies the strengths and weaknesses of the qualitative research design and case study method used in this study. The explanatory case study research sub-design used in this qualitative research study provided a structure for the researcher to explore the problem of racialization in the classrooms of Black students in both the antebellum era and the current day. Furthermore, an examination of the factors that influenced Delille's philosophy of education occurred through the explanatory case study method by utilizing the research questions as a guide. By discussing qualitative explanatory case research design, the chapter helps the audience gain an understanding of the research study's design and method.

The data collected for this study provide information about the city of New Orleans, the site selected for this research. In the absence of living participants who could provide insight into the nuances and intricacies of antebellum New Orleans as it related to Delille, education, and the enslaved Black people of that era, there was no formal participant selection method. Alternatively, primary and secondary sources of data were gathered to understand how Delille and the enslaved Black community lived within the study's historical context.

This section also addresses the data collection procedures and the limitations caused by the lack of living participants and a reliance on second hand sources of data to recreate the life and times of Delille in the antebellum era of New Orleans. The researcher's positionality occurred as a viewer of historical documentation and knowledge of the SSF through an aunt who was a nun of the order. Trustworthiness is important to the audience; therefore, this section includes a discussion on the credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability of this study. Also, the researcher discusses the research methods used for analyzing the data collected

through coding. Finally, the researcher explains the data analysis techniques of the PDF 3 Pro application and of an Excel spreadsheet. Chapter 4 provides a description of participants, presentation of findings, and an analysis of findings, followed by a chapter summary.

Chapter 4: Data Analysis and Results

This chapter presents the data collection process guided by the purpose of this study. The purpose of this qualitative case study is to explore the factors that influenced the educational philosophy of Henriette Delille in antebellum New Orleans, as well as her contributions to education through the theoretical framework of W. E. B. DuBois' (1903) theory of double consciousness. The main findings of this study are organized and reported in response to the following two research questions: (1) What cultural and societal considerations led to Henriette Delille's philosophy of education? and (2) In what ways did Henriette Delille contribute to the education of Black people in New Orleans? Each question is addressed individually by the themes that emerged during data collection. Since there were no living participants for this study, the researcher analyzed the data by themes that provided patterns of descriptive details to answer each research question. The emerging themes of RQ1 are (1) the racialization of the Black population, (2) the politics of educating Black people, and (3) the educative imperative Code Noir. The first research question was developed to explore the factors that influenced Delille's philosophy of educating enslaved Black people in antebellum New Orleans; the identified factors addressed the racial, political, and religious aspects of Delille's life.

Research question 2 yielded the following themes: (1) the genesis of Henriette Delille's Catholic religious preparation and pursuits, and (2) the emergence of education beyond racism. Since this study explored Delille's philosophy of education, and Delille was a member of the Catholic religion, Catholicism was the religion of focus (Davis, 1986, 2004). Delille cofounded the SSF, the second African American order of Catholic nuns in the United States (Davis, 2004; Deggs, 2001; Detiege, 1976), which also provided her the opportunity to educate Black people ("Sisters of the Holy Family," 2016). Consequently, through Delille's persistence and tenacity, she created a "space for black self-organizing and collective action in the name of black education" (Porche-Frilot, 2005, p. 2). Delille accomplished the organizaiton of educational opportunities for Black people during the antebellum era that excluded enslaved Black people from

education initiatives (Davis, 2004; Gould, 2012). As the founder of the SSF, Delille vowed to obey God and live for God through a covenant of piety she submitted to as a Catholic religious nun ("Sisters of the Holy Family," 2016). Although she did not live to witness all of the facilities of learning that were eventually established for Black people in New Orleans, Delille laid the foundation that made their education possible (Copeland, 2007; Davis, 2004; Detiege, 1976).

The potential scholarship of this topic examined the racial, political, and religious factors that influenced both Delille's philosophy and mission to educate enslaved Black people and how she influenced their education as well. The results of this study expand the existing literature with information regarding factors that influenced Delille's philosophy of education and the affects her contributions had on the education of enslaved Black people. Since the time period of this study is identified as antebellum New Orleans between the years of 1813-1862, historical terms are used to identify various racial groups based on census documents, tax records, bills of sale, and/or newspaper articles.

Terms such as "free people of color" and "free women of color" were used to describe Black people who were free due to their mixed White and Black blood as well as their fair complexion. Due to the historical context of this study, the phrase "Person of Color" is used at times to describe Black people. The word Black was often used to describe African Americans, and the word White was used to describe European or Caucasian Americans. In addition, the terms "slave master" and "plantation owner" were used interchangeably to describe owners of enslaved Black people. Contemporary terms were not used in the data collected to describe the racial makeup of antebellum New Orleans; therefore, they are only utilized in direct quotes or summaries of information when relevant.

Slavery was relevant to this study because it was the economic backbone of the antebellum period pre-civil war (Cutter, 2016; MacLean, 2011). To understand the historical

background Delille operated in as a Free Person of Color, it was important to understand the outcome slavery had on her life and mission as a Catholic religious nun (Davis, 1986; Hart, 2013). She was the great-great daughter of an African slave woman named Nanette and a White plantation owner of the wealthy Dubrueil family (Gould, 2012). Therefore, slavery was an integral part of her ancestry as well as the social and political backdrop of her familial, personal, and religious life in antebellum New Orleans society (Davis, 2004; Gould, 2004, 2012; "Sisters of the Holy Family," 2016). Resultantly, slavery or the enslavement of Black people was discussed throughout the emerging themes of this study; however, it was not utilized to pass judgment on White society. Due to the historical context of antebellum New Orleans "slavery" or "the enslavement of Black people" were used throughout this study to understand why certain factors influenced Delille's philosophy of education.

There was a lack of primary documents such as personal journals, diaries, letters, recordings, sketches, drawing, notes, or other autobiographical history authored by Delille. According to Sister Mary Francis Borgia Hart (1976), a member of the SSF, this absence of primary information was due to the fact that

> They often fail[ed] to file notes, letters, or such material that would assist the historian at some future date. This was the case with those intrepid women [of the early congregation of the Sisters of the Holy Family] who toiled and suffered with no thought of publicity, never dreaming that their work was of such historic importance that their records would be valuable long after their demise. (p. 12)

Consequently, Delille did not leave any handwritten or recorded documents that would present her philosophy in her own words. Therefore, in order to understand Delille's philosophy of education, oral history recorded by authors such as Cyprian Davis, Sister Detiege, Sister Deggs, Sister Hart and Virginia Meacham-Gould were relied upon to recreate Delille's voice and life

experiences. This lack of primary documentation was also true of the enslaved Black people of antebellum New Orleans. Enslaved Black people were not permitted to read or write without the permission of the slave owner (Davis, 1986, 2004; Marylander, 1847; Hyde, 2016), so written documents detailing their educational experiences was restricted and undocumented.

Description of Participants

The data collected for this study reveal the characteristics of the following participants: Delille, enslaved Black people, and owners of enslaved Black people in antebellum New Orleans. All of the participants are deceased; therefore, secondary data were relied upon to describe them. Delille was born in 1812 or 1813; neither Davis (2004) nor Gould (2012) confirmed her birth date because they found neither her birth certificate nor any baptismal records. Delille was a mixed-race woman of Black and White ancestry that became the co-founder of the SSF (Detiege, 1976). Delille's Free Person of Color racial status framed her life experiences as an educator of enslaved Black people as well as her ability to cofound the SSF (Copeland, 2007; Kelley, 2003; "Sisters of the Holy Family," 2016). Until her death in 1862, she fought for the right to educate enslaved Black people (Davis, 2004; Detiege, 1976; "Sisters of the Holy Family," 2016).

This study did not include an individual enslaved Black person as a participant but studied the collective group of enslaved Black people in antebellum New Orleans. The enslaved Black people of New Orleans began with the arrival of Black West African people on the shores of New Orleans (Gould, 2012). The White imperialist society of antebellum New Orleans enslaved Black African people (Selod & Embrick, 2013; Smith, 2012). The conditions of enslaved Black people included bondage without rights to property, to business ownership, or to the control of their own bodies, unless approved by their White imperialist leaders (Burton & Smith, 2011; Clegg, 2015; Marylander, 1847). Furthermore, enslaved Black people were denied

access to education because White antebellum society feared insurrections, financial loss, and the upward social and political mobility of the enslaved black population (Canot & Mayer, 2004; Jackson, 2012).

White owners of enslaved Black people were usually wealthy plantation owners who used the labor of enslaved Black people to further capitalism during the antebellum period (Dierksheide, 2014). Conversely, poor White people were socially and politically equal to the enslaved Black population as indentured servants of wealthy plantation owners (Hudspeth, 2012; Walker, 1996). However, poor White people believed they were superior to enslaved Black people and treated enslaved Black people cruelly (Mamrak, 2016; Walker, 1996). White owners of enslaved Black people and the White imperialist leaders of the antebellum era enacted laws such as the Code Noir (Garrigus, 1980; Reid, 2012) and the Spanish Las Siete Partidas (Palmer, 2017; Proenza-Coles, 2008) to define enslaved Black people as animals and property without fundamental human rights (Kunkel, 1959; Reid, 2012). The reign of White social and political dominance continued until President Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation, abolishing the enslavement of Black people (Dunaway, 2008; Walker, 1996). Delille's mixed-race status, the plight of enslaved Black people, and White antebellum society collectively influenced Delille's philosophy of education as well as her contributions to education that are presented and analyzed in the following sections.

Presentation of Findings: RQ1

The data evaluated and examined in this section were in response to the following RQ1: What cultural and societal considerations led to Delille's philosophy of education? The researcher explored this question within the social and educational context of antebellum New Orleans. The following themes emerged from the research: racialization of the Black population, policies of education of the enslaved, and the educative imperative of the Code Noir. The themes

were discussed and analyzed through the use of data and literature examined within the theoretical framework of DuBois' (1903) theory of double consciousness and the historical context of racially segregated antebellum New Orleans.

Racialization of the Black population. The theme of racializing the Black population examines the use of race for the categorization of Black people, based on skin color by White-dominated society. Banton (1977) and Mikkelsen and Kant (2013) defined racialization as the process by which European imperialists used racial categories to distinguish individuals belonging to the colonized territories. The racialization process classified Black people according to their biological differences, based on the color of their skin (Selod & Embrick, 2013). Mueller and Feagin (2014) nuanced the understanding of this phenomenon by explaining that racial classifications linked to material realities in such a way that provided White people with privileges and provided Black people with disadvantages.

This phenomenon of racialization was practiced fervently in the antebellum South when the White populace placed Black Africans into forced servitude (Otto, 1980; Ruef, 2014). The enslavement of Black people was not specific to antebellum America but was pervasive throughout the world; the enslavement of Black people has occurred in various forms in every country known to man for thousands of years (Brooks, 1971; Jackson, 2012). The critical difference is that in ancient times, Black African people became enslaved not because of race but because they were either lawbreakers or prisoners of war who were allowed to maintain their humanity during their servitude (Brooks, 1971). However, this study focused on the racialization of enslaved Black people in antebellum New Orleans (Ruef, 2014) and its relevance to Delille's philosophy of education. Thus, the researcher of this study addresses the enslavement of Black people as it relates specifically to antebellum New Orleans throughout the discussion of this theme.

Based on the definition of racialization, White imperialist rulers of the antebellum period placed Black people in bondage (Gittens, 2002; Landsman, 2010; Mikkelsen & Kant, 2013). The White imperialist rulers used their unearned privilege of Whiteness to create a segregated society based on skin pigmentation (Landsman, 2010; Mikkelsen & Kant, 2013). Their dominance commenced upon the arrival of Black African people on the shores of New Orleans in 1719 (Hart, 2013). The extraction of millions of Black Africans from the continent of Africa by traders was dire and extreme (Brooks, 1971; Gould, 2012; Rogers, 2013). White imperialist rulers deprived Black African people of their freedoms and determined the oppressed social status of their race immediately upon their arrival (Gittens, 2002; Jackson, 2012). White imperialist rulers used the biological markers of Black African people such as dark-colored skin, coarse hair texture, thick lips, wide noses, broad hips, and ample bosoms to ensure the purchase of captured Black African people (Jackson, 2012; McPherson & Shelby, 2004).

The racialized existence of enslaved Black people in conjunction with the harshness of enslavement stripped them of their culture, initiative, and purpose (Hart, 2013). According to Alexander (1888) and Watson (2012), a racially segregated society was created by a White male dominant society that hated Black men based on their skin color, just as they hated poor men because they were poor. The laws of the antebellum South did not protect Black African people who were the victims of racialization, so White imperialist rulers could end their lives at liberty (Tappan, 1843). For example, the definition of enslaved Black people in The Civil Code of Louisiana Article 35 outlines the harshness of their enslavement:

> One who is in the power of a master to whom he belongs? The master may sell him, dispose of his person, his industry, and his labor; he can do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire anything, but what must belong to his master. (Marylander, 1847, para. 1)

The legacy of disenfranchised Black African people was an integral part of Delille's Black ancestry, which was a contributing factor to the development of her philosophy of education. According to her familial ancestry, Delille "was born in 1812 as a fourth generation descendant of an enslaved Black African Wolof woman, a third-generation Afro-Creole, and a second generation free woman of color" (Gould, 2012, p. 18). Delille was considered to be a free woman of color because she possessed three fourths White ancestry and one fourth Black ancestry (Davis, 2004; Gould, 2012; Hart, 1976). Her ancestral roots included West African and European traditions (Boselovic, 2015). According to Hart (2013), Delille's Free Person of Color status placed her in a distinctive racialized caste between enslaved Black people and free White people and was thus allowed to share the "cultivated tastes of the upper caste and the painful humiliation attached to the race of the enslaved" (Hart, 2013, p. 5).

Due to Delille's Free Person of Color status, the Civil Code of Louisiana Article 38 allowed her to preserve her natural liberty as well as the freedom to perform activities not forbidden by law (Marylander, 1847). Based on her mixed ancestry and the fairness of her complexion, Delille was able to contract business, sue or be sued, seek redress for grievances, trade in the open market, obtain an education, and travel abroad (Hart, 2013). White antebellum society mistook Delille for because she was fair skinned; however, the stigma created by her "indelible link to slavery" (Gould, 2012, p. 18) made her a captive to dual worlds of freedom and bondage ("Henriette Delille," 2001). Regardless of her skin color, wealth, or education, she was always tainted by the connection to a Black African heritage in racially segregated antebellum New Orleans (Gould, 2004; Walter, 2013). DuBois (1903) succinctly captured this fundamental difference between the experience of enslaved Black people and free people of color when he discussed the struggle between dualistic souls; the thoughts of those in segregated racial classes based on gradations of skin tone created by racialized ideas of White society are incessantly at

war (Boselovic, 2015; Gould, 2012; Hart, 2013).

Delille was confronted by incidents of inhumane treatment endured by enslaved Black people, which influenced her desire to educate them (Detiege, 1976; Gould, 2012; Kelley, 2003). She witnessed many oppressive practices inflicted upon enslaved Black people, such as physical brutality, separation from family, an inability to protect their loved ones, and the awareness of being controlled through the authority and supervision of another human being based on the dark color of their African skin (Turner, 1974). She had a profound desire to change the plight of the enslaved Black people, who were legally unprotected and hence preyed upon by their owners, and became committed to the socio-political and moral elevation of her people (Detiege, 1976).

Desdunes (2001) and Kelley (2003) described Delille as a remarkable woman known for her constant ministrations and dedication to the causes, needs, and sufferings of those discriminated against because of their race. Delille used her knowledge, racialized freedoms, and devout Catholic religious beliefs to gain the permission needed to instruct enslaved Black people without offending their masters (Davis, 2004; Detiege, 1976; Kaplan-Levenson, 2016). As a devout Catholic and a free woman of color, she recognized that she could use her freedoms to influence the betterment of men and women through ensuring access to a Catholic education (Davis, 2004; Hart, 1976; Kaplan-Levenson, 2016).

The emergent theme of racialization discussed in this section elaborates on racialization as a factor that influenced Delille's philosophy of education. Because of her fair complexion, Delille was able to evade the racial discrimination experienced by Black people based on skin color (Copeland, 2007; Koçsoy, 2013). The system of racialization followed in antebellum New Orleans ensured that enslaved Black people remained disempowered and mistreated, resulting in a denial of fundamental human rights (Koçsoy, 2013).

Delille became an active participant in enslaved Black people's endeavor to improve their social status by committing herself to educate enslaved Black people through Catholic education (Copeland, 2007; Davis, 2004). Delille devoted her life's work to the alleviation of enslaved Black people's adverse circumstances through her belief in Jesus' message of love and her devoted service to members of the racialized Black race of antebellum New Orleans ("Sisters of the Holy Family," 2016). Delille's personal inscription in her French prayer book, "I believe in God. I hope in God. I love. I want to live and die for God" (Gould, 2012, p. 44) is evidence of her faith-driven mission to educate enslaved Black people. The sentiment in this statement guided her journey toward religious life and the use of her faith to elevate the condition of people through Catholic education (Davis, 2004; Gould, 2012; "Sisters of the Holy Family," 2016). The emergent theme of racialization explains how owners of enslaved Black people, enslaved Black people, and the Catholic Church viewed education; the researcher discusses the emergent theme of politics when educating enslaved Black people in the next section.

The politics of educating the enslaved. There were many proponents of educating enslaved Black people; however, factors such as fear, decreased profit, and White privilege created many opponents (Detiege, 1976). According to Hinks (2012) and Moss (2009), when the public school system emerged in the antebellum era, pervasive cultures of White domination denied Black people access to schools and education. White antebellum society denied Black people education because education was vital to creating citizens (Hinks, 2012; Moss, 2009). Likewise, the White working class of the antebellum era believed "the confluence of industrialization, immigration, and gradual emancipation [jeopardized] their own financial independence and social status" (Moss, 2009, p. 56).

Historically, education for Black people recurs as an act of resistance (Ricks, 2014). White people blocked Black people from educational opportunities during the early years of the

enslavement of Black people (Noltemeyer et al., 2012). White antebellum society systematically excluded enslaved Black children from public education (Hart, 2013). White society did not envision public schools that included Black children; therefore, Black children received access to education through private and parochial schooling funded by local organizations (Boselovic, 2015). However, the legal system thwarted even private attempts to educate Black people (Hart, 1976; Noltemeyer et al., 2012). Policies based on reactionary responses by wealthy planters made it virtually impossible for enslaved Black people to receive a literary education (Raboteau, 2004; Hinks, 2012). It became illegal to educate enslaved Black people in numerous Southern states because owners of enslaved Black people feared that the education of enslaved Black people would encourage uprisings (Moss, 2009; Noltemeyer et al., 2012).

Many owners of enslaved Black people viewed the education of enslaved Black people as a threat, so to keep them in bondage "they had to be kept in ignorance" (Gittens, 2002, p. 33). For example, a slave owner, Stokley Sturgis, endorsed the belief that "permitting slaves to access a religious education was going to make them unruly and disobedient" (Kammerer, 2017, p. 303). Owners of enslaved Black people harboring similar beliefs as Sturgis also argued that enslaved Black people were incapable of receiving and adhering to instructions, primarily because they had brutish tendencies due to their cultural differences and racial characteristics (Pinkney, 2016; Raboteau, 2004) Owners of enslaved Black people also feared instability on their plantations, an instability that could potentially result in their financial downfall; the economic profitability of their slaves, not their Christianization, was the plantation owners' top priority (Palmer, 2006; Raboteau, 2004). Additionally, plantation owners believed religious education would emancipate enslaved Black people (Fergus, 2013).

Woodson (2004) identified zealous missionaries as advocates for the education of enslaved Black people. These clergy repeatedly reminded owners of enslaved Black people that

enslaved Black people are equal to White people only in the eyes of God and that their religious education would make them better slaves (Fergus, 2013; Pitman, 2008; Raboteau, 2004). Ironically, the principle reason planters did not want enslaved Black people to receive religious instruction was that "baptism would emancipate their slaves" (Raboteau, 2004, p. 98). However, they agreed with the clergy that providing religious, literary education to enslaved Black people would allow them to appreciate the supremacy of the Christian religion over the heathenistic religions of Africa and thus justify their enslavement (Fergus, 2013; Woodson, 2004). Resultantly, the pulpit became the great educator for enslaved Black people as well as the beacon light for enslaved Black people's religious instruction and evangelization (Alexander, 1888).

The consensus among owners of enslaved Black people was that an educated enslaved Black person was preferable to an unruly Black servant (Fergus, 2013). However, control was an issue for wealthy plantation owners; therefore, "it was critical for the master to determine the type and extent of education to be afforded to those he wished to control [because] literary education propels the insatiable human desire for freedom" (Gittens, 2002, p. 29). They did not want Christianity to "ruin their slaves by making them 'saucy' since they would begin to think themselves equal to White folks" (Raboteau, 2004, p. 102). This form of thinking turned the owners of enslaved Black people's attention to free people of color since they received education and were thus able to initiate the training of enslaved Black people (Fergus, 2013; Gittens, 2002; Woodson, 2004).

New Orleans was different from other antebellum cities of the South because of both its racial composition and the status of the free people of color who lived there (Boselovic, 2015). Because of their status, Free People of Color became a perceived threat to owners of enslaved Black people for three reasons: 1) free people of color represented the most literate Black population in the South; 2) free people of color shared the privileges and freedoms of White

society; and 3) free people of color had attained middle and upper class status (Hart, 2013). Although the communities of free people of color and enslaved Black people were "at odds as a result of their heritage and their economic and social status, their fates would grow to be entwined" (Boselovic, 2015, p. 22).

Free People of Color had the social and economic status they did because they were "born with a veil subject to a pervasive social mechanism of invisibility and forced disguise" (DuBois, 1903, p. 5). In spite of the invisibility that afforded them certain rights, Free People of Color attempted to make it possible to "be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of opportunity closed roughly in his face" (DuBois, 1903, p. 6). However, their class rank always threatened "the stability of their financial and social status" (Cobb, 2015, p. 32) in White dominated society. For example, the threat of Free People of Color losing their financial and social stability occurred through continued attacks on their status as a "distinct group; as the 19th century unfolded, local White people stepped up efforts to define and treat all persons of African descent as slaves" (Hart, 2013, p. 84).

In the decade preceding 1830, the Louisiana legislature passed a law that required "that any person who destroyed the 'line of distinction' which the law established between several classes" was guilty of a high demeanor (Detiege, 1976, p. 27). Subsequently, in the year of 1831, the state of Louisiana passed a law that required "free persons of color of specified ages and characters to leave the state within a certain time" (Hart, 1976, p. 3). Those who remained belonged to occupations such as the clergy and educators; however, they were treated cruelly and frequently subjected to humiliations (Davis, 2004; Detiege, 1976; Hart, 1976).

The free people of color were allowed to remain in the state under the stipulation that they acquire a *cardon bleu* (i.e., blue stamp) permitting them to walk the streets of New Orleans freely (Cobb, 2016; Hart, 1976). The blue stamp proved Free People of Color were legal

residents of the state, but because it was readily identifiable to the general populace and the authorities, it often resulted in the humiliation of free people of color (Hart, 1976). By 1857, the Louisiana legislative body lead by Governor Robert Wickliffe declared, that

> According to public policy, and to ensure the interest of the people, it is necessary that immediate steps should be taken at this time to remove all free Negroes who are now in the state, in all instances where such removal can be affected without violating the law. Their examples and association with the freed persons have a most pernicious effect upon our existent slave population. (Hart, 1976, p. 4)

The White imperialist rulers of antebellum Louisiana thus defined the economic, cultural, political, and legal terms for Free People of Color to fortify their superiority, sustenance, and maintenance of their interests (Koçsoy, 2013).

Owners of enslaved Black people began to closely monitor all religious gatherings among enslaved Black people (Detiege, 1976; Gittens, 2002). Consequently, Free People of Color were forbidden to preach or teach other Black people down to the fourth generation, and the laws barred them from any contact with enslaved Black people (Gittens, 2002; Kelley, 2003; King, 2017). Delille endured the annoyances and embarrassment caused by the attacks on the liberties of Free People of Color as well as enslaved Black people (Copeland, 2007; Davis, 2004; Gittens, 2002).

Delille's life as a free woman of color caused roadblocks to her mission to educate enslaved Black people, save their souls, and assist them in reaching upward mobility; her mixed ancestry made "being a problem a strange experience–peculiar even for one who has never been anything else" (DuBois, 1903, p. 4). Therefore, the theme of politics was another factor in the foundation of Delille's philosophy of education. Delille understood that to better the lives of enslaved Black people through education she had to be of service to the enslaved Black

community and a voice for the poor and indigent population (Davis, 2004; Hart, 1976). In the next section, the final emergent theme underpinning RQ1 explores the Code Noir as an imperative factor for education that also influenced Delille's philosophy of education in antebellum New Orleans.

Educative imperative: The French Code Noir. Louisiana became dependent on the labor of enslaved Black people as the economy grew, so the governing council adopted laws known as the Code Noir, signed into law in March 1724 (Casmier, 1993; Din, 1999). The Code Noir was initially executed by King Louis XIV's edict of 1685 (Din, 1999). It was addressed to the islands of French America under Article II of the Code Noir of 1685, which mandated that

> All slaves that shall be in our islands shall be baptized and instructed in the Roman, Catholic, and Apostolic Faith. We enjoin the inhabitants who shall purchase newly-arrived Negroes to inform the Governor and Intendant of said islands of this fact within no more than eight days, or risk being fined an arbitrary amount. They shall give necessary orders to have them instructed and baptized within a suitable amount of time. (Garrigus, 1980, para. 3)

This edict not only called for the education of enslaved Black people but also mandated their baptism in the Roman Catholic faith (Boselovic, 2015; Din, 1999). However, the Code Noir limited education for enslaved Black people to literary skills necessary for religious understanding (Boselovic, 2015). The mandates of this law insisted that "masters enlighten their slaves so that they may grasp the principles of the Christian religion" (Gittens, 2002, p. 37).

The Code Noir embodied the interwoven nature of the political and religious environment in France and presented a Christian argument endorsing slavery (Din, 1999). The French believed that adopting the Code Noir was the only approach in which "true faith would be brought to all Africans living in the New World" (Deggs, 2001, p. xxv). King XIV's Code Noir

Article III, confirmed the presence of the Catholic Church as the only religion of practice, as follows:

> We forbid any religion other than the Roman, Catholic, and Apostolic Faith from being practiced in public. We desire that offenders be punished as rebels disobedient of our orders. We forbid any gathering to that end, which we declare to be conventicle, illegal, and seditious, and subject to the same punishment as would be applicable to the masters who permit it or accept it from slaves. (Garrigus, 1980 Article III, para. 4).

Therefore, the rules outlined in the Code Noir mandated that the regulation of religious education and baptism of enslaved Black people be undertaken only through the adherence to the Catholic faith (Din, 1999; Fessenden, 2000; Fichter, 1992).

Finally, the Code Noir established the legal administrative framework for slaveholders and chiseled into law "their own superior status, and the inferior status of Africans" (Casmier, 1993, p. 6). A prelude to the legal administrative framework of the Code Noir, included in King XIV's Code Noir, article IV, further mandated that

> No persons assigned to positions of authority over Negroes shall be other than a member of the Roman, Catholic, and Apostolic Faith, and the master who did not follow this dictate and assigned others to positions of authority shall risk having the said Negroes confiscated, and arbitrary punishment levied against the persons who accepted said position of authority. Consequent to the implementation of this code, the slave owner's extent of control and prescribed treatment of the enslaved Black people was clearly outlined for all those that were responsible for or in contact with the enslaved Black people. (Garrigus, 1980, Article IV, para. 5)

Consequently, owners of enslaved Black people of any other faith practiced their other religions privately and had to accept the Catholic faith publicly (Gittens, 2002).

Resultantly, King XIV's Code Noir outlined the owners of enslaved Black people's control and treatment of enslaved Black people (Garrigus, 1980). According to Smith (2012), the Code Noir recognized enslaved Black people as humans, but "they were still declared movable property" (p. 20) and denied the right to own property, testify in court, carry weapons, or marry (Detiege, 1976; Smith, 2012). Likewise, the Code Noir labeled enslaved Black people not as men but as farm animals and as governmental property or sums of money (Casmier, 1993; Marylander, 1847).

Even though owners of enslaved Black people feared instability and insurgency among enslaved Black people as a result of their exposure to education, enslaved Black people did not have any legal protections to avoid the mandates of the Code Noir (Casmier, 1993; Gittens, 2002). Owners of enslaved Black people feared that educating enslaved Black people through Christian doctrine would make their "slaves not only proud but also ungovernable, and even rebellious" (Raboteau, 2004, p. 103). However, the Catholic Church committed to exercising the mandates of the Code Noir and deployed nuns, missionaries, and friars to comply, whether slave owners agreed or not (Casmier, 1993; Davis, 1986, 2004; Gittens, 2002).

Delille was a free woman of color and a devout practicing Catholic residing in what was commonly known as the hedonistic, morally impoverished, Creole city of antebellum New Orleans (Detiege, 1976). Since Delille was born into a wealthy middle-class, mixed-race family, she was classically trained (Gould, 2012; Hart, 1976). Her education included studies of French literature, music, dancing, folk remedies, and the art of nursing (Detiege, 1976). This training was not for her upward mobility but "to cultivate every charm and accomplishment with which to attract a well-to-do white patron" (i.e., *plaçage*; "Henriette Delille," 2001, para. 6). Delille's matrilineal heritage was enmeshed with the practice of plaçage*,* an arrangement that allowed free women of color to have the privileges of the White middle class (Hart, 2013). This arrangement

meant that White men had two families (Bello, 2017). The White family was socially accepted, but the mixed-race family was rejected by White antebellum society (Bello, 2017; Davis, 2004). However, Delille refused to participate in plaçage and so committed herself to the Catholic ministry and education of enslaved Black people (Davis, 2004; Deggs, 2001; Gould, 2012).

Because of Delille's mixed-race status, the Code Noir allowed her to use the "wealth and educational privileges given to her by the master class to give charitable assistance to the unfortunate members of her own race, bond and free" (Detiege, 1976, p. 10). Delille operated within the confines of the defined roles of her mixed ancestry (Davis, 2004; Hart, 1976) to merge herself into a "better and truer self" (DuBois, 1903, p. 6). By doing this, she accomplished her mission to educate Black people along the lines of racial segregation drawn in antebellum New Orleans ("Henriette Delille," 2001).

Presentation of Findings: RQ2

The data evaluated and examined for this section were in response to the following research question (RQ2): In what ways did Delille contribute to the education of Black people in New Orleans? This question was explored and comprehended within the political, social, and religious context of antebellum New Orleans. Education that moved beyond racial boundaries was the emergent theme of the discussion. The researcher discusses this theme through the use of data and literature examined within the theoretical framework of DuBois' (1903) theory of double consciousness and the historical context of antebellum New Orleans.

Education, segregation, and unmerited privilege. Since the earliest days of the slave trade, White people pointed to their reliance on written language as evidence of racial separation and superiority (Leloudis, 1992; Ruef, 2014). White people of the antebellum era believed that education for enslaved Black people was a "dangerous proposition; [therefore] schooling for Black people was strongly discouraged and literacy instruction was prohibited" (Porche-Frilot,

2005, p. 9). As a consequence, White antebellum society believed that literacy would be an equalizer, if enslaved Black people would then have access to the same political and economic freedoms White society enjoyed (Freedman, 1999; West, 2012). Therefore, White people made it difficult for enslaved Black people to acquire an education (Freedman, 1999; Rogers, 2013). For example, before the Code Noir had mandated the Catholic education of enslaved Black people, "the exclusion of black children from the public school system constituted one of the most serious abuses of the city's antebellum educational system" (Bell, 1999, p. 11). Delille ignored the laws excluding Black children from education because they conferred upon White society the authority and power to shape antebellum enslaved Black people's common welfare, and thus she denied White society a monopoly on their educational opportunities (Clark & Gould, 2002).

However, Delille's involvement with the enslaved Black population did not occur without the following legal ramifications and roadblocks as written in Detiege's (1976) *Report of the Committee on Religious Instruction of Colored Population* and the *Annual Report of the Missionary to the Negroes*:

> Whoever shall write, print, publish, distribute anything having a tendency to produce discontent among the free colored population . . . or insubordination among slaves or make use of language in any public discourse, from the bar, the bench, the stage, the pulpit, or in any place whatsoever . . . in private discourse or conversations, or shall make use of signs or actions should be punished by imprisonment at hard labor for life or suffer death. (p. 29)

Therefore, Abbe Rousselon of the Catholic Church counseled Delille to proceed cautiously, in light of the laws of the land that dictated the education of enslaved Black people (Davis et al., 1997; Detiege, 1976; Kunkel, 1959). So, to understand Delille's passion for educating enslaved

Black people, even though it compromised her societal position as a free woman of color, her youth must be examined (Kelley, 2003).

In her youth, Delille became enamored with a French nun, Sr. Marthe Frontiere, who conducted a small school for Black girls in antebellum New Orleans where Delille had been a student (Fessenden, 2000). As a student, Delille attended day classes that included religious instruction where she was taught to "give instructions to the slaves who were sent to the school by their masters for this purpose" (Fessenden, 2000, p. 245). Due to Sr. Marthe Frontiere's "total dedication to God by her vowed life and her acts of charity to her [Delille's] Black neighbors" (Detiege, 1976, p. 18), a new "dimension of love and celibacy" (p. 19) filled Delille's heart.

By the time Delille became a teen, she was teaching Black children and adults, whether they were enslaved or free (Fichter, 1992). This experience became the impetus for Delille's desire to become a nun in the Catholic faith: she wanted to continue the work of educating those enslaved Black people with whom she began when under Sr. Marthe Frontiere's tutelage and thereby alleviate conditions of poverty and ignorance among the poor and unfortunate of her race (Fessenden, 2000). However, the Catholic Church thwarted Delille's desire to become a nun because White society perceived her quadroon status as irreputable, and a Black nun was inconceivable in a "city of the deep South [antebellum New Orleans] at a time when the chains of slavery were so strongly riveted on the Negro [Black population]" (Hart, 1976, p. 1).

Education beyond racism. The universal Catholicism imparted upon the populace of antebellum New Orleans by the Code Noir provided Delille with the religious fervor and legal tools necessary for "organizational activities, public service, and leadership elsewhere in the antebellum Deep South" (Gould, 2004, p. 281). Just as quickly as she accepted her mixed-race status and place within the Catholic mission of educating enslaved Black people, the Catholic Church leaders decided to affirm the dominance of owners of the enslaved Black people by

“using Biblical scriptures to rationalize slavery" (Nechles-Jansyn, 1971). According to Fichter (1992) the use of Biblical scriptures by the Catholic church combined with the wealthy White society’s desire for a dual racial order of Black and White people only pushed the mixed-race population into the same social and political status of the enslaved Black population of antebellum New Orleans.

Analysis of Findings: RQ1

According to the data collected for RQ1, three emergent themes developed, listed as follows: 1) the racialization of the Black population; 2) the politics of educating enslaved Black people; and 3) the educative imperative of the Code Noir. The analysis of the findings for each of these themes is discussed and elaborated upon in this section.

Racialization of the Black population. Defined slave laws segregated the Black population of antebellum New Orleans (Casmier, 1993; Marylander, 1847). White people became the imperialist rulers who maintained the law and developed a racially segregated society to keep the Black and White racial classes in their designated assignment of racial superiority or inferiority (Casmier, 1993). Racial segregation began with the arrival of the first Africans on the shores of New Orleans and continued through the Civil War (Gould, 2012).

The social castes of antebellum New Orleans included White people deemed superior by self-imposition, Black people considered inferior based on their biological markers and dark skin, and free people of color considered both free and enslaved because of their mixed-race (McPherson & Shelby, 2004; Mikkelsen & Kant, 2013). Black people were provided limited legal protection because they were considered to be less than human (Alexander, 1888). White society was allowed the freedoms that were available to all humanity (Banton, 1977). These legal and racial distinctions impacted Black people's access to public education (Bonds & Inwood, 2016; McPherson & Shelby, 2004).

Delille knew that enslaved Black people lived in abhorrent and oppressive conditions and denied the benefit of education (Bohlen, 2017; "Henriette Delille," 2001). Enslaved Black people were excluded from education because wealthy owners of enslaved Black people believed their ignorance kept them under their rule and education would empower them to rise against them (Blokker, 2012; Bohlen, 2017; Boselovic, 2015). However, Delille had a profound desire to elevate enslaved Black people morally through Catholic education, and she was empowered to do so through the Code Noir that mandated the Catholic education of enslaved Black people by all owners of enslaved Black people (Hart, 1976; Marylander, 1847).

The politics of educating enslaved Black people. White people prevented Black people from educational opportunities during the early years of enslavement and excluded enslaved children from public education (Hart, 2013; Noltemeyer et al., 2012). The placement of Black children within the walls of a White public school was not the plan when public education entered White Southern society (Boselovic, 2015). Nonetheless, preventing the public education of Black people was deemed insufficient by the wealthy Whites, who used the legal system to prevent the private education of Black people as well (Brown, 1952). Resultantly, the education of Black people became illegal, presumably to prevent insurrections from occurring on plantations populated by enslaved Black people (Freedman, 1999).

The politics of education impacted Delille's philosophy to educate enslaved Black people because she was a product of both Black and White parentage (Brooks, 1971). Delille's mixed-race allowed her the educational privileges of her White ancestry; therefore, she received the best religious or liberal arts education available to her family (Davis, 2004; Hart, 1976). However, as a fourth generation descendant of an enslaved African, Delille understood the implications of being enslaved with limited access to education as a liberator (Detiege, 1976). Therefore, the

politics of educating Black people impacted Delille's philosophy of education and prompted her to continue with a mission to educate enslaved and free Black people (Gould, 2012).

Educative imperative: the French Code Noir. This theme explored the Code Noir as an educative imperative. A culture of enslavement and dependence supported the antebellum period of New Orleans (Burton & Smith, 2011). There appeared to be a vested interest in only the economic impact of the enslavement of Black people, not the condition of their souls (Anderson, 2005). King Louis XIV believed that all persons under French rule should follow the Christian principles of Catholicism (Marylander, 1847). Therefore, King Louis XIV enacted the Code Noir in 1685 (Garrigus, 1980). Article II specifically mandated the Catholic education of enslaved Black people, and offenders of this mandate were prosecuted (Garrigus, 1980).

The Code Noir impacted Delille's philosophy of education by allowing her a legal entrance into accomplishing her mission (Gould, 2004). As a Catholic religious, she was able to work within her calling to assist in the Catholic Church's compliance with the mandates of the Code Noir (Kaplan-Levenson, 2016). To accomplish this, Delille had to be aware of her precarious racial position and to work with owners of enslaved Black people in a non-confrontational manner (King, 2017). Delille was able to provide education to the oppressed of her people by creating amicable and non-threatening situations that appeared beneficial to the owners of enslaved Black people ("Henriette Delille," 2001; King, 2017). Not all owners of enslaved Black people chose to be compliant; some made it difficult, but Delille persisted and leveraged the law to her advantage (Detiege, 1976; Kelley, 2003). The Code Noir was thus a contributing factor in forming Delille's philosophy of education.

Analysis of Findings: RQ2

Based on the data collected for RQ2, the theme of education beyond racism emerged. The major findings of this theme include an analysis of Delille's motivation for educating enslaved

Black people, of the SSF, and of the impact the enslavement of Black people had on her philosophy of education. The aforementioned themes form the basis for an analysis of Delille's contributions to education.

Education beyond racism. Delille was motivated to improve the degraded condition of her people, enslaved Black people, and to elevate them through education directed by her Catholic religious faith (Copeland, 2007; Davis, 2004; Gould, 2012). The conditions of her mixed-race disqualified her from becoming a Catholic nun (Hart, 1976). Ursulines and Carmelites considered Delille ineligible to enter the doors of their convents as a novitiate, a Catholic nun in training, even though her appearance was nearly White (Davis, 1986). As a woman of both Black African and White European descent, Delille was not allowed into any order of Catholic nuns (Porche-Frilot, 2005).

Nevertheless, Delille remained true to her mission to educate enslaved Black people as well as her Catholic faith (Davis, 2004; "Henriette Delille," 2001; "Sisters of the Holy Family," 2016). The disabilities of her mixed-race heritage only propelled her faith, motivating her to establish a foundation of Catholic education for Black people. In so doing, Delille helped forge a system that transcended the social ills of antebellum New Orleans that prevails today (Porche-Frilot, 2005). Delille survived the oppression of antebellum New Orleans by forming an educational foundation through the SSF; this foundation destroyed the yokes of ignorance in White society that had previously prevented the upward mobility of enslaved Black people ("Henriette Delille," 2001). The results of oppression, such as ignorance and the sordid conditions of slavery, created miseries of poverty (Detiege, 1976) that impelled Delille's tenacity and resultant contributions to the education of enslaved Black people in antebellum New Orleans (Davis, 2004).

Credibility, dependability, and confirmability were paramount in the analysis of the findings. The researcher of this study utilized triangulation to confirm the credibility of the findings. For example, Banton (1977), Otto (1980), and Mikkelsen and Kant (2013) were utilized to confirm the racialization of the Black population during the antebellum era. Moreover, as the data were collected, themes were grouped and then condensed into major themes based on literature from multiple authors to demonstrate the dependability of the information collected. For example, the researcher of this study found that the Code Noir acted as an educative imperative, based on the data collected. The researcher of this study also determined the information to be dependable both by reviewing the Code Noir outlined by Riddell (1925) and Garrigus (1980) and by reviewing the application of the Code Noir to the education of enslaved Black people through the research of Davis (2004) and Gould (2012).

Unexpectedly, information regarding Delille's birth was inconsistent. The inconsistencies occurred due to the lack of a birth certificate or baptismal records to record her birth. Therefore, researchers such as Davis (2004) and Gould (2004, 2012) relied upon the age of Delille at her time of death according to Hart (1976) and Detiege (1976). Consequently, researchers such as Fichter (1992), MacLean (2011), and Kaplan-Levenson (2016) present her birth year as either 1912 or 1913, depending upon the information they obtained. Also, there was an inconsistent use of the terms used to describe the Black race. For example, Kunkel (1959) used the term Negro, Richardson (1969) used the term Black, and Brown and Brown (2012) used the term African American. The researcher of this study used the context of the research to determine the relevance of the various terms utilized to describe the Black race of people discussed in this study. The data collected for this research relied upon primary and secondary sources because the participants could not be interviewed or observed. Therefore, the researcher

of this study relied upon triangulation, confirmability, and dependability to verify the credibility and reliability of the data and thus reduce the perception of researcher bias.

Chapter Summary

This chapter organizes and reports the findings of the data collected. The research questions 1 were examined by the data. Racialization of the Black population, the politics of educating Black people, and the educative imperative Code Noir were the emergent themes of the data collected and analyzed for RQ1. The presentation of findings and the analysis of findings of RQ1 are followed by the presentation and analysis of findings of the RQ2 emergent theme of education beyond racism. All of the emergent themes reflect Delille's education of Black people in antebellum New Orleans and how her philosophy was developed as well as her contributions to education. Next, the emergent themes presented in this chapter as well as the information contained in Chapters 1 to 4 are discussed in Chapter 5. Chapter 5 includes a summary of major findings, conclusions, and suggestions for future research.

Chapter 5: Summary, Conclusions, and Suggestions for Future Research

This study examined the life of Delille as an educator within the historical context of antebellum New Orleans to explore her philosophy of education. An examination of racialization, enslavement, public education, and the social-political environment of antebellum New Orleans was examined to answer the two research questions developed for this study. A qualitative explanatory case study was utilized to structure the collected data within the theoretical framework of DuBois' (1903) theory of double consciousness. In Chapter 4, conclusions about Delille's educational philosophy included the emergent themes of racialization, Code Noir, and education of the Black population in antebellum New Orleans. Subsequently, this chapter provides an important conclusion drawn from the data presented in Chapter 4, interpretations of the findings, implications for theory, policy, and practice, suggestions for future research, as well as limitations and reflexivity from the field.

Summary and Major Findings

The researcher of this study believes that as an integral part of civilized society, education can be a liberator of people, a developer of innovators, a promoter of creativity, and an advocator of change. However, even in contemporary society, education is not guaranteed for everyone due to things such as economics, religious and cultural beliefs, societal constructs, and laws (Spring, 2012). Delille overcame obstacles that could have deterred her life's work to educate enslaved Black people (Davis, 2004; Fichter, 1992; Gould, 2012). This section summarizes the study titled, *Examining the Educational Philosophy of Henriette Delille*: *A Case Study*. The summary includes a summary of the entire study, from the background to the findings. The next section discusses the background and contextualization of the study.

According to the societal and cultural norms of the antebellum era in New Orleans, race determined who had access to education (Rury & Darby, 2016). Consequently, the White

imperialist leaders of the antebellum era denied or limited the availability of education to Black people (Baumgartner, 2017). Scholars such as Vaughn (1974) stated that the disparities in education Black people endured were due to slave revolts such as Vessey in 1822 and Nat Turner in 1831. Consequently, the antebellum era government leaders enacted legislation that forbade the instruction of enslaved Black people; any disobedience resulted in beatings (Watson, 2012).

Bertocchi and Dimico (2014) stated that White antebellum society leaders influenced the rigors of the enslavement of Black people as well as the denial of education to enslaved Black people. Likewise, Walters and James (1992) stated that Southern antebellum school boards denied education to enslaved Black people because Southern antebellum society did not consider Black people as equal. Southern antebellum society considered the ignorance of enslaved Black people as a way to continue their enslavement (Vaughn, 1974). Moreover, wealthy plantation owners needed Black children to support the production and harvesting of cotton on their plantations (Walters & James, 1992). Therefore, according to Carter and Wer (2013), Black children were not allowed to either read or obtain literacy skills.

The problems of access to quality education for Black students continues; today, Black students in New Orleans have limited access to quality education, educational resources, and qualified teachers (OECD, 2012). For example, teachers in Black-centered schools teach Black students core academic subjects outside of their major (Sanders, 2000). Furthermore, OECD (2012) confirmed that disadvantaged schools supporting Black students staffed underqualified teachers. Previously, a correlation was found between the quality of education provided and the education received by Black students (Krueger & Card, 1992). Likewise, Black students in disadvantaged schools have low educational achievement, resulting in adverse effects on the subsequent generations of Black students (Carter & Wer, 2013; OECD, 2012).

According to Burt et al. (2013), disparities in education for Black students are due to White privilege, which creates inequalities in access to quality education for Black students. McIntosh (2015) confirmed that there are differences in education for Black students in White-centered schools compared to Black-centered schools. Furthermore, Harper and Davis (2012) reported that White teachers do not stimulate learning in Black students, while White students receive unearned privileges and academic advancement. Alonso et al. (2009) found that predominantly Black students learn in dilapidated, congested, poorly funded, and inadequately staffed schools. Resultantly, Black students experience both low achievement scores and a lack of Black cultural learning activities (Burt et al., 2013).

However, OECD (2012) determined that equitable education for Black students can be achieved by not setting up Black students for failure with preset barriers, but instead setting high educational achievement expectations. Barriers to Black student achievement include inadequate school buildings, underqualified teaching staff, underfunded schools, and low-quality educational resources (Harper & Davis, 2012). This study investigated the contemporary problem of disparities in education by exploring the education philosophy of Delille as well as her contributions to education still seen today in modern day New Orleans.

In this study, the researcher examined the educational philosophy of Delille during the antebellum period of New Orleans to explore the historical context of inequalities in education provided to enslaved Black people. This study further addressed the inescapable culture of White privilege in antebellum New Orleans, which controlled enslaved Black people's access to education according to the Code Noir (Hinks, 2012; Rury & Darby, 2016). The Code Noir mandated Catholic education but dismissed rudimentary education for enslaved Black people in order to control their social and political upward mobility (Bly, 2013). Thus, supporters of educating Black people, such as Delille, endured harassment and intimidation through violence

(Leeson, 1966). However, Delille continued to pursue the education of enslaved Black people to improve their chances for upward mobility while dispelling the myth that Black people were ignorant heathens (Hart, 1976).

Today, Black students in New Orleans schools are still presented with similarly unequal access to quality education as were enslaved Black people in antebellum New Orleans (Davis, 2004; National Urban League, 2016). Green (2014) reported that New Orleans public school curricula are culturally and racially biased, and restricted access to equal education for Black students still occurs. The purpose of this qualitative case study emerged from Black students' unequal access to education in current day New Orleans public schools (Buras, 2013). Therefore, this study explored the factors that influenced Delille's educational philosophy when educating enslaved Black people, as well as her contributions to education. DuBois' (1903) theory of double consciousness framed the purpose of this study.

The antebellum era labeled people of mixed Black and White ancestry "mixed-race people" or Free People of Color (Hart, 1976). Delille was a mixed-race female educator in antebellum New Orleans (Davis, 2004). Delille was neither enslaved nor entirely free; she received a formal education, owned real estate, owned an enslaved Black person named Betsy, and was free to participate in White antebellum New Orleans society (Boselovic, 2015; Bullock, 1967; Davis, 2004). Delille's almost White complexion allowed her the privileges of White society, but her Black ancestry confronted her each time she walked the streets or interacted with enslaved Black people (Davis, 2004; Gould, 2012). Additionally, the Code Noir forbade Delille or any other mixed-race person to educate enslaved Black people. However, Delille found ways to educate them (Detiege, 1976); for example, Delille would open up her home on Bayou Road in New Orleans and taught enslaved Black people from midnight until 2:00 a.m. to avoid punishment to her and her enslaved Black students (Walker, 1996). Thus, DuBois' (1903) theory

of double consciousness frames the two-ness of Delille's life as a mixed-race female living and operating in a White dominated antebellum society in New Orleans.

DuBois' (1903) theory of double consciousness gained international recognition when he published *The Souls of Black Folk*. Although psychiatrists used double consciousness to diagnose psychological illness, DuBois used double consciousness to discuss sociological issues in the Black community (Allen, 2002). DuBois (1903) developed the theory to address the sociological impact of being neither entirely Black nor entirely White in the Jim Crow South. Understanding the theory of sociological double consciousness was important to DuBois (1903)because he viewed his life through the lenses of both his Black ancestry as well as his White ancestry. Dubois's theory defined his dual roles as a mixed-race man in America living as "an American, a Negro [Black person]: two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body" (p. 3). Hence, DuBois' (1903) theory illuminates Delille's philosophy of education as well as her contributions to education through the duality of her life as a mixed-race woman in White-dominated antebellum New Orleans.

The following two research questions guided the research presented in this study:

RQ1: What cultural and societal considerations led to Delille's philosophy of education?

RQ2: In what ways did Henriette Delille contribute to the education of Black people in New Orleans?

The assumptions of this study are based on Delille's inability to participate in the study since she is deceased, on limited primary sources from the era, and on secondary accounts of her life in antebellum New Orleans. The lack of record keeping for Black or mixed-raced people limited the availability of vital statistics, which otherwise might be available in church baptismal records, school records, or archdiocesan records (Casmier, 1993). Also, primary documents such as journals, audio recordings, or interviews were not available; therefore, the sole primary source

from Delille was an inscription in her prayer journal (Davis, 2004; Gould, 2012). The researcher assumed that, due to her fair complexion and mixed-race status, Delille was able to educate enslaved Black people, acquire wealth, own enslaved Black people, and receive an education in antebellum New Orleans. The minimal primary data, the researcher's reliance on secondary data, and the disparities in education for Black people based on racialization premised the assumptions of this study.

This study is significant because it contributes to the historical knowledge of how education evolved in the Black community of New Orleans. There are still many disparities in the public education of Black students (Carter & Wer, 2013; OECD, 2012); therefore, it is vital to comprehend where the disparities in education for Black students began and where efforts to develop solutions were successful. Previous research did not extensively explore the phenomenon of Delille as a mixed-race female educating enslaved Black people in antebellum New Orleans. Her life as a Catholic religious nun and co-founder of the SSF is well known and an essential part of New Orleans history (Davis, 2002, 2004; Gould, 2012). However, equally important is what influenced her philosophy of education and led to her contributions to education in a time when being a mixed-race female in a segregated slave society was difficult (Detiege, 1976). Therefore, this study is also significant because it provides insight about a mixed-race woman utilizing her racial privileges to improve the lives of enslaved Black people of the antebellum era as well as access to education for all Black people.

The researcher reviewed and discussed four significant areas of literature to explore their relevance to this study. Antebellum New Orleans is the first subheading in the topical literature review; this review provided a historical backdrop for the political, social, and religious environment of Delille's life. The environmental factors that made up Delille's life journey in

antebellum New Orleans provided an understanding of the societal and cultural factors that influenced her philosophy of education.

The second area of the literature examined French and Spanish governance of antebellum New Orleans, which outlined the mandates that controlled the lives of enslaved Black people. The researcher explored the details of the French Code Noir (Garrigus, 1980) and the Spanish Las Siete Partidas (Proenza-Coles, 2008) and aligned them with the difficulties Delille endured when educating enslaved Black people. The legal mandates of the Code Noir and Las Siete Partidas were relevant because those laws allowed Delille to teach Black people, whether enslaved or free. The South is the third area of the topical literature review; this review addressed the antebellum period of America when the North and South had different views on the handling of education and slaves (Burton & Smith, 2011; Clegg, 2015). Therefore, it was important to understand the antebellum South and its influence on society and laws. Also, New Orleans is located in the South; understanding its relevance enhanced the understanding of antebellum New Orleans

The fourth and final topical literature review heading is privileges of Southern White people. Understanding the rights of White people in a White dominated society in antebellum New Orleans was essential to understanding why White imperialist leaders created laws and educational policies that governed the enslaved population. Furthermore, White privilege in the South presented a complete picture of Delille's White heritage and its privileges, in contrast to the disadvantages of her Black heritage in the Antebellum era. The researcher discusses the theoretical framework underlying the research purpose of this study in the next section.

The researcher of this study adopted DuBois' (1903) theory as the theoretical framework for this study. The theory framed this study because it addresses Delille's duality of self as a mixed-race woman in segregated antebellum New Orleans and as the dominant agent of Catholic

religion educating enslaved Black people. Additionally, the qualitative research case study approach was used to collect data for the two research questions posed. The researcher used secondary sources to collect data; neither interviews nor surveys could be employed as data collection tools because Delille, the Black enslaved population, and the imperialist leaders of White society in antebellum New Orleans are deceased.

The researcher of this study used qualitative research design because it inductively allows the researcher to understand the meaning and complexity of the phenomena under study (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). According to Merriam and Tisdell (2016), qualitative research design allows the researcher to understand how people make sense of their lives; it delineates the process of forming meanings and describes how people interpret their experiences. The strength of qualitative research is the researcher's ability to enhance the value and credibility of the phenomenon under investigation (Creswell, 2014; Patton, 2015). Moreover, qualitative research design is flexible and provides a holistic view of people in their natural settings or groups (Steven et al., 2016).

Reciprocally, the weakness of qualitative research design is that an inexperienced researcher may make inaccurate reports of the data or insufficient observations of important events (Patton, 2015). According to Berg and Lune (2012), weaknesses of the qualitative research design also include the need for specialized tools and techniques to analyze data, the analysis requirements for elusive data and stringent data, and the lack of statistical analysis to support the data collected. However, the qualitative research design was appropriate for this study because it clarified the what, how, when, where, and why of the research questions posed in this study. Also, the qualitative research design allowed the research of this study to explore the societal norms, characteristics, metaphors, symbols, and descriptions of Delille's life as a mixed-race female educator in antebellum New Orleans. While the qualitative research paradigm

provided a method of investigating Delille's philosophy of education, the explanatory case study method focused the research of this study on a specific time, place, and individual. The explanatory case study method is examined in the following section.

The researcher of this study used a qualitative case study to focus the research on Delille's life in the antebellum era of New Orleans. Baskarada (2014) defined the case study design as an opportunity to obtain a holistic view of the research problem. The researcher reviewed the three approaches to the case study methodology by Yin (2014), Merriam (2009), and Stake (1995), as well as the exploratory, explanatory, and descriptive case study designs. Resultantly, the researcher chose the explanatory case study method.

The advantages of an explanatory case study method are: explanations of the central phenomenon of the study; outlined research priorities; triangulation of the data; thick, rich descriptive data obtained from multiple data collection tools; and opportunities to discover information (Harder, 2010). The disadvantage of an explanatory case study method is the accurate analysis of large volumes of data (Yin, 2013). However, large amounts of date contribute to richer in-depth knowledge about the phenomenon under study (Berg & Lune, 2012; Harder, 2010).

Since the explanatory case study method can be used to explain causal relationships, it was chosen to illustrate Delille's philosophy of education as well as her contribution to education in New Orleans. The relationships under review were two: Delille's life as a quadroon and as an educator, and Delille's racial status and the social, political, and religious climate of antebellum New Orleans. The researcher applied the explanatory case method to this research study to deliver a focused study that answered the research questions without manipulation of Delille's behaviors and that provided a contextually relevant presentation of the phenomenon under investigation. The research for this study was completed in New Orleans.

Current day New Orleans is the 46th largest metropolitan city in the country with a population of 1.67 million people (New Orleans Population, 2018). New Orleans has a French and Spanish colonial history that promotes the practice of Roman Catholicism by 35.9% of the current population (New Orleans Population, 2018). The population consists of 60.2% Black people, 33% White people, 2.9% Asian people, and 5.3% Hispanic/Latino people (New Orleans Population, 2018).

This study took place in New Orleans because Delille's home and SSF convent, entire life, and her philosophy of education occurred in New Orleans. Furthermore, locations to collect data were located in New Orleans. Locations such as the Amistad Research Center, Le Musée de F.P.C, Tulane University, Loyola University, New Orleans Notarial Archives, and Orleans Parish libraries were open to the public. However, the SSF Motherhouse and the New Orleans Archdiocese required permission for entrance, and the researcher obtained the necessary approvals. The following sections discuss the participants and participant selections for this study.

Delille, enslaved Black people, and White members of the antebellum society of New Orleans are deceased. The historical nature and setting of the research in antebellum New Orleans between the years of 1813-1862 did not require a sampling procedure. Instead, historical documents such as birth records, records of enslaved Black people, marriage certificates, baptism certificates, diaries, and journals provided accounts of social, political, and religious life in the antebellum era. Thus, there were no living participants to observe in this study to determine a causal relationship between the research topic of study and statement of the purpose, which could directly answer the research questions. The researcher of this study discusses the ethics and permissions of this study in the following section.

Ethical issues and permissions examined in this study included fabrication, falsification, plagiarism, bias, and the IRB. First, triangulation by dates, primary documents, and secondary documents validated findings to avoid the fabrication of information. Second, the researcher avoided plagiarism by recognizing the works of other authors either by single or double quotations for direct quotes less than 40 words or block quotations for direct quotes of more than 40 words. Also, the cited direct quotes within parenthesis that include the authors, years, and page numbers. Moreover, the researcher cited paraphrased work of an author by citing the author's name and year of publication. APA (2010) guided how the original works of authors were cited in this research study.

Third, this study focused on mixed-race people and enslaved Black people as well as White people; these labels identified each racial group within the historical context of antebellum New Orleans. The researcher used Roberts' (2010) guide to eliminate bias in this study. Further, the researcher eliminated bias by using gender-neutral vocabulary, unbiased gender pronouns, identification of people by their race or ethnicity only when relevant to the historical context of the study, and refrainment from words presenting a generalized sentiment. Lastly, the research for this study was submitted to the University of West Florida IRB to confirm that this study did not use human participants for experimentation or who would need safeguards to protect participant welfare, privacy rights and, risk. Since there were no living human subjects or biological materials, the IRB approved this study for exemption. Once the researcher addressed necessary the ethics and permissions, the researcher addressed the sources of data.

The researcher of this study determined the range of data available through a cursory review of secondary sources, since secondary sources recount detailed information about specific events based on the perceptions of others. Secondary and tertiary sources were used to begin the data collection process. The researcher surveyed education handbooks, annual reviews of

education, encyclopedias, dictionaries, glossaries of terms, and summaries to find information on current issues in education. Triangulation provided a method for confirming the information obtained through secondary and tertiary sources.

The research protocols of instrumentation for interviews and observations did not apply to this research study because all of the participants were deceased. Therefore, the researcher of this study relied on primary and secondary data to recreate the social, political, and religious lives of Delille, enslaved Black people, and White antebellum society. Additionally, Creswell's (2012) data collection procedures guided the research for this study by allowing the researcher to perform the following ethical procedures: (a) identify documents that provided useful information to answer the research questions, (b) obtain permission to collect the documents, (c) examine collected documents for accuracy, completeness, and usefulness in answering the research questions, and (d) record information from those documents. The data collection procedures are outlined in the next section.

The protocols for data collection prior to collection, during collection, and after data collection are examined in this section. Prior to beginning the data collection, the working title *Delille and Her Emergence as an Educator of Enslaved Black People in Antebellum New Orleans* was developed. The researcher identified Louisiana, New Orleans, antebellum New Orleans, education, women, free people of color, slaves, enslaved Black people, enslaved African people, pre-Civil War, and slavery as the terms for a preliminary search of the data.

Subsequently, the study began with the following initial research question: What factors contributed to Delille's philosophy of education? However, after additional research and consultation, the question was developed into the following overarching research question developed in Chapter 1: What cultural and societal considerations led to Delille's philosophy of education? Ultimately, the researcher summarized the primary direction of this study through

primary words such as Delille, education, antebellum New Orleans. Finally, the utilized the John C. Pace Library to identify available resources through searching the keywords on the library computer. Any unavailable information was ordered through the UWF interlibrary loan service.

The data collection process occurred February 11th–22nd 2018 in New Orleans, Louisiana, to acquire preliminary, primary, and secondary sources of data. During the data collection process, the researcher completed daily searches through databases, historical archives, newspapers, journal articles, and photographic images. In addition, the visited Delille's gravesite, family home, the SSF, and the Orleans Ballroom for three consecutive days the week of February 11 between the hours of 8:00 a.m. and 1:00 p.m. The researcher visited university libraries, museums, and the New Orleans Archdiocese based on the position of each historic site relative to the previously mentioned locations between the hours of 1:00 p.m. and 6:00 p.m. Next, the researcher utilized articles posted on websites and blogs, Louisiana vital records, New Orleans newspapers, Educational Resources Information Center, and the United States Census records from 1810-1860 to understand the social, political, and religious climate of antebellum New Orleans.

The data collection process concluded on Friday, February 22, 2018, at noon in New Orleans. The researcher password-protected the scanned documents and images and then uploaded them to a USB and Cloud drive. Next, the researcher stored the hard copies of the data and images in a file cabinet secured by lock and key. The researcher was the sole holder of the key. When the researcher arrived home, the hard data and USB drive remained in the secured file cabinet until retrieval for data analysis.

The positionality of the researcher was reviewer and assessor of the data collected, since there were no living participants. The SSF was familiar to the researcher because her aunt served as a nun in the SSF several years after Delille's death. The researcher resided in Lake Charles,

Louisiana, and her ancestral lineage spanned from Lake Charles to New Orleans, Louisiana. Furthermore, the researcher's ancestral heritage in Louisiana influenced the data collection and analysis based on information presented by Guidry (1974):

- The researcher's paternal great-grandfather purchased himself for $800 and became a landowner during the antebellum era of Louisiana.
- The researcher's great-grandparents were indentured slaves or enslaved.
- The researcher's paternal grandfather was a free mulatto or Free Person of Color.

Additionally, Sister Mary Gabriella Guidry (1974) of the SSF wrote an autobiography that detailed her life as a member of the SSF. Sister Mary Gabriella Guidry did not influence any information about Delille because Delille was deceased before she entered the SSF. Also, before this study commenced, Sister Mary Gabriella Guidry died in 2003 ("Sisters of the Holy Family," 2016). Therefore, the researcher of this study never exchanged information about the SSF with Sister Mary Gabriella. Next, the researcher of this study discusses trustworthiness and rigor.

The researcher of this study explained trustworthiness through the concepts of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. Trustworthiness determines whether the research was obtained from a viable source with integrity because the audience expects trustworthiness from the researcher (Polkinghorne, 2005). The researcher of this study was solely responsible for assuring the data collected was ethical and trustworthy by assessing the credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability of the data collected.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) stated that credibility is the best way to establish trustworthiness. The data collected for this study included primary and secondary sources; therefore, triangulation ensured the data were credible from three different sources of data. According to Shenton (2004), transferability of the data occurs when the data apply to other situations and populations. The data in this study are transferable because future researchers can

use the data collected in this study to understand the demographics, economics, and social structure of antebellum New Orleans.

Dependability occurs when the data collected repetitiously yield the same results (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Shenton, 2004). Hence, the research design, data collection, and triangulation used in this research demonstrated the dependability of the research gathered by the researcher of this study. Lastly, confirmability ensures that the results of the findings and experiences of the participants are factual and that they are not reliant on the characterization and preferences of the researcher (Shenton, 2004). To accomplish confirmability, the researcher of this study disclosed vital information such as the researcher's familial relationship with Sister Mary Gabriella Guidry to reduce any perceptions of bias. The next section explores the data analysis techniques used in this study.

Davenport and Prusak (1998) defined qualitative data analysis as the management of knowledge that first transforms data into information and later transforms the information into knowledge; and the knowledge is then driven by wisdom. The researcher of this study organized the data for analysis first by category, then by chronological order; the organization was reviewed repeatedly, and data were coded continually. Segregating, grouping, regrouping, and relinking information to consolidate meaning were used to codify the codes and explanations of the data as outlined by Saldana (2009).

The researcher of this study utilized the six steps of analyzing qualitative data developed by Creswell (2012) as follows:

- Collected data were pre-coded by scanning keywords, table of contents, and secondary publication.
- The data were read to obtain an overall understanding of the information collected.

- The data were then uploaded to the PDF 3 Pro application for annotation, markup, and highlighting with a digital pen.
- The data were separated and uploaded into individual folders: Laws for Free People of Color, Race, Antebellum New Orleans, Southern public education, and The Catholic Church.
- Initial codes were identified and then transferred to an Excel spreadsheet to determine the final codes.
- The researcher of this study secured the hard copies of the data collected in a locked file cabinet, and the USB and Cloud drives were password-protected.

Subsequently, the researcher discusses the data analysis and results of this study.

The five major findings from the emergent themes developed in the data collection process are as follows: (a) the racialization of the Black population, (b) the politics of educating the enslaved, (c) the educative imperative Code Noir, (d) education, segregation, and unmerited privilege, and (e) education beyond racism. The following subheadings summarize each emergent theme. The researcher of this study discusses the analysis of findings under each emergent theme in the following sections.

The White-dominated imperialist society supported racialization through their influence on the social, political, religious, and legal rights of enslaved Black people in antebellum New Orleans (Ruef, 2014). Black people were racialized based on their biological markers and color of their skin (Mikkelsen & Kant, 2013). Consequently, Black people were shunned and excluded from fundamental human rights, including education (Gittens, 2002; Rogers, 2013; Pinkney, 2016). White society of this era also utilized skin color to visibly support their superiority and justification for the idea of Black people's inferiority (Palmer, 2006; Sio, 1965). Slavery further

perpetuated this idea of White privilege and dominance, and thus created a rationale for segregation (Sumpter, 2008).

Enslavement of Black people forced them into an existence of bondage that separated them from culture, personal ambition, familial relationships, and education without any legal protections (Dierksheide, 2014). However, slave codes such as the French Code Noir (Garrigus, 1980) and the Spanish Las Siete Partidas (Proenza-Coles, 2008) provided White society with legal instructions for the handling the enslaved Black community. Conversely, free Black people were allowed fundamental human rights and liberties due to the White part of their ancestry (Desdunes, 2001; Dunbar-Nelson, 1916; Everett, 1966). Delille's free woman of color status allowed her to see the atrocities of slavery as well as the mistreatment of the Black side of her ancestry (Detiege, 1976), which appears to have been part of the foundation for her philosophy of education.

With racialization came the politics that guided the treatment of enslaved Black people. White imperialist leaders knew that the best way to maintain control of a people is to limit their access to education, and this is what the politics of antebellum New Orleans prescribed for the Black population (Blokker, 2012). Commerce and power were the controlling factors of wealthy plantation owners; therefore, ignorance meant stability and flexibility (Burton & Smith, 2011). Owners of enslaved Black people opposed the idea of their education (Boselovic, 2015). Public schools designed for White students excluded Black students from participating in the public school system and discouraged Black parents from initiating private schooling for their children (Batchelor, 2015). Many Southern legislators supported laws to make the education of enslaved Black people illegal because they feared their education would support insurrections and instability on the plantations (Kammerer, 2017; Logan, 2008).

The wealthy plantation owners of the antebellum White society fought the availability of public education to Black people whether enslaved or free because education would lead to insurrections (Brayboy et al., 2007). Wealthy plantation owners knew that insurrections would compromise the relationship between enslaved Black people and themselves, so the education of enslaved Black people was made illegal (Adams, 2011; Brayboy et al., 2007; Hart, 1976). However, the French people were more concerned with the evangelization of slave souls and the perpetuation of the Catholic faith (Davis, 1986); therefore, King XIV enacted the Code Noir (Garrigus, 1980).

Clergy attempted to encourage the education of enslaved Black people by promoting the idea that if enslaved Black people could read, then they would also be able to read the Bible and subsequently convert other enslaved Black people to Christianity (Gittens, 2002). Therefore, the Catholic Church offered Christian education of Black people without comprising the superiority and authority presumably enjoyed by the owners of enslaved Black people (Glynn, 2011; Gittens, 2002). Since Delille was a Catholic nun who committed her life to the Catholic faith (Davis, 2004; Fichter, 1992), the Catholic Church mandates appeared to have further influenced her philosophy of educating enslaved Black people of antebellum New Orleans.

Article II of the Code Noir mandated for all enslaved Black people an education in the Catholic religion (Marylander, 1847). Based on the laws outlined in the Code Noir, the government viewed enslaved Black people as property and profit (Garrigus, 1980). Since plantation owners were not able to escape the mandate without penalty, they had to work with the Catholic Church to comply (Gittens, 2002). Catholic leadership deployed laity and clergy to assist with accomplishing the goals of the Code Noir mandate; however, there were an insufficient number of human resources in the Catholic Church (Davis, 1986). Delille utilized

this lack of human resources in the Catholic Church to gain access to enslaved Black people and educate them (Fichter, 1992; Gould, 2004, 2012; Kaplan-Levenson, 2016).

Delille was exposed to the abhorrent treatment of Black people and used their condition as a foundation for her commitment to their education (Fichter, 1992; Hart, 1976). She decided to become a Catholic religious, refute her White privilege, and work diligently to help the enslaved Black population (Fichter, 1992; Gould, 2004; "Henriette Delille," 2001). By doing so she had to endure the racial segregation of the Catholic Church of New Orleans and their disallowance of her entry into the Ursuline or Carmelite convents, as well as the limitations of her mixed-race status (Gould, 2004). However, these obstacles only drove her desire and commitment to serve the enslaved population through education (Davis, 2002; Detiege, 1976). Delille was able to form a Catholic religious association, which later became confirmed by the Catholic Church, to accomplish her mission to educate enslaved Black people (Davis, 2004; Hart, 1976).

Delille used her Catholic religious association to enhance her ability to educate enslaved Black people (Davis, 2004; "Sisters of the Holy Family," 2016). Delille's co-founding of the SSF became the vehicle she used, under the laws of the Code Noir, to educate enslaved Black people in the antebellum era (Fessenden, 2000; Porche-Frilot, 2005). After Delille's death, the SSF continued her contributions to education by opening over 50 schools (Appendix C) across the United States, New Orleans, and British Honduras (Brett, 2012). Although Delille's focus was on Black people during her lifetime, schools formed by the SSF later allowed all races to access the education they provide ("Sisters of the Holy Family," 2016).

Conclusions

The first conclusion the data support is limited access to education for enslaved Black people during the antebellum era of New Orleans. Enslaved Black people had limited access to

education because of the legal mandates of the Code Noir executed by the White imperialist government (Blokker, 2012; Garrigus, 1980). The Code Noir perpetuated White privilege and the racial segregation that became the impetus for inhumane treatment (e.g., bondage or control of the Black population) of the enslaved or mixed-race people of antebellum New Orleans (Burton & Smith, 2011).

Secondly, the researcher concluded that mixed-race people were neither White nor Black but were in the middle of the oppressor and the oppressed (Desdunes, 2001; Dunbar-Nelson, 1916). The fair skin of most mixed-race people allowed them access to White privileges, real estate, businesses, legal protections, and education (Davis, 2004; Foner, 1970). Some mixed-race people did not want to compromise their White privileges and so avoided any conflicts or association with enslaved Black people (LaChance, 1996). Moreover, mixed-race people either owned enslaved Black people for labor or purchased enslaved members of their family (Davis, 2004; LaChance, 1996). Whether they helped the enslaved population or not, mixed-race people took advantage of their classical educational opportunities to strengthen their societal positions in the White-dominated society of antebellum New Orleans (Desdunes, 2001; Dunbar-Nelson, 1916; Everett, 1966).

Conversely, the mixed-race people in the antebellum era were beneficiaries of either their Black ancestry or their White ancestry and were forced to serve either their oppressors or the oppressed (Dunbar-Nelson, 1916). Biko (1981) explained the issues mixed-race people faced by suggesting that,

> The Black man in a warped social, economic and political structure sees himself as inferior, for all injustices are imposed on him as a result of his Blackness. The White man on the other hand was within a structure where all legislature and forces were at his disposal. (p. 48)

For example, a group of mixed-race females shared with Fanon (2008) that, “it is not that we deny Black people have good qualities, but you know it is so much better to be White” (p. 33). These statements from both Biko (1981) and Fanon (2008) are essential to understanding the social environment Delille operated in between the Black and White races of segregated antebellum New Orleans. Consequently, DuBois’ (1903) theory of double consciousness best framed this study because it provides insight into the duality of operating in a White society as a mixed-race person who was neither an enslaved Black person nor a free White person.

The third conclusion the data support is that Delille not only lived as a mixed-race woman but also lived as a working member of the Catholic Church and educator (Davis, 2004; Davis et al., 1997). Delille was a mixed-race woman who was permitted to educate free Black girls but was prohibited from teaching enslaved Black people (Davis, 2004). Although Delille was a member of the Catholic Church, she was not allowed to be a Catholic nun because of her mixed-race (Fichter, 1992; Gould, 2004). Delille was neither entirely free nor enslaved as a mixed-race woman; therefore, she was forced to operate in both aspects of her racial status when encountering either White society or the enslaved Black community (“Henriette Delille,” 2001). Ultimately, Delille decided to use the freedoms of her fair complexion and mixed-race status to educate enslaved Black people (Davis, 2004). Since Delille’s family was opposed to her becoming a Catholic nun and mingling with enslaved Black people, she lost all of her wealth and eventually some of her White privileges (Davis, 2004). Delille’s sacrifices began a legacy of education that prevails today through the direction, efforts, and commitment of the SSF (“Sisters of the Holy Family,” 2016).

The fourth conclusion supported by the data is society’s dependence on the availability of education and educational resources (Brayboy et al., 2007). Race was identified as one determining factor that dictates whether education or educational resources are allowed or not

(Batchelor, 2015). Political agendas were also identified as factors used to create the politics of a society that can empower one group with education while oppressing another group by denying them access to quality education (Bonilla-Silva, 2006). Unless there are legal mandates that override special privileges, interests, and plans, there will always be groups of persons excluded from the education and educational resources that could improve their social standing (Feagin, 2010).

The researcher of this study believes that it only takes one person with a vision to understand his or her place in society and utilize the political and legal resources available to initiate change. Delille initiated change within a segregated society in which she was a member of both the free White population and the oppressed Black population ("Henriette Delille," 2001). Delille utilized the advantages of her mixed-race status to advance her mission of educating enslaved Black people in antebellum New Orleans. For example, in 1850, Delille's mixed-racial status allowed her an opportunity to open a small boarding school at the SSF's convent on Bayou Road (Davis, 2004; Gould, 2012). Likewise, Delille earned an education at the St. Claude School for Free Women of Color, which enabled her to teach other free women of color as well as perform the Catholic Church mandates of the Code Noir (Walker, 1996). Therefore, Delille's mixed-racial status was essential to her ability to navigate antebellum society and the Catholic Church to educate enslaved Black people.

Interpretation of Findings

The data collected for this study provide multiple interpretations of the cultural and societal considerations that led to Delille's philosophy of education as well as her contributions to the education of Black people in New Orleans. First, culturally Delille was a free woman of color born into the antebellum culture of New Orleans (Davis, 2004; Gould, 2012). The antebellum society of New Orleans led by imperialist White leaders supported a culture of racial

segregation based on a three-tiered racial caste system that consisted of White, Black, and Mixed-Race people (Foner, 1970). Therefore, the culture of racialization of the citizens of antebellum New Orleans society was an essential consideration for Delille as she developed her philosophy of education, which included the education of enslaved Black people. According to Porche-Frilot (2005), Delille utilized her assimilation into the privileges of White society based on her mixed-race status to provide education to enslaved Black people although it was denied to them by antebellum White society. Therefore, understanding the impact of racialization based on gradations of skin color as defined by Mikkelsen and Kant (2013) provides insight into the effect of race on Delille's ability to educate enslaved Black people. Thus, racialization formed one aspect of her educational philosophy.

Second, the societal structure of antebellum New Orleans included wealthy White plantation owners, poor White farmers, Free People of Color, and enslaved Black people (Burton & Smith, 2011; Clegg, 2015). Unfortunately, racialization also infiltrated the societal structure, which the researcher of this study surmised resulted in a social caste system as well. According to the data collected for this study, enslaved Black people had no rights to property or to their person and were deemed to be less than human (Marylander, 1847). Therefore, education to keep them in total subjection to their wealthy owners, enslaved Black people were denied formal education when White leaders developed a public school system in antebellum New Orleans (Goldenberg, 2017). Although Delille had a right to receive formal education, she was not legally allowed to provide education to enslaved Black persons (Freedman, 1999; Porche-Frilot, 2005). Consequently, racialization influenced Delille's philosophy of education and the societal identification of enslaved Black people as less than human. Therefore, Delille was motivated by the social structure of antebellum New Orleans to provide education to enslaved Black people to

improve their place in society and to help antebellum White society see them as humans deserving of education.

Third, the Code Noir was a legal mandate that governed Louisiana (Garrigus, 1980). One of the commissions of the Code Noir was the education of enslaved Black people in the Catholic religion to free them from the heathenistic ways they inherited from their African homeland (Fergus, 2013). The researcher of this study determined that the data collected for this study did not confirm any objective data regarding heathenism among the enslaved Black population. However, the researcher of this study believes the French government used this term to perpetuate the idea that enslaved Black people needed to be domesticated and freed of their perceived animalistic tendencies, which was a perception perpetuated by White society. Resultantly, the data show that the owners of enslaved Black people and the Catholic Church were forced to provide Catechism to enslaved Black people (Gould, 2004). Since Delille was a member of the Catholic Church and desired the position of Catholic nun, Delille utilized the mandates of the Code Noir to provide education to enslaved Black people legally (Davis, 2004; Detiege, 1976). Therefore, the researcher of this study also identified the educative imperative of the Code Noir as a social and cultural consideration that influenced Delille's philosophy of education.

Additionally, the data collected for this study provide interpretations regarding Delille's contributions to education in New Orleans. Based on the data in this study, the researcher determined that public education, racial segregation, and the unmerited privilege of antebellum White society allowed Delille to contribute to the education of Black people. The researcher of this study believes the public school system was a reflection of the three-tiered racial caste system that provided wealthy White people unlimited access to public and private education, limited access to poor White planters, and prohibited access to enslaved Black people

(Alexander, 18988; Banton, 1977; Noltemeyer et al., 2012). Since Delille was a Free Person of Color she was able to receive the same access to education based on her White ancestry; however, she decided to contribute to the education of enslaved Black people (Gould, 2012; Porche-Frilot, 2005).

Moreover, according to the data collected, Delille was able to contribute to education through the co-founding of the SSF, which allowed her to provide education to enslaved Black people through the legal mandates of the Code Noir as a Catholic parishioner (Davis, 1986; Fichter, 1992; Hart, 1976). Delille used her SSF Catholic affiliation to provide rudimentary education to enslaved Black people under cover of darkness at her home on Bayou Road supplementing the legal Catholic catechism Delille provided during the day (Porche-Frilot, 2005). Resultantly, the researcher of this study contends that Delille battled the racial segregation of enslaved Black people, developed by White imperialist leaders and supported by the Code Noir and White privilege, to contribute to the education of Black people in antebellum New Orleans.

The researcher of this study also found that Delille's contributions did not end when she died but continued through the efforts of the SSF (Davis, 2004). The data support the continuation of Delille's contributions to education through the SSF. For example, Brett (2012) researched the education missions of the SSF at the Garifuna of Belize. Sister Mary Gabriella Guidry (1974) recounted the educational missions of the SSF in British Honduras and Texas, as well as the schools founded by the Sisters of the Holy Family (2016) still in existence today. The researcher of this study believes that racialization, segregation, and White privilege limited Delille's contributions to education during the antebellum era. However, Delille laid the foundation of a philosophy of education that not only benefitted Black people of the antebellum era but now extends beyond the borders of the United States and includes all students who are

willing to learn. Moreover, the researcher of this study believes Delille's contributions to education through the teaching of enslaved Black people prepared some enslaved Black people to survive and thrive during Reconstruction; that success continued in private schools established by the SSF after Delille's death and continues now in the present day public school system.

Scholars reviewing the findings by the researcher of this study may find that the societal and cultural issues of racialization and segregation that prevailed in antebellum society are still prevalent today. McIntosh (2015) has found a correlation between White privilege and disparities in education for Black students. Current day public schools in White-centered neighborhoods are more likely to have the necessary educational resources, qualified teachers, and facilities that promote academic success, while schools in Black-centered neighborhoods are the opposite (Alonso et al., 2009; Burt et al., 2013). The researcher of this study does not believe that the disparities found in Black-centered schools today are necessarily intentional but instead are the residual results of ideas grounded in the racialization and segregation from the antebellum era. Therefore, the societal and cultural considerations that influenced Delille's philosophy of education are conducive to understanding the educational disparities of education for Black students today when applied to contemporary issues in education for Black students.

Implications

The researcher's discoveries from the findings in this study allowed the researcher to present an answer to both research questions that examined Delille's philosophy of education as well as her contributions. These findings have implications for theory, policy, and practice in education. The implications present an opportunity to address how the research may guide or improve current educational policies and procedures for Black students in schools today.

The reasons this study adds to the scholarly research about Delille are that it provides additional information about her contribution to the education of enslaved Black people and

expands research on racialization and the impact of White privilege on the education of Black students. Prior research studies (e.g., Byron, 2008; Massey, 1991) discussed the use of religion to provide education to Black students, but the education presented to students in these studies focused on catechism, not liberal arts.

The prior studies discussed utilizing hymns, musical instruments, and memorization to present faith-based ideals to Black students. Consequently, the issues that warranted this type of limited education were not researched in the historical context of antebellum New Orleans or Delille. This is evident in the studies of Walker (1996), Massey (1991), Byron (2008), and Williams (2002). Walker (1996) completed a historical study on Black laymen who evangelized and religiously educated Black people in the 19th century. Massey (1991) studied the provision of Christian education through the Southern Baptist church. Byron (2008) examined the development of religious instruction and the impact on enslaved Black people during the height of catechism between the years of 1820-1860. Williams (2002) examined Black students' motivation for acquiring education as well as the educational strategies utilized for educational resources.

Conversely, the review of literature for this study was not limited to the education of Black people through Catholic catechism but also included research on the educational environment of antebellum New Orleans. Research on the educational environment of antebellum New Orleans included the reasons that education was denied to Black people and the relationship between racialization and the education of enslaved Black people. This study also exposed the social and political ideals that compromised opportunities for education to Black people in antebellum New Orleans and continue to do so today New Orleans. To date no contradictions have emerged because this study focused on answering the questions about Delille, her life in antebellum New Orleans, and the examination of her philosophy of education

and contributions. The prior research studies did not address Delille. The findings from this study have special importance because they focus on education in antebellum New Orleans and Delille's role in providing educational opportunities to enslaved Black people.

This study may improve policies or decision making for dealing with racial diversity in the classroom, school climate, and equitable funding. Enslaved Black people in antebellum New Orleans were not provided an opportunity to receive education based on the color of their skin and laws against teaching them. Black students are now legally able to receive education but are at times not provided with a curriculum that addresses their cultural needs. For example, the educational system often reproduces the culture and values of the White middle class (Bordieu, 1986). Horn (2015) provided an example of the influence of White middle class culture in the classroom when she stated,

> Many teachers tend toward the middle class style of suggesting a transition ('Would you like to join us on the rug?') rather than directing it ('Please come to the rug now'). If you are used to the latter, the former can be understandably ambiguous and confusing.

Therefore, policies should be established to assess the prevailing culture and values of classrooms based on their racial and cultural makeup. This policy could be enforced through a questionnaire developed by a collaborative effort between parents and the school board. The school board would determine how often this checkup should occur during the school year.

A curriculum that is biased toward a White perspective does not break down the cultural and racial barriers that hinder Black student achievement (Anderson, 1988; Keisch & Scott, 2015). The hinderances to Black student achievement can be addressed to break down cultural and racial barriers immediately is the revision of school textbooks and educational materials policies. All current textbooks and educational materials (e.g., software, reading materials, or books) should be reviewed for diversity, inclusion, and accessibility as follows:

- The state board of education and superintendents collectively review the current textbooks and educational materials policies and develop the criteria for diversity in textbooks that are used by the school systems within the state.
- All textbooks and educational materials used throughout the state are then submitted for review.
- Committees consisting of teachers, principals, parents, and business leaders of diverse academic tenure, gender, and ethnicities review the textbooks and educational materials submissions.
- A rubric representative of state and district grade level diversity and inclusion expectations and standards is then developed to evaluate the level of diversity in each textbook and educational resource. This task is then divided among the committee members.
- In the first round of reviews, textbooks and educational resources that don't fit the criteria are omitted. The next round of eliminations involves the state board of education and the superintendents. Lastly, the books that meet the criteria are chosen and submitted to parents for review, final recommendations, and comments.
- Finally, the superintendent makes a decision on the final recommendations.
- The textbooks and educational resources not eliminated are then reordered, and publishers are solicited for any additional textbooks and educational resources that meet the criteria.
- The new textbooks and resources submitted by publishers are reviewed according to the rubric and chosen if they meet the criteria. If the criteria are not met other sources are researched and the process resumes.

- Once the final selection occurs, the textbooks are ordered, and teachers are trained on how to use them in the classroom.
- Principals complete a quarterly follow up to confirm compliance and use of the textbooks and educational resources.
- Teacher service days are used to continue education in diversity and inclusion in the classroom (Anderson, 1988; Keisch & Scott, 2015).

As a result, teachers will have the tools necessary to support curricula, lesson plans, and classroom activities that promote inclusion. Tools for teachers include but are not limited to training and support in developing inclusive lesson plans, student textbooks and teacher guides that support inclusion, language software that includes diverse cultural information, educational resources such as books, puzzles, art, and music, and computer labs with Internet access that allow teachers to partner with other teachers around the world through live streaming.

School climate policies should be addressed by the public school system. Today, classrooms include minority populations who may not be represented in school board policies, or curricula. Therefore, policies to address the diverse populations who fill the halls of schools should be developed. The principal could work with faculty and staff to develop policies that assure students are represented by images around the school and in textbooks, classroom activities, and educational resources. In addition, resources such as counselors and social workers should be made available to address the needs of all students. The collective involvement of counselor and social workers is important because in this study it was revealed that the needs of Black students have historically been ignored due to White privilege (McIntosh, 2014, 2015) Therefore, policies that address the issues Black students have experienced can be expanded to consider any students with racial, cultural, religious, and sexual orientation differences to promote inclusion.

Finally, policies to minimize the impact of White privilege in the classroom should be developed. White privilege was pervasive in antebellum New Orleans and remains prevalent today in some schools and classrooms (McIntosh, 2014). According to Burt et al. (2013), the results are negative attitudes by White teachers, low expectations of Black student achievement, and compromised opportunities for equitable quality education for Black students. A policy should be developed that requires continuing education on White privilege, what it means, and its impact on students, staff, and faculty; furthermore, penalties should exist for violating educational opportunities due to the practice of White privilege behaviors after receiving training. To check the impact of the training, students could be surveyed anonymously about their perceptions. The survey results could then be used for continuing education and proactive remedies that will promote an inclusive school environment.

Implications for practice also include the perceptions of privilege demonstrated by teachers, which can have a negative impact on the overall classroom environment. Teachers should develop a classroom mantra that encourages inclusion and rejects privilege; this mantra could be recited each day. Throughout the school year the teacher could provide activities that support and encourage inclusion, such as poetry contests, spelling bees with terms that reinforce inclusion and support diversity, song contests, or a contest of social media-marketing ads or memes. Next, teachers should include parents in classroom initiatives through written or electronic communications. Parents and their students could also come to class and share their culture and customs to dispel ideas of privilege and promote the importance of every student's diverse life experiences. Finally, teachers, could practice assessing their classroom populations by completing a questionnaire that includes the following questions:

(a) What is the social and economic makeup of the classroom?

(b) What cultures are represented in the classroom?

(c) Do the lesson plans and resources reflect the student population in the classroom?

(d) Are the classroom activities presented in a manner that promotes inclusion?

During the antebellum era of New Orleans, laws were enacted that supported division and segregation based on the racialization of the Black population. The implications of this practice diminished the opportunities available to Black people during that era and extended into modern times as well. The findings from this study expand the knowledge of the impact this has on society, students, teachers, and classroom effectiveness. With knowledge and understanding, teachers in conjunction with parents, students, and their communities can rise above division and promote inclusion that embraces the diversity of student populations.

Suggestions for Future Research

This study explored the factors that influenced the educational philosophy of Delille in antebellum New Orleans as well as her contributions to education through the theoretical framework of W. E. B. DuBois' (1903) theory of double consciousness. Suggestions for future research emerged according to the data collected in this study and the previous research completed by Davis (2002, 2004), Detiege (1976), Fessenden (2000), Fichter (1992), Gould (2004, 2012), and Hart (1976). In this section, the researcher of this study provides suggestions for future research.

First, Porche-Frilot (2005) discussed the literacy practices of Delille, and Moss (2009) addressed antebellum education; however, neither author addressed the development of public school curricula during the antebellum era. The researcher of this study did not explore curricula developed for antebellum public schools or the influence of antebellum curricula on current public education. Therefore, future research on antebellum school curricula will inform the current literature and provide additional information on the genesis of current curricula used in New Orleans public schools.

Second, Marylander (1847) outlined the Catholic catechism mandates of the Code Noir for enslaved Black people. However, the data collected by the researcher of this study do not include information on how Black people viewed Catholic catechism after being freed or how Catholic catechism assisted in the assimilation of Black people into White antebellum society. Therefore, future research will provide insight into how newly freed Black people compensated for a literacy that was limited to Catholic catechism while expanding the history of Catholic catechism and education in the antebellum South.

Third, according to Brett (2012), Porche-Frilot (2005), and Sisters of the Holy Family (2016), the SSF opened schools in California, Texas, Louisiana, and Belize. However, the researcher of this study limited this case study to antebellum New Orleans. Consequently, future research on why the SSF expanded their educational influence on other states and countries would add to the depth and breadth of the contributions to education made by the SSF and Delille.

Fourth, children born to parents of plaçag*e* unions during the antebellum period of New Orleans received high-quality educational opportunities that included liberal arts, music, and foreign languages (Bello, 2017; Boselovic, 2015; Dunbar-Nelson, 1916). The researcher of this study limited the study to the education of enslaved Black people by Delille. However, future research on the antebellum education of free people of color in New Orleans will expand research on how education for Black people changed during Reconstruction.

This study focused on Delille and the factors that influenced her philosophy of education. Consequently, the researcher of this study found that the education provided to the three-tiered racial class of antebellum New Orleans differed based on race and socioeconomic status. Therefore, future research on antebellum public school curricula, Catholic catechism, schools developed by the SSF, the education for free people of color, and the impact on current

educational philosophies will expand the information available on the historical significance of the education received by enslaved and free Black people of antebellum New Orleans.

Limitations and Reflexivity

The case study research design was appropriate for this study. However, interviewing individuals who lived in the antebellum era would have been beneficial to the research in understanding the impetus for the educational endeavors of Delille. Furthermore, interviewing persons who lived in the antebellum era, regardless of race or religious affiliation would have added to the depth and breadth of understanding the varying perspectives of antebellum society and citizens.

Limitations of the case study design included arduous data collection, difficulty in cross-checking information for reliability, absence of definite structures and protocols, and varying case study designs (Yazan, 2015). Although data collection for this study was time consuming, the researcher of this study overcame this limitation by scheduling the dates, times, and locations for data collection. Moreover, the reliability of the data collection was addressed by triangulating the data collected. For example, Delille's association with the SSF was confirmed through the historical records of the SSF ("Sisters of the Holy Family," 2016), the New Orleans Archdiocese records, and the Notarial Archives of New Orleans. Moreover, to overcome the limitations of defined structures and protocols and varying case designs, the researcher of this study used the explanatory case study design presented by Yin (2014) and the protocols outlined by Creswell (2012). In addition to case study limitations, the research of this study addressed limitations in the focus of this study.

An additional limitation of this study was that it focused on Delille's philosophy of education. The antebellum era was segregated by race, which resulted in education for White people and the denial of education to Black people (Blokker, 2012; Brown, 1952; Freedman,

1999). Therefore, it is possible that White society and Free People of Color may have had philosophies that differed from Delille's educational philosophy. Furthermore, the researcher of this study focused on enslaved Black people in antebellum New Orleans. Since enslaved Black people were not allowed to read or write during the antebellum era (Clegg, 2015), the data collected for this study were limited to historical recreations of their condition. Therefore, firsthand knowledge of the educational experiences of enslaved Black people was not included in this study.

Conversely, another limitation is the potential for bias or misrepresentation of the data. This limitation is due to a familial relationship between the researcher of this study and a deceased member of the SSF. This limitation was overcome by providing full disclosure of the familial relationship. Additionally, the researcher of this study has no vested interest in the SSF or any of its current members.

As a person and a scholar, the researcher of this study learned that there are no clear-cut answers to any problems that are posed in society. People of diverse cultures, ethnicities, and religious beliefs are impacted by political and societal issues every day. Our individual and collective life journeys contribute to the history of our country and the people we encounter each day. Since our life experiences are voluminous, it is impossible to collect all of the pieces to create a complete life story. Furthermore, when completing research, personal feelings, preconceived notions, political biases, prejudices, and judgments have no place in objectively reporting findings. If a researcher cannot enter the research process without preconceived ideas about the data, then the entire study is compromised.

As a writer and scholar, the researcher of this study learned that openness to different interpretations and understandings of theories is necessary. Theories can change over time as the thinking of the population changes; therefore, it is important to acknowledge the initial

presentation of the theory. It is also important to understand that it is not limited to one issue. There can be many applications for one theory in a variety of disciplines. The researcher of this study also learned that researchers cannot allow the theory to drive the data collected. The purpose of research is to enlighten and inform, not prove or disprove a theory in a qualitative study. Moreover, the researcher of this study learned that research is important.

Society cannot take the pursuit of knowledge for granted because it expands our thought processes and compels us to be compassionate and empathetic towards people with differing views and life experiences. With the invention of the Internet and the increased potential for misinformation, it is more important now than ever for researchers to responsibly inform the population with factual, unbiased information and to dispel any misinformation about social, political, and cultural constructs that may have been presented erroneously. It is also the responsibility of the researcher to investigate issues that need to be addressed and are part of the researcher's field of study. The researcher of this study believes that researchers should be participants in societal change by sharing research that expands our knowledge of the world and the people who live in it

Chapter Summary

This chapter presented the summary and major findings, conclusions, interpretation of findings, implications, suggestions for future research, as well as the limitations and reflexivity of this study. The background and contextualization of this study included the research questions, the problem and purpose statements, and the significance of the research included in Chapter 1. A summary of the literature and DuBois' (1903) theory of double consciousness as the theoretical framework of this study was also included.

The qualitative research design and the case study method used in this study was summarized; the summary included information about New Orleans as the site selected and

about the limitations of gathering primary documents about the deceased participants. Ethical issues and permissions were summarized, and how trustworthiness was accomplished through credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability was explained. Data sources and data collection procedures summarized the data collection steps taken prior to data collection, during data collection, and after data collection. The researcher positionality as a reviewer and assessor was discussed as well as the familial relationship between the researcher of this study and a Sister of the SSF. Limitations of the study and the use of coding as a data analysis technique were also included in the summary and findings of this study.

Conclusions of this study include the factors that influenced Delille's philosophy of education in antebellum New Orleans, such as the Code Noir, mixed-race people in antebellum New Orleans, Delille as a member of the Catholic Church, and society's dependence on education. First, the mandates of the Code Noir limited the education of enslaved Black people to Catholic catechism (Blokker, 2012; Garrigus, 1980). Second, mixed-race people such as Delille were able to utilize the legal protections of their White privilege to navigate antebellum New Orleans social and political structures (Desdunes, 2001; Dunbar-Nelson, 1916; Foner, 1970; Gould, 2012). Third, Delille's affiliation with the Catholic Church as a member and educator influenced her philosophy of education as well as her ability to provide education to enslaved Black people (Davis, 2004; Gould, 2004; "Henriette Delille," 2001). Fourth, society's dependence on the availability of educational resources, race, politics, and legal mandates were also factors considered in this study (Batchelor, 2015; Feagin, 2010).

The implications of this study, specifically racialization in public schools, can be used to refine educational theories about race in the classroom, develop practices that support diversity and inclusion, and improve diversity policies that hold school leaders accountable for the diversity and inclusion of their schools. Suggestions for future research include ideas to provoke

the continued expansion of the issues concerning education today. This study is significant to understanding how biases, societal issues, political agendas, and religious presence can impact communities. The limitations of this study include case study methodology and the potential for researcher bias.

The data collected in this research study expand scholarship on the influence of race and segregation on the education of Black students as well as the genesis for racialization and White privilege that is common in public school classrooms today. Moreover, this study explored education through the eyes of a mixed-race educator during an antebellum period of heightened racialization and exclusion. Current studies discuss White teachers and White privilege in classrooms, but there is limited research on biracial teachers and the impact of their racial identity on students. Therefore, data from this study about Delille can be transferred to continue research on biracial educators. Continued research of education is important because as Alexander (1888) stated, “we are all one common family, with nothing but the development of the mind through the channel of education to raise one man, or one people, above another” (p. 7).

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Appendices

Appendix A: The Civil Code of Louisiana

I. THE CIVIL CODE OF LOUISIANA. *Promulgated June 20, 1825.*

DEFINITIONS, &c.

ART. 35. A slave is one who is in the power of a master to whom he belongs. The master may sell him, dispose of his person, his industry, and his labor; he can do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire anything, but what must belong to his master.

ART. 38. Freemen are those who have preserved their natural liberty – that is to say, who have the right of doing whatever is not forbidden by law.

ART. 95. Free persons and slaves are incapable of contracting marriage together; the celebration of such marriages is forbidden, and the marriage is void. There is the same incapacity and the same nullity with respect to marriages contracted by free white persons with free people of color.

ART. 155. There are in this State two classes of servants, to wit: the free servants and the slaves.

ART. 156. Free servants are, in general, all free persons who let, hire, or engage their services to another to be employed at any work, commerce, or occupation whatever, for the benefit of him who has contracted with them, or a certain price or retribution, or upon certain conditions.

ART. 157. There are three kinds of free servants in this State, to wit:
1. Those who only hire out their services by the day, week, month, or year, in consideration of certain wages.
2. Those who engage to serve for a fixed time for a certain consideration, and who are therefore considered, not as having hired out, but as having sold their services.
3. Apprentices – that is, those who engaged to serve any one, in order to learn some art, trade, or profession.

OF SLAVES, &c.

ART. 172. The rules prescribing the police and conduct to be observed with respect to slaves in this State, and the punishment of their crimes and offences, are fixed by special laws of the Legislature.

ART. 173. The slave is entirely subject to the will of his master, who may correct and chastise him, though not the unusual rigor, nor so as to maim or mutilate him, or to expose him to the danger of loss of life, or to cause his death.

ART. 174. the slave is incapable of making any kind of contract, except those which relate to his own emancipation.

ART. 175. All that a slave possesses belongs to his master; he possesses nothing of his own, except his *peculium* – that is to say, the sum of money or movable estate which his master chooses he should possess.

ART. 176. They can transmit nothing by succession or otherwise.

ART. 177. The slave is incapable of exercising any public office or private trust; he cannot be tutor, curator, executor, nor attorney; he cannot be a witness in either civil or criminal matters

.He cannot be a party in any civil action, either as plaintiff or defendant, except when he has to claim or prove his freedom.

ART. 178. When slaves are prosecuted for offences they have committed, notice must be given to their masters.

ART. 179. Masters are bound by the acts of their slaves done by their command; but in case they should not have authorized or instructed them, they shall be answerable only for so much as they have benefited (jusqu'a concurrence de ce qui aura tourne a leur profit) by the transaction.

ART. 180. The master shall be answerable for all the damages occasioned by an offence or quasi offence committed by his slave, independent of the punishment inflicted on the slave.

ART. 181. The master may discharge himself from such responsibility by abandoning his slave to the person injured; in which case, such person shall sell such slave at public auction, in the usual form, to obtain payment of the damages and costs, and the balance, if any, shall be returned to the master.

ART. 182. Slaves cannot marry without the consent of their masters, and their marriages do not produce any of the civil effects which result from such contract.

ART. 183. Children born of a mother then in a state of slavery, whether married or not, follow the condition of their mother; they are consequently slaves, and belong to the master of their mother.

ART. 184. A master may manumit his slave either by an act inter vivos, or by a disposition made in prospect of death, provided such emancipation be made with the forms and under the conditions prescribed by law.

ART. 185. No one can emancipate his slave unless the slave has attained the age of thirty years, and has behaved well at least for four years preceding his emancipation.

ART. 186. The slave who has saved the life of his master, his master's wife, or one of his children, may be emancipated at any age.

ART. 187. The master who wishes to emancipate his slave is bound to make a declaration of his intentions to the judge of the parish where he resides; the judge must order notice of it to be published during forty days and if, at the expiration of this delay, no opposition be made, he shall authorize the master to pass the act of emancipation.

ART. 188. The act of emancipation imports an obligation, on the part of the person granting it, to provide for the subsistence of the slave emancipated, if he should be unable to support himself.

ART. 189. An emancipation is irrevocable on the part of the master or his heirs.

ART. 190. Any enfranchisement made in fraud of creditors, or of the portion reserved by law to forced heirs, is null and void; if the slave manumitted was specially mortgaged; but in this case

the enfranchisement shall take effect, provided the slave, or any one on his behalf, shall pay the debt for which the mortgage was given.

ART. 191. No master of slaves shall be compelled to enfranchise any slave, except in cases where the enfranchisement shall be made for services rendered to the State, and on the state paying to the master the appraised value of the manumitted slave.

ART. 192. In like manner, no master shall be compelled to sell his slave, but in one of two cases to wit: first, when, being only co-proprietor of the slave, his co-proprietor demands the sale, in order to make partition of the property; the second, when the master shall be convicted of cruel treatment of his slave, and the judge shall deem proper to pronounce, besides the penalty established for such cases, that the slave shall be sold at public auction, in order to place him out of reach of the power which his master has abused.

ART. 193. The slave who has acquired the right of being free at a future time, is from that time capable of receiving, by testament or donation. Property given or devised to him must be preserved for him, in order to be delivered to him in kind when his emancipation shall take place.

ART. 196. The child born of a woman after she has acquired the right of being free at a future time, follows the condition of its mother, and becomes free at the time fixed for her enfranchisement, even if the mother should die before that time.

ART. 221. The acknowledgment of an illegitimate child shall be made by a declaration executed before a notary public, in presence of two witnesses, whenever it shall not have been made in the registering of the birth or baptism of such child. No other proof of acknowledgment shall be admitted in favor of children of color.

ART. 226. Free illegitimate children of color may also be allowed to prove their descent from a father of color only.

ART. 230. Illegitimate children of every description may make proof of their natural maternal descent, provided the mother be not a married woman.

ART. 322. The following persons cannot be tutors, to wit: *Slaves*

ART. 492. The children of slaves and the young of animals belong to the proprietor of the mother of them, by right of accession.

ART. 631. He who has the use of one or more slaves or animals has the right to enjoy their service for his wants and those of his family.

ART. 945. All free persons, even minors, lunatics, persons of insane mind, and the like, may transmit their estates ab intestato, and inherit from others.
Slaves alone are incapable of either.
ART. 1361. Where slaves have been given the donee is not permitted to collate them in kind; he is bound to collate for them by taking less, according to the value of the slaves at the time of the donation.

ART. 1362. Therefore, the donation of slaves contains an absolute transfer of the rights of the donor to the donee, in the slaves thus given. They are at the risk of the donee, who is bound to support their loss or deterioration, at the same time that he profits by the children born of them; and if the donee dispose, in good faith, of all or any of the slaves, the action of revendication for recovering the slaves, on the part of his co-heirs, for the collation due to them, will not be against those who are purchasers or holders of the slaves.

ART. 1462. Slaves cannot dispose of, or receive by donation inter vivos or mortis causa, unless they have been previously and expressly enfranchised conformably to law, or unless they are expressly enfranchised by the act itself by which the donation is made to them.

ART. 1584. The following persons are absolutely incapable of being witnesses to testaments:
1. Women, of what age soever
2. Male children who have not attained the age of sixteen years; complete.
3. Persons insane, deaf, dumb, or blind.
4. Persons whom the criminal laws declare incapable of exercising civil functions. 5. Slaves.

ART. 1775. All persons have the capability to contract, except those whose incapacity is specially declared by law. These are – persons of insane mind, slaves, those who are interdicted, minors, or married women.

ART. 2300. The masters of slaves are responsible for the damage occasioned by them; the master, however, has the right of abandoning his slave in discharge of that responsibility.

ART. 2425. A sale is sometimes made of a thing to come, as of what shall accrue from an inheritance, of slaves or creatures yet unborn, or such like other things, although not yet existing.

ART. 2454. The tradition or delivery of slaves takes place, either by real delivery made to the buyer, or the mere consent of the parties. ART. 2500. The latent defects of slaves and animals are divided into two classes – vices of body and vices of character.

ART. 2502. The absolute vices of slaves are leprosy, madness, and epilepsy.

ART. 2505. The vices of character, which give rise to the redhibition of slaves, are confined to the cases in which it is proved that the slave has committed a capital crime; or that he is addicted to theft; or that he is in the habit of running away. The slave shall be considered as being in the habit of running away when he shall gave absented himself from his master’s house twice for several days, or once more than a month.

(Marylander, 1847)

Appendix B: Approval Letter from the Institutional Review Board

University of West Florida

Research and Sponsored Programs
11000 University Parkway, Bldg. 11
Pensacola, FL 32514-5750

Ms. Charletha Powell

February 09, 2018

Dear Ms. Powell:

The Institutional Review Board (IRB) for Human Research Participants Protection has completed its review of your proposal number IRB 2018-130 titled, "Henriette Delille and Her Emergence as an Educator of Enslaved Blacks in Antebellum New Orleans: A Historiographical Case Study," as it relates to the protection of human participants used in research, and granted approval for you to proceed with your study on 02-10-2018. As a research investigator, please be aware of the following:

* You will immediately report to the IRB any injuries or other unanticipated problems involving risks to human participants.
* You acknowledge and accept your responsibility for protecting the rights and welfare of human research participants and for complying with all parts of 45 CFR Part 46, the UWF IRB Policy and Procedures, and the decisions of the IRB. You may view these documents on the Research and Sponsored Programs web page at http://research.uwf.edu. You acknowledge completion of the IRB ethical training requirements for researchers as attested in the IRB application.
* You will ensure that legally effective informed consent is obtained and documented. If written consent is required, the consent form must be signed by the participant or the participant's legally authorized representative. A copy is to be given to the person signing the form and a copy kept for your file.
* You will promptly report any proposed changes in previously approved human participant research activities to Research and Sponsored Programs. The proposed changes will not be initiated without IRB review and approval, except where necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to the participants.
* **You are responsible for reporting progress of approved research to Research and Sponsored Programs at the end of the project period 03-10-2018. If the data phase of your project continues beyond the approved end date, you must receive an extension approval from the IRB.**
* If using electronic communication for your study, you will first obtain approval from the authority listed on the following web page: http://uwf.edu/offices/marketing/resources/broadcast-distribution-standards/.

Good luck in your research endeavors. If you have any questions or need assistance, please contact Research and Sponsored Programs at 850-474-2824 or 850-474-2609 or irb@uwf.edu.

Sincerely,

Dr. Mark Roltsch, Assistant Vice President for Research and Director of the Office of Research and Sponsored Programs

Dr. Ludmila Cosio-Lima, Chair, IRB for Human Research Participant Protection

Appendix C: New Orleans Schools Established by the Sisters of the Holy Family

Institution	Grade Level	Years/Location
Bayou Road School for Colored Girls	4-7	1851-1866
St. Mary's Academy	K-12	1867-Present
St. Maurice	Rudimentary	1892-?
St. John Berchman Elementary	Rudimentary	1892-1969
St. Louis School	Rudimentary	1893-?
Lafon Asylum for Orphan Boys	Rudimentary	1893-1965
St. Katherine	Rudimentary	1907-1964
St. Raymond	Rudimentary	1940
St. Paul	Rudimentary	1947
St. Jude Nursery	Preschool	1951-1963
Sacred Heart	Elementary	1959-1967
DeLisle College	Junior College	1959-1967
St. Augustine	Elementary	1965-1967
Lafon Day Care Center	Preschool	1969-Present
St. John Berchman	Day Care Center	1977-2000
House of the Holy Family	Elementary	2004-Present

(Porche-Frilot, 2005)