BLACK WOMEN UNITE: A HISTORY OF BLACK WOMEN'S CLUB IN DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA, 1917-1954

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DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA, 1917-1954

by

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ABSTRACT


The purpose of this study is (1) to explore the impact of reformist club women in fostering self-help, institution building and strong ties that bound the community together and (2) to examine the roles of Black women activists as vehicles of change in their communities on the national, state and local levels. Organized reformers bonded together during the Jim Crow era to confront the multiplicity of problems that faced their race, gender, and children. The Daughters of Dorcas Club sought to stem the tide of Jim Crowism by organizing on the local level. Throughout the history of the Dorcas Club the one thread that has remained synonymous with the club was uplift.

The sequence of steps that were taken to achieve this purpose were numerous. Primary sources from the State Archives and History in Raleigh, Perkins Research Library at Duke University, The Southern Historical Collection at The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and the Shepard Memorial Library at North Carolina Central University were examined, as were newspaper articles. Secondary sources such as books, magazines and journal articles dealing
with works related to women in the South were also analyzed. Interviews were conducted with women reformers to give meaning to the movement. Numerous primary holdings and collections in the hands of private owners were examined and many were collected that involved data related to the Daughters of Dorcas Club, a leading woman's club, and women reformers in Durham, North Carolina.

The hope is that this study will fill the void of limited historical interpretations of black women in the reform movement, provide an analysis of the women's movement in Durham that altered race relations, through civil rights and feminist activities, and give lay persons and researchers detailed biographies of reformers and also inform scholars about primary sources that have yet to be explored.
I would like to express my sincere gratitude and thanks to Dr. Beverly Washington Jones for her steadfast commitment, guidance and mentorship in aiding in the completion of this thesis. To the members of my committee, Dr. Freddie L. Parker and Dr. Percy E. Murray, thanks so very much for your insights and recommendations. I would also like to thank the librarians of the Oral History Collections at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Duke and North Carolina Central Universities. To former President, Mrs. Helen Jones, and President Dr. Dimple Newsome of the North Carolina Federation of Negro Women's Clubs, (NCFNWC) I owe a debt of gratitude for providing me with primary materials that detail the historical and organizational framework of the NCFNWC. Also special thanks to Professor Helen G. Edmonds, my mentor for all seasons, I acknowledge her thoughtful suggestions and comments. To the ever dutiful Mrs. Elaine Reid, this study would not have been possible nor attempted had it not been for your expertise and editorial skills. Finally I would like to thank Dr. Linda Holloway, Melanie Wright, Tracie Lee and Andolia O. Eaton for your thoughts, prayers and encouragement.
DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to all African American women who marched on to higher heights in spite of the numerous obstacles they have encountered before their feet. To my late mother, Martha Hawkins Vann (1933-1994), and grandmothers, the late Ida Y. Vann (1899-1981), and Annie B. Hawkins (1913-1993), your faith and conviction propelled me to tell the stories of countless other blacks who were trampled down by gloom and despair but arose one day victorious and undaunted even unto the end of their sojourn through life.

Moreover, this work is dedicated to my cousin, the late Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, eminent club woman and President of Palmer Memorial Institute in Sedalia, North Carolina, for pioneering black activism on to higher heights.
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The study of early African American grass roots organizers has been given little attention. Gerder Lerner stated, "The activities of the black women's club movement were recorded by the pioneering black historians. However, the continuity and extent of this work and its significance have largely escaped the notice of historians." She further commented that, "Black women organized, throughout the nineteenth century, at first on a local, later on a state and national level, to undertake educational, philanthropic and welfare activities." She further commented that, "Black women organized, throughout the nineteenth century, at first on a local, later on a state and national level, to undertake educational, philanthropic and welfare activities." Black women often times organized, wherever there was an urgent social need remained unmet. More frequently, women's clubs were formed to provide kindergartens, nursery schools or day care centers for black children. African American women were further motivated to found orphanages, senior citizens' homes, and numerous other institutions due to the lack of social welfare institutions throughout most Southern communities.

In an article entitled, "Black Club Women and the Creation of the National Association of Colored Women," Stephanie L. Shaw wrote that "Much of what
we know about black club women has been explained in the context of the creation of the National Association of Colored Women (NACW). This scholarship often links black club women's activities to the most immediate and most obvious stimuli — the rising tide of Jim Crowism, lynchings and other acts of violence against black people, the vile verbal attacks on the character of black women, and the poor relations throughout the nation." Historian Rayford Logan referred to these decades at the end of the nineteenth century as the Nadir in the history of American race relations. Black women though confronted with gloom and despair on every hand looked to themselves and from within to conquer many of the nineteenth century problems. The channel chosen came in the form of organized reform in the black community.4

In Quest for Equality, Beverly Washington Jones traces the movement of black club women through the historical and biographical lens of the life of Mary Church Terrell, the first president of the National Association of Colored Women. Jones states that "The proliferation of black women's clubs and other 'self-help' organizations beginning in the early 1890's was a response to the abysmal conditions imposed on blacks." Glenda E. Gilmore noted that "Activist black women understood that such work would be a lifelong task to which they must lend their energy. Because they recognized the black women's burden as they went about their daily lives, involvement in community work and in politics grew out of their personal experience."6
A clear example of reform organization that bound women together by race and gender is the National Association of Colored Women's Club. The club movement among black women can be traced back to 1895, with the first meeting of the Congress of Colored Women of the United States which met in Boston, Massachusetts. Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, convener of the convention stated that "Our woman's movement is a woman's movement that it is led and directed by women." At this meeting over one hundred women were present, representing a total of ten states, to form a national federation. In her work, *When and Where I Enter*, Paula Giddings contends that, "After three days of meetings, they announced the creation of the National Federation of Afro-American Women, which united thirty-six clubs in twelve states. Elected as president of the organization was Margaret Murray Washington, the third wife of Booker T. Washington, and recognized as the lady principal of Tuskegee Institute was elected as president of the organization." Giddings maintains that "Similar efforts to unite the clubs were being made by the National League of Colored Women in Washington, D.C. headed by Mary Church Terrell. By 1896 plans were completed to unite the Federation and the League to the National Association of Colored Women (NACW), and after some debate about who would head the organization, Terrell became its first president." In *Reconstructing Womanhood*, Hazel Carby states that, "Thus for the first time, Afro-American women became nationally organized to confront the various modes of their oppression."
Independent Order of Saint Luke," Elsa Barkley Brown brings to the center a prime example of an African American woman confronted by the ills of her society. She states that "undergirding all of their work was a belief in the possibilities inherent in the collective struggle of black women in particular and of the black community in general." Walker argued that the only way in which black women would be able "to avoid the traps and snares of life would be to band themselves together, organize, put their mites together, put their hands and their brains together and make work and business for themselves." 

Black club women in the state of North Carolina had ties to the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs in 1896. The NACWC was the precursor of the women's club movement in North Carolina. Several personalities closely associated with the organization included noted educator Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, a native of Henderson, North Carolina and president of Palmer Memorial Institute in Sedalia, North Carolina. Also Dr. Anna Julia Cooper, a noted educator in Washington, D.C. and a native of Raleigh, North Carolina, Miss Mary Lynch of Salisbury, North Carolina, a Temperance worker who spoke at the first organizational meeting of the NACWC in 1896. In his work The History of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs: A Legacy of Service, Charles H. Wesley notes that, "During the last administration of Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, 1899-1901, the names of the clubs represented in the National Association of Colored Women were noted. This list included "The Biddle University Club" out of Charlotte, North Carolina, which is still active and the
oldest club in the state today but is now referred to as, the Priscilla Art and Literary Club of Charlotte. Glenda Gilmore, traces the development of black women's club in North Carolina in an article entitled "North Carolina Federation of Colored Women's Clubs." She stated that "the North Carolina Federation of Colored Women's Clubs NCFCWC united numerous African-American women's groups that had been active in the state throughout the 1890's. Many of the groups included temperance chapters, literary societies, and mutual aid associations." Further she recorded that "the names of member organizations suggest the breadth of interests and traditions among African-American women: inclusive of The Eastern Star, the Pansy Literary Society, the Sisters of the Household of Ruth, and the King's Daughters. On college campuses, women students participated in Young Women's Christian Association (YMCA), and by 1890 African-American temperance workers had formed a statewide Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). Thus the statewide federation established a formal network for preexisting clubs while it encouraged the formation of new ones."
lodges and social groups through the 1880's." In a feature story six social societies among colored people in Charlotte, "The Winona, The Oriole, The Young Men's Pleasure Club, The Young Ladies Pleasure Club, The Young Ladies' Independent Club, and the Married Ladies Social Tea" were discussed.¹⁴ Many of these clubs and organizations were formed to provide an avenue for philanthropic activities. Black women who carried the dual burden of race and gender looked inward to themselves for relief in order to confront the rising movement of Jim Crowism and the total disenfranchisement of Blacks in the state of North Carolina as a whole.

The North Carolina Federation of Negro Women's Clubs was formed in Charlotte, North Carolina in 1909. Charles H. Wesley stated that "These women had been inspired by the 'Clarion Call' made by Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin of Boston, a pioneer club woman, and by Mary Church Terrell, the first president of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, who urged all women of vision to band together to combat the evils of prejudice and civil rights."¹⁵ In a booklet entitled, "The 60th Anniversary of the North Carolina Federation of Negro Women's Clubs" published in 1969, Fannie T. Newsome, former President of the NCFNWC stated that, "The Call" had been made before 1909 to defend the moral character of the American Negro Women and we bow in honor to those who heard it. Out of the urgency of this call much fruit has been born including this our Federation. We have shared both the trials and triumphs."¹⁶
The formation in 1909 can be viewed as a collaboration that united seven of North Carolina's most prominent, creative and civic minded club women. The names attached to the charter of the NCFNWC attests to the Federation's motto of "Lifting As We Climb." The names of the founders include Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown of Sedalia, North Carolina, Mrs. Marie Clay Clinton of Charlotte, North Carolina, Mrs. Maude Brooks Cotton of Henderson, North Carolina, and Mrs. Minnie Sumner Pearson, Mrs. Cottie Dancy Moore and Mrs. Julia McCauley Warren all of Durham, North Carolina.17

The NCFNWC was headed by women who held both state as well as national influence. The period that is essential to this research is inclusive of the tenures of Mrs. Marie L. Clinton (1909-1914), Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown (1915-1936), Mrs. Minnie Sumner Pearson (1936-1940), Mrs. Lula Spaulding Kelsey (1941-1945), and Mrs. Ruth Rush (1946 to 1952). These club women led remarkable lives and made numerous contributions during their tenure as presidents of the Federation. The federation elected Marie Clay Clinton as its first president in 1909. She was married to George C. Clinton, bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. They later relocated to Charlotte, North Carolina. There, she held membership in the Priscilla Art and Literary Club. Formerly known as The Biddle University Club which was made up of the wives of professors at the Presbyterian led Biddle University, now called Johnson C. Smith University in Charlotte, North Carolina.18
Charles Wesley stated that "An awakening came to the North Carolina Federation of Colored Women's Club . . . when Charlotte Hawkins Brown took up the gavel as president." During her tenures she fostered interracial understanding by establishing "communication with white women's clubs, sponsoring joint cleanup days, delegate exchanges at conventions, and bond campaigns during World War I." In the 1920's, in cooperation with the state federation of white women's clubs, NCFNWC founded and gained state support for the Efland Home, a training school for delinquent and dependent African American girls. The mortgage burning ceremony for the Efland Home was held at the Annual Meeting of the North Carolina Federation at Bennett College, in Greensboro, North Carolina in 1943.

Charlotte Hawkins Brown stepped down in 1936 as president of NCFNWC to promote herself full-time to the development and growth of the Palmer Memorial Institute, a premiere prep school for African Americans. Mrs. Minnie Sumner Pearson succeeded her, serving as president from 1936 until 1940. Minnie Pearson of Durham, a woman of great financial resources, was married to Professor Williams Gaston Pearson. Pearson was a black superintendent of education in the Durham City Schools. During her tenure she encouraged "Negro Women to register and vote intelligently in the Tar Heel State for men, women and principles, rather than parties." She was succeeded by Lula Spaulding Kelsey who served as president from 1941 to 1945.
Lula S. Kelsey, who had ties to Durham, was a first cousin of C. C. Spaulding the third president of North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company of Durham. Mrs. Kelsey who was born in Bladen County, North Carolina on August 8, 1881, was the first licensed woman embalmer and funeral director in the state. Kelsey was educated at Barber Scotia College in Concord, North Carolina, and at the Institute of Embalming in Raleigh, she operated a chain of funeral homes and was active in club work from 1910 until her death. In 1910 she founded a local club called the Civic League, which was one of the earliest groups to associate on a state-wide level with the North Carolina Federation. As a result of the efforts of Ms. Mary Lynch of Salisbury, appointed the state organizer of clubs in North Carolina, and who was noted for her work among Temperance Societies, Mrs. Kelsey, Mrs. Maggie Trent and Mrs. Rose Douglass Aggrey were elected to membership on the Executive Board of the Federation. She is noted for her work among delinquent youths in North Carolina. She became one of the founders of the Efland Home for Girls. As a result of ill health she was succeeded by Ruth G. Rush of Durham, who served as president from 1946 to 1952. Mrs. Kelsey died on April 9, 1947 in Salisbury, North Carolina and was memorialized at the Soldiers Memorial A.M.E. Zion Church in Salisbury, North Carolina.

Ruth Gwendolyn Rush was born in 1893 in Atlanta, Georgia. In 1914, she received her B.S. degree from Clark College in Atlanta, and in 1927, the masters degree in education from Harvard University. She served as dean of women, teacher of education, and director of student teaching from 1915 until 1948. In
Durham, Mrs. Rush was a member of the Volkemania Literary Club founded in 1903 and the Daughters of Dorcas Club founded in 1917. During her tenure as president of the Federation from 1946 to 1952, she established a scholarship fund named in honor of Mrs. Annie Day Shepard of Durham, and moved to have the club Federation song written by Mrs. Maude Cotton published. She also worked with Miss Mae D. Holmes to secure a better site for the Efland Home, and to replace it with the Dobbs Training School in Kinston, North Carolina. Many women in North Carolina were shocked to learn of Miss Rush's decision to leave North Carolina in 1953 and to become dean of students at Spellman College in her native Atlanta. She was dean of women at Spelman from 1953 to 1955, and from 1957 to 1958. While living in Durham, she was a member of White Rock Baptist Church. She died in Atlanta, Georgia, in January, 1967.
The title "The Will and the Way," was taken from a 1929 play that was arranged by Hilda A. Davis, and the dancing was directed by Mildred Burriss as a tribute to Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown. The play depicted the development of Palmer Memorial through the lens of its founder Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown. This thesis seeks to examine in the same spirit the idea of the "The Will and the Way" which is a fitting tribute to the historical development of African American club women who sought to make a way out of no way, on the local, state and national level.


8. Ibid., 93.

9. Ibid., 93.


18. Information on Marie Clay Clinton included in Chapter IV.

19. Wesley, 312.

20. Ibid.

21. Information on Lula Spaulding Kelsey found in 60th Anniversary booklet, 8.

22. Ibid, 9.
"Now there was at Joppa a certain disciple named Tabitha, which by interpretation is called Dorcas: this woman was full of good works and alms deeds which she did." Acts 9:36

Durham, North Carolina has long been remembered as one of the major collective centers of economic, political and social advancement among African Americans. Historian Beverly Washington Jones in a study of African Americans in Durham noted that "The Black press extolled Durham as the Mecca for blacks, The Black Wall Street of America, the Capital of the Black Business Class, and the Magic City." In 1925, Sociologist Edward Franklin Frazier, noted the phenomenal growth of business enterprises in Durham by dubbing it "Durham: Capital of the Black Middle Class," in Alaine Locke's New Negro. North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, The National Religious Training School and Chautauqua, Mechanics and Farmers Bank and many black professionals aided in creating one of the South's most thriving black business district's which is referred to as Hayti. As a result of collective financial advancement and cooperation among black businesses and the black masses,
economic prosperity was a major characteristic of this community. The economic advantages afforded to blacks gave rise to other black businesses and led to the founding of numerous civic, social, fraternal and philanthropic organizations. At the turn of the twentieth century, a modest black middle class had formed and taken root in Durham.

Pauli Murray, an early observer of Black life in Durham, and a product of the influential Fitzgerald family stated that "Hayti, separated from the downtown business district by the Southern Railroad tracks, was the cultural center of Durham's colored community. Along Fayetteville Street, its main thoroughfare, were the library, the two fashionable churches - The White Rock Baptist Church and Saint Joseph A.M.E., The Negro College, numerous colored owned business enterprises, Lincoln Hospital, and the spacious homes of many of the leading colored families: the Moores, Spauldings, Whitteds, Merricks, Pearsons, Scarboroughs, Shepards, and others. We had no lack of role models for successful business and professional careers."

This picture offered by Murray exudes a creative look at the historic landscape, as well as gives insights into the lives of the early black middle class of Durham. Moreover, she explores at a glance the lifestyles of the rich and how they worked, played, worshiped and socialized their work ethos and religious views.

However, Charles Dickens title of A Tale of Two Cities, more aptly described the variation in prosperity on one hand for those who lived on Fayetteville Street; and on the other hand poverty and despair for those who lived...
in the alleys of Hayti, The East End, and other impoverished communities such as Hickstown and Buggy Bottom. Many organizations were formed on the basis of caring for those who were marginalized and those who lived on the fringes of society.

In an article entitled "The Cost of Club Work, The Price of Black Feminism," Deborah Gray White contends that "Black club women believed they could solve the problems of the race through intensive social service, particularly self-help activity aimed at improving the home and the community." She noted that while some aims of the clubs focused on intellectually stimulating the club members, other programs centered directly on assisting many of the downtrodden neighbors of club women. More directly black club women imbued with middle class values and Victorian ideals sought to change the values and mores of black women and children who needed assistance. This belief of serving the needs of others propelled the formation of numerous clubs, organizations, literary societies and philanthropic centered societies. It is of interest to note that there were several clubs in existence that were not necessarily gender bound, but more class conscious.

One such club that was both male and female centered was the Volkemania Literary Club which was formed in 1903 by Dr. James Edward Shepard, who was one of the founders of the North Carolina Mutual and Provident Association and founder of the National Religious Training School and Chautauqua, both viable institutions in Durham's Black community. The club
boasted that its membership was composed of college trained men and women remained exclusively as a hub for the middle class. It invited numerous lecturers to come to the gatherings and often members reviewed books by numerous authors in order to sustain the literary skills of its members. Another club the Shubert-Shakespearian Literary and Art Club 1921 offered both study in literary subjects and art refinement among its members who were mostly educators and other prominent business persons. While some of the clubs mentioned previously focused on uplift and empowerment for the disadvantaged, others served as social vacuums that further distanced the black middle class from the masses of the poor in Durham.

Through the formation of clubs within the African American community in Durham, black women served as vehicles of change as they transformed difficult situations into positive ones. As agents of change, these reformers sought to improve the lives of people in their communities on the local level and often moved to broaden their scope by organizing on the national level.

One such club that became a leading philanthropic and service oriented organization, was the Daughters of Dorcas Club 1917 which was formerly referred to as The Busy Women's Club. The motto chosen was 'Women Caring and Sharing with Faith." This motto embodied the zeal and thrust of these early reformers who stepped out on faith as they sought to heal the immediate needs of their community.
This chapter seeks to focus on one particular club in Durham, known as the Daughters of Dorcas Club. The Club served as a catalyst in fostering self help, institution building, and strong ties that bound the community together. The Dorcas Club was formed eight years after the NCFNWC was established. The dates concentrated on in this study begins with 1917, with the organizing of the Dorcas club in that year, and ends in 1954 with the closure date of the tenure of Miss Ruth G. Rush as President of the Dorcas Club and as President of the North Carolina Federation of Negro Women's Clubs. Many of the club women mentioned in this work chose to step out of the shadows of their husbands and chose to walk in faith in order to meet the needs of those who were oppressed in their community.

The Busy Women's Club was formed in late September 1917, by Matilda Townsend, who worked as a domestic in the home of a Duke University professor. This position afforded Townsend both social status and affluence among other African Americans during the early part of the twentieth century.

Mrs. Townsend stopped in to see her neighbor, Sarah Felder and as usual found her serving. After lengthy conversation, their discussion led to the organizing of a service club. They immediately agreed upon the subject and contacted another neighbor Janie Spaulding, who worked as one of the first female clerks employed at the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, and at the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company.
who came were Mesdames Ada Leach, Bessie Doby, Lillie Thompson, Bessie Pratt, Sarah Felder, Maggie Lennon, Matilda Townsend, and Janie Spaulding as hostess. The elected officers were Janie Spaulding, Secretary Sarah Felder, Treasurer, and Maggie Lennon served as President.

The rules included a joining membership fee of twenty-five cents, dues of ten cents a week, and if you failed to wear your apron to the meetings, you were fined five cents, in order to get money into the treasury. There dues became the structure for a treasury. The meetings were weekly on Thursdays and later changed to bi-monthly. Mrs. Gazella Poole Lipscomb recalled her membership was family connected. Mrs. Gazella Poole Lipscomb, who is ninety-eight years old, had worked for every President of North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance, from John Merrick to William J. Kennedy, Jr., and served as Chief Clerk in the Medical Department stated that "My mother Beanie Poole Morgan was a Daughter of Dorcas member and that is how my sister Fannie McLean and I were introduced to the Dorcas Club. I joined the Dorcas Club in 1922 and I currently serve as President Emerita." When asked about criteria for joining the club she stated that "As long as I abided by the rules and regulations and lived a Christian life I could remain a member." 28

In 1920, Dr. Aaron McDuffie Moore changed the focus and direction of the Club, one of the founders of North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company and a practicing physician in Durham, was invited to one of the meetings by his wife, Cottie S. Moore. He suggested that the Club become responsible for
furnishing milk to two tuberculosis patients whose families were unable to buy it.

He gave five dollars toward this effort. After that night, a Moore Fund was
established honoring Dr. Moore and a certain fund to supply milk to the patients.

Constance Merrick Watts, granddaughter of Dr. Moore, stated that "Dr. Moore
was always out organizing something or another, because that's just the kind of
person he was, he was always involved in uplifting Hayti." Constance Watts became a member because her grandmother Mrs. Cottie
Moore (1866-1950) and her mother Mrs. Lyda Moore Merrick (1890-1987), had
both served as Presidents of the Daughters of Dorcas Club, respectively. Watts, at
an early age, recalled a story about seeing her grandmother "throwing on her hat
and coat and following the fire truck down the street." Such acts demonstrate the
fact that many Club women were not concerned about themselves, but about their
community as they sought to address the immediate needs of Hayti.

From the initial meeting with Dr. Moore not only did the Club's focus
change as did its name, from the Busy Women's Club to the Daughters of Dorcas
Club. The name was taken from the home mission activity performed by Dorcas
of the old Testament fame. Mrs. Mattie Louise Moore suggested the name.

Mattie Louise McDougald (1893-1928) who was the daughter of Dr. A. M. and
Mrs. Cottie Moore Rose Douglass Aggrey, editor of the NCFNWC organ of the
Federation Journal wrote an article entitled, "The Daughters of Dorcas Club." The
article provided a history of the name change she stated "Mattie Louise, the
daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Moore, long before her death caught the spirit of these
helpful women and urged them to select a name for their group. "Why not, she said call yourself Daughters of Dorcas? You know Dorcas of Bible times and her works of love. Form yourselves into a real club with the name Dorcas." This was the beginning of true fermentation of the Club as it sought to establish itself but more importantly aligned itself with one of the most noted biblical characters in the Bible, which may attest to how they saw their work. This designation attributed to the religious principles that divinely inspired these women to help others.

Artelia Bryant, joined the Daughters of Dorcas Club in the early 1940's. She served as President of the Club from 1992 until 1994. She stated that "These women were just missionaries, just doing what came natural. Giving clothes to the needy was an outreach of the club, because there were no social workers during the early years and people just cared for each other." The view offered by Bryant speaks directly to the charitable nature of what the Daughters of Dorcas Club and numerous other organizations.

In her work, Righteous Discontent Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham which examines the Baptist Women's movement notes the difficulty in trying to separate or compartmentalize black women's work into the realms of religious versus secular. Black women reformists seldomly saw their work as either or, but more multifaceted and all encompassing. Church work among black women did not stop at the end of the pastors alter call for sinners to come unto repentance, but more it
remained work even in organized club work among black women in Durham. Because they never saw their work as earthly, but divinely inspired.32

The Daughters of Dorcas Club moved to broaden its scope by providing service where needed. On some instances, the travel expenses for stranded persons and often times served as hostess in welcoming teachers, ministers and black professionals to the city.

Other efforts of the Daughters of Dorcas Club during the 1930's included the establishing of a clothes chest named for Mrs. Sadie Pratt Whitted, who was one of the former presidents of the Dorcas Club. Whitted, was a graduate of Hampton Institute and an educator in the city schools of Danville, Virginia. From 1908 until her retirement in 1931, she maintained a business in Durham. Whitted served as President of the Daughters of Dorcas Club from 1921 until 1927. Throughout her career she was struck by the poverty that was so very pervasive in certain parts of Durham. This catalyzed her to issue the call to club members to donate items to the chest. Many of the items were hand made by members.

Furthermore, under the leadership of Mrs. Cottie Moore who served as president of the Dorcas Club from 1927 until 1950 many needs in Hayti were met as many persons were served. Moore, whose husband Dr. A. M. Moore helped to found Lincoln Hospital, initiated the establishment of a working relationship between Lincoln Hospital organizers who formed common bonds and ties with the Dorcas Club. Through their efforts, the Club furnished two private rooms at Lincoln Hospital and donated linen to the hospital annually on hospital day and
donations were collected to help those who could not offer to pay their bills at the hospital.

The issue of fundraising became a major priority of the Club which began to support on a statewide basis the Eiland Home for Girls in Kinston, North Carolina. Mrs. Moore, Julia Warren, Minnie Pearson and Charlotte Hawkins Brown all waged a fierce campaign to contact the legislature of North Carolina in order to make them aware of the terrible plight of so many young black females. Through their efforts a home for delinquent girls was established and supported by the club women on a statewide basis. After many years of hard work the state of North Carolina took the home over thus allowing black clubs in Durham and North Carolina to focus on other worthy efforts.

The Club also assisted a blind girl enrolled at North Carolina College, now known as North Carolina Central University largely as a result of a call by Mrs. Annie Day Shepard (1879-1947) to The Dorcas Club. Also the Club assisted Mrs. Lyda Moore Merrick in establishing financially a corner for the blind at the Stanford L. Warren Library in Hayti. As a result of noticing the needs of the black patrons of the library Mrs. Merrick created the Negro Braille Magazine for Negroes and received funding both locally and on the statewide level. These are just a few of the efforts of united women whose hearts and hands were tied inextricably to the people that they served day to day and night to night.

There were several homogeneous themes that united black club women in Durham. The several themes explored in this study were education, socio-
economic status, civic mindedness, and religious in relationship to the find club women. The club members were predominantly all well educated, members of the black middle class and all were members of the same clubs in Durham. For example most held membership in such organizations as The North Carolina Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, The Year Round Garden Club, the Cottie Moore Chapter of the Needle Work Guild of America, and the Volkemania Literary and Art Club. Lastly, all had strong religious commitments in their churches, namely White Rock Baptist Church and St. Joseph's African Methodist Episcopal Church, both religious cornerstones in Durham. Overall, these similarities were not true of the entire Dorcas membership. The entire Club crossed over social and religious lines and was not confined to one singular denomination.
CHAPTER II
ENDNOTES

1. This biblical verse is taken from the Old Testament of the King James version of the Bible.


CHAPTER III

SERVICE AND IMPACT

"True Daughters of Dorcas Ever Be - Seeking Always to Serve Thee."

Daughters of Dorcas, Lord may we
True Daughters of Dorcas ever be.
Even as Thy servants toiled of old
Humbly working in the Master's fold
Using her needle day by day
Serving her Lord in her own way
So may we, Thy servants, Lord
Working together in one accord
True Daughters of Dorcas ever be
Seeking always to serve Thee.
Daughters of Dorcas day by day
Helping someone along life's way.
Speaking a kindly word of cheer
To some soul discouraged here
A cup of water and the widow's mite
Both are precious in his sight
So may we work in Thy name
Not for self or earthly gain
True Daughter of Dorcas ever be
Seeking always to serve Thee.

From 1950 to 1954, Ruth G. Rush served as President of the Daughters of
Dorcas Club. However, at the same time, she served as President of the North
Carolina Federation of Negro Women's Clubs. During her tenure, the clubs
accomplished numerous acts of community service on the international, state and
local levels. The Dorcas Club under the presidency of Rush, launched a three
CHAPTER III

SERVICE TO MAN

A pronged approach to meeting the needs of those who were oppressed. The service and impact of these club women were not only felt in Durham, but also in various places that screamed for assistance.

Internationally, the club answered a call from Madie Hall Zumer, a missionary worker for the Lott Carey Baptist Foreign Mission Convention in 1951. Dr. Johnnie Blunt McLester, a Dorcas Club member and Past President of the Women's Baptist Home and Foreign Missionary convention of North Carolina noted she received a telephone call that was forwarded to her and she immediately contacted Mrs. Rush. McLester mentioned "Madam Hall just sounded so distressed and she mentioned the poor African students were in need, so we answered." The Daughters of Dorcas graciously responded by sending cloth for her to teach how women to sew, they sent food and rented three wheelchairs out for twenty-five cents per week to aid the disadvantaged and crippled in Africa.

Although there is very little material available in this one international call there is enough evidence to suggest that through a cooperative venture between the Dorcas Club and the Women Baptist H and F Missionary Convention of North Carolina that the channels of communication remained open.

On the state level President Rush and the Dorcas Club aided Mrs. Lyda Moore Merrick, who was a Dorcas member and Vice President of the North Carolina Federation of Negro Women's Club in providing financial infrastructure for the establishing a braille magazine for the blind in 1952. In one account she traced the development of the Negro Braille Magazine back to a young blind
friend named John Carter Washington who urged her to add a literary voice to those who were blind. Through her efforts in the Dorcas Club of working with blind patrons in the Stanford L. Warren Library's Corner for the Blind inspiration came.  

John Carter Washington in an interview stated that, "As early as 1949, I conceived of some type of work that would address the inadequacy that blacks faced especially those who were blind. I contacted Mrs. Merrick because I knew she would be an advocate for anything that needed to be address." In the Summer of 1951 Mrs. Merrick, although dismayed by such a awesome feat, set out with John Washington and the editor of the American Printing House to construct the first issue of the Negro Braille Magazine, as the only braille magazine in the world for black patrons. The idea of serving the needs of those who went without was not foreign to Mrs. Merrick because her mother an father laid the foundation for her.

Mrs. Merrick founder of the Negro Braille Magazine had served as publisher, editor, writer, manager proclaimed "My father passed a torch to me, which I have never let go of. We are blessed to serve." The interest in serving humanity can be traced directly back to Dr. Aaron McDuffie Moore, who was one of the founders of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, Lincoln Hospital and the Stanford L. Warren Library all historic institutions in the historic borders of Hayti.
Lyda Moore Merrick (1890-1987), was the daughter of Dr. A. M. Moore and Mrs. Cottie Dancy Moore of Durham, North Carolina. She graduated from the Whitted School and then received her high school training from the Presbyterian led Barber Scotia Seminary in Concord, North Carolina. Her father not content on her just being a housewife sent Lyda and her sister Mattie Louise to Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee where they both graduated in 1911. At her father's urging she took advanced courses at Columbia University where she majored in music and art. Through the use of both of these mediums she received high acclaim as an accomplished pianist and artist. She brought her talents back to North Carolina where she taught music and painted art works.

Merrick who was inculcated with a hard work ethos by her parents was driven to render service where service was needed. For her service to the oppressed and service to the black race, translated into service for black men, women and children in terms of uplift. Having been born into a family that had service as the centerpiece of their life's work impacted on Lyda Merrick and the work that she did.

In 1916 she married Ed Merrick, the son of John Merrick, one of the founders of North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company. Mrs. Merrick recalled "My father-in-law-to-be started building a house for her and his son as soon as they became engaged. So after the ceremony we moved in at 906 Fayetteville Street. Papa and mama lived at 606 Fayetteville Street, and John Merrick lived at 506 Fayetteville Street," she said. To this union were born two
daughters, Constance and Vivian, who were married to Dr. Charles Watts and Dr. J. J. Sansom, respectively.

She had an active interest in the White Rock Baptist Church and St. Joseph African Methodist Episcopal Church where she taught Sunday School, played the piano, organ and sang in the choir. She held membership in both the Volkemania Literary Club and on the executive board of the (NCFNWC). She was also chairperson of the Board of the Stanford L. Warren Library in Durham, North Carolina.

Mrs. Merrick in describing the genesis of the Braille magazine recorded "I was destined to do this. It was in my heart and in my lap, and I did the best I could do day by day." Just as North Carolina Central University was the child of Dr. James Edward Shepard, the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company was the child of Dr. A. M. Moore and John Merrick, so to was the Braille magazine the successful child of Lyda Moore Merrick. She is best remembered as a woman who gave sight to the blind, aid and comfort to the oppressed and spread cheer wherever she could. Through the philanthropic support of the Durham County Library Association, Ed Merrick, the Daughters of Dorcas Club and the North Carolina Federation of Negro Women's Clubs the Braille Magazine was sustained.

The leading two focuses in the endowment of the magazine was the (NCFNWC) who established annually a $500.00 contribution and the Daughters of Dorcas Club. She stated quoting from Helen Keller's axiom as the drive within
her when she stated, "The best way to thank God for your sight is to help someone in the dark." This concept of aiding the blind reached true fruition when countless donors heard of her efforts to reach the sightless and decided to contribute to the magazine.

Had it not been for the aggressive campaign of Lyda Merrick and Ruth G. Rush in securing statewide support from the NCFNWC and other donors the Negro Braille Magazine which would later be changed to the Merrick-Washington Magazine for the Blind would not have become a reality. She recalled on numerous instances of dipping into her own savings in order to get the next issue out. Ed Merrick, Vice-President at North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company would often times financially support the magazine that was his wife’s heart. She explained "Ed, we owe this to the Lord. We have a healthy family and we are saved to serve." Through her religious conviction and support from donors Mrs. Merrick aiding humanity by bridging the gap between the sightless world and those who have sight. In reflecting on her views to others she stated in The Network of North Carolina Women that "It's like a window being opened to them which should not be closed."

The inspiration that guided Mrs. Merrick in founding the magazine goes back to 1922, when the Lincoln Hospital caught on fire, and her father Dr. Moore brought baby John Carter Washington to Ed and Lyda’s home until suitable parents were found. She immediately recognized talent in him and this relationship would last over sixty years until her death in 1987. Dr. A. Moore,
Cottie Moore and Lyda Merrick all sustained in the Godly virtue of service unto humankind would leave an indelible mark on society in Hayti, the state of North Carolina and the United States. This triumvirate succeeded in serving as ideal models of practicing what they preached. Wherever a need existed in Hayti one or the other would come to the rescue.

On the local level the Daughters of Dorcas continued to provide food and clothing to many of their neighboring communities that lacked many of the basics of society. Through the Moore Fund which was inaugurated under the Presidency of Maggie Moore Lennon, meals were provided for the poor and numerous outreach activities of the community rested in the hands of the Club. President Rush’s tenure ended in 1954 when she accepted a position as Dean of Women at Spellman College in Atlanta, Georgia. She was succeeded as President of the Dorcas Club by Lyda Merrick and Rose Douglass Aggrey succeeded her as President of the North Carolina Federation of Negro Women’s Clubs. Thus the tradition of community service and uplift was sustained and revived.
CHAPTER III

ENDNOTES

1. The Daughters of Dorcas Club song was written by Mattie Louise Moore McDougald in the early 1920's. (1893-1928) She was the daughter of Dr. Aaron M. Moore and Mrs. Cottie Moore. She not only wrote the words and music to the club song but she also suggested the name Daughters of Dorcas. She was married to banker Richard L. McDougald of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank.


7. Ibid., 72.

This study seeks to retrieve that lost pages of club women in North Carolina. It is hoped that an exploration into the lives of reformers will translate into the causes and reasons uplifted their race. The lives of many of the twentieth century reformers have yet to be recorded. There is even less materials on the lives of those that club women served. The invisibility of the lives of reformists and the black masses leaves much room for further debate and discussion on this topic.

The first segment of this chapter records the biographies of the founders of the NCFNWC which was formed in Charlotte, North Carolina in 1909. The second segment examines the lives of the founders of the Daughters of Dorcas Club, organized in Durham, North Carolina, in 1917. The inclusion of such luminaries in this study is a fitting tribute to those who chose to serve humanity the only way they had known, that of organized reform.

A. DR. CHARLOTTE HAWKINS BROWN

Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown (1883-1961) eminent club woman, Palmer Memorial Institute president and humanitarian was born in Henderson, North Carolina on June 11, 1883. She was the daughter of Eduoard H. High and Amanda Hawkins. She was born in the South Hundred district of Vance County. The house in which she was born was formerly part of the Thomas Needham plantation and was purchased by her parents in 1890. She received her early education in a school which was financed by the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Her father was a cotton broker and her mother a school teacher. She attended Smokey Mountain Seminary, Salem, Massachusetts, in 1901. She also received training as a nurse. In 1898 she graduated from the American Missionary Association Normal School in Salem, Massachusetts. She then taught school for two years in Asheville, North Carolina. She was also an active member of the National Council of Negro Women. In 1909 she became president of the Palmer Memorial Institute in North Carolina.
Carolina on June 11, 1883. She was the daughter of Edmond H. Hight and Caroline Frances Hawkins Willis. Charlotte Eugenia Hawkins was born in the South Henderson area known as "Mobile" which was once a prosperous business district in Vance County. The house in which she was born was formerly part of the Hawkins plantation. In 1888, Charlotte Brown was among the nineteen members of the Hawkins family en route, by boat, from Norfolk, Virginia to Boston, Massachusetts. Among them were Lothie's mother, her grandmother Rebecca, her brother Mingo, her stepfather, uncles, aunts and cousins.

She was educated in the Cambridge English High and Latin School, now known as the Alliston Grammar School, and received her A.B. degree from the State Normal School in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1901. She also received training as a teacher. At Wellesley College in Massachusetts. She graduated from Harvard Summer School in 1901. At Wellesly College she came in contact with Dr. Alice Freeman Palmer, who was the first female president of the college. The friendship would last only a few years due to the death of Dr. Palmer. However, Dr. Palmer before her death did provide Brown with a list of northern philanthropist was contributed heavily to Palmer memorial.

While a student she accepted a position as a teacher from the American Missionary Association. The position took her back to her native state of North Carolina and the ultimate destination was a small school near Sedalia, North Carolina. Under the leadership of Brown, Palmer Memorial acquired over 350 acres, buildings and a definite reputation in education. As the reputation of the
school spread, she became known as a great educator, lecturer, social worker, and religious leader.

Charlotte Hawkins Brown, was a great leader of women in the state of North Carolina. In 1909, she was among the organizers of the (NCFNWC) and in 1915, became the second president having remained in office until 1936. She was a founder of the National Association of Colored Women, which began in the nineteenth century with the motto, "Lifting As We Climb." She was a member of the National board of the Young Women's Christian Association, becoming the first black to do so. The Twentieth Century Club, Boston's exclusive circle of leaders in education, art, science, and religion, selected her for membership.

In recognition of her efforts, Charlotte Hawkins Brown received three honorary masters degrees including one from Cheyney Normal and Industrial Institute, Cheyney, Pennsylvania; Livingstone College, Salisbury, North Carolina and North Carolina College at Durham, the latter now known as North Carolina Central University. Also, she was the recipient of four honorary doctorates: Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, honored her with an L.L.D. degree in 1937; Wilberforce University, Xenia, Ohio, an L.L.D. degree in 1938; Howard University, Washington, D.C.; an Ed.D. in 1944; and Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama, the D. Litt in 1958. For fifty years she labored to oversee the growth of Palmer from an abandoned church in the woods of North Carolina, to the pinnacle of success all over America. The value of the property was valued at well over a million dollars.
Dr. Brown resigned as president in 1952 but remained as director of finance until 1955. The end of the journey for Dr. Brown came on January 11, 1961 at the L. Richardson Memorial Hospital in Greensboro, North Carolina. Funeral services for Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown were held on Sunday, January 15, 1961 at the Alice Freeman Palmer Building in Sedalia, North Carolina. Dr. Mordecai Johnson, President Emeritus, Howard University delivered the eulogy. Among other those present were Dr. Warmoth T. Gibbs, President Emeritus, of North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College, Dr. Emmett T. Browne, pastor of Mt. Vernon Baptist Church, Durham, North Carolina and her niece Mrs. Carol Brice Scott who sang a song written by Dr. Brown entitled "I Am Saved." Interment was held on the grounds of Palmer Institute.

B. MRS. MARIE LOUISE CLAY CLINTON

Mrs. Marie Louise Clay Clinton (1871-1932) was another founder of the (NCFNW). She had the distinction of not only being a founder of the Federation, but also its first president having served from 1909-1914. She was an original member of the Jubilee Choir and was known throughout the state and nation for her superior voice. At the time of her marriage to Bishop George
Wylie Clinton of the Fourth Episcopal District of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church at Huntsville, February 6, 1901, she was gainfully employed as vice principal of a local school in Huntsville, Alabama.

Marie Clinton joined her husband Bishop Clinton in Charlotte, North Carolina. There she became active in local, state and national issues pertaining to youth, black women and uplift. In 1904, she became the first "Superintendent of the Juvenile Missionary Department" which later became officially organized in 1908 as the Buds of Promise which has its headquarter in Charlotte, North Carolina -- a position she held until 1932. She was also the citywide supervisor of the missionary women in the Charlotte district of the A.M.E. Zion church. In 1909 Clinton became a founder of the (NCFNWC) and served as its first president. In 1913 she became a founder and member of the Priscilla Literary and Art Club which was formally called the Biddle University Club, the oldest nationally federated club in the state of North Carolina for the death. Mrs. Clinton died on January 9, 1932 at the Tuskegee Hospital in Tuskegee, Alabama.

C. MAUDE BROOKS COTTON

Maude Brooks Cotton (1872-1945) another charter member of the (NCFNWC) at the time of its founding was residing in Henderson, North Carolina. Maude Rebekah Brooks was born in Oberlin, Ohio on August 12, 1872. At an early age the Brooks family moved to Knoxville, Tennessee, where they remained for a greater part of her adolescent life. Also in her youth she spent
many summer months visiting with friends and family members in such North Carolina towns as Goldsboro and Tarboro, North Carolina. She received her early training at the Presbyterian North led Knoxville College in her hometown. She would later receive the Mus. B. degree in 1896 from the Oberlin Conservatory of Music in Oberlin, Ohio. Until 1900 Maude Brooks taught music where she remained until her marriage in 1900 to the Reverend John Adam Cotton, D.D. a noted educator, minister and later college president of Knoxville College. He was a native of Manchester, Kentucky. He received his early training at Berea College in Kentucky. He was a member of the class of 1893 at Knoxville College where he received a B.S. degree and was also a 1898 graduate from the Pittsburgh Theological Seminary in Pennsylvania.

Mrs. Cotton, along with her husband, moved to Cleveland, Tennessee where they both worked as domestic missionaries in the mission field for the United Presbyterian Church. Three years later in 1903 Maude and John Cotton received an urgent call to move to Henderson, North Carolina to fill the principalship of the first Negro principal of the Henderson Normal and Industrial College. They both never imagined that destiny would have them to spend over forty years in Henderson, North Carolina. Her husband assumed the principalship of Henderson Institute and the pastorate of the United Presbyterian Church in Henderson, which would later be named Cotton Memorial Presbyterian Church in honor of Dr. John Adam and Maude Cotton. They worked under the auspices of the Freedman's Board of the United Presbyterian Church.
Maude Cotton not only kept house and labored along with Dr. Cotton but she also taught and directed music at Henderson Institute. A program booklet entitled "Cotton Memorial Presbyterian Church USA Centennial Edition" stated "The older church members will recall the choirs she directed drawing on the best talent of the Institute faculties as well as the student body. She was the "soul of generosity." In the Cape Fear Presbyterian Centennial 1886-1986 in an article entitled "Jubilee Hospital - Henderson, N.C." stated "In 1914 the Jubilee Hospital was erected by the United Presbyterian Women's Board at its solicitation, with a capacity of fifteen beds to meet the need of the colored population of Vance County and adjacent counties." Maude Cotton not only raised money for the hospital but would later ask to be buried on the grounds of the hospital beside her husband.

In 1909 she became one of the founders of the (NCFNWC) and also wrote the words and music to the North Carolina version of "Lifting As We Climb." Mrs. Cotton along with Charlotte Hawkins Brown, a native of Henderson, North Carolina, both worked hard to uplift black women and youth not only locally but also on the state level as well. Through this organization which served as a well-spring of philanthropic ideas, she supported such noble causes as the petitioning of the North Carolina Legislature to build a home for youth and worked along with Minnie Pearson, Charlotte H. Brown, Julia Warren, Cottie Moore and others to indeed secure a bill that established state support for the Efland Home for Delinquent Colored Girls. She also worked actively along with Annie Wealthy
Holland - State Supervisor of Negro Elementary Schools to establish the Parents-Teachers Association in both Henderson and on the State level.

In 1940 Dr. Cotton was appointed acting president of Knoxville College in Knoxville, Tennessee. The presidency of Knoxville College did not require his leaving Henderson. However, the Cotton's did make a home in Knoxville. They drove back over the mountains once each month to preach in his beloved United Presbyterian Church and to look after his affairs in Henderson. The added dirties and strains became increasingly evident in the middle of his second year at Knoxville, he suffered a heart attack which led to his retirement. Fifteen months later he died at his home in Henderson on June 16, 1943. His funeral service was held at the United Presbyterian Church of Henderson and was interred on the grounds of Jubilee Hospital, opposite Henderson Institute, which prospered under his leadership for 38 years. After his death, Maude Cotton remained in Henderson, until October of 1944, when at her desire she accompanied her daughter Dr. Carol Cotton to Chicago, Illinois. After only a few months Mrs. Cotton died on February 2, 1945. In compliance with her request, she was buried beside her husband.  

D. COTTIE SARAH DANCY MOORE

Cottie Sarah Dancy Moore (1866-1950) was born on August 6, 1866 in Tarboro, North Carolina the daughter of Martha S. Dancy. She received her early academic training in the local public schools of Tarboro and also graduated from
the Episcopalian led St. Augustines College in Raleigh, North Carolina. After she graduated from St. Augustines College she taught briefly in the Episcopal School in Charlotte, North Carolina. In 1889 she united in holy matrimony to Dr. Aaron McDuffie Moore, M.D., graduate of Shaw University's Leonard Medical college in Raleigh, North Carolina. He was also the first black doctor in Durham, North Carolina and would later become in 1899 one of the founders of the North Carolina Mutual and Provident Association, now referred to as North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company. He was also a founder of the Stanford L. Warren Library and the Lincoln Hospital all black institutions in the once thriving black business district known as "Hayti" a name which he coined after a visit to Haiti. Together, they had two daughters, Lyda and Mattie Louise, who married North Carolina Mutual executives Ed Merrick and Richard L. McDougald, respectively. It is recorded that "Mrs. Moore's life is reflected in the remarkable growth of the Durham Negro community over the past half century. She and Dr. Moore were integral parts of that life." In an article in the Federation Journal it is stated that "Her Christian service however, was not limited to the church organizations above, for she, like Dr. Moore, firmly believed in the humanistic aspects of practical Christianity which was constantly demonstrated in community activities.

In 1923 following the death of her husband, the late Dr. A. M. Moore, co-founder and second president of North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, as the Whelstone Magazine the major organ of the North Carolina Mutual
Insurance Company stated. "She became increasingly active in community affairs, succeeding Dr. Moore on numerous trustee boards of religious and civic institution."

Beverly Jones for instance, in her book the Stanford L. Warren Branch Library records that Mrs. Moore served as Treasurer of the Board of Trustees, Durham Colored Library and the Stanford L. Warren Public Library. She states "She became a member of the Board after his death in 1923. Mrs. Moore was Treasurer from 1933 until her death on July 29, 1950. On April 1, 1941, she donated $50.00 to purchase chairs in the auditorium of the basement." Through the Daughters of Dorcas Club, which she faithfully served as president from 1927 until 1950, she found additional revenue for philanthropic activities. She served on the board of trustees of the Lincoln Hospital, Stanford L. Warren Library, the board of The North Carolina Federation of Negro Women's Club of which she was a founder, the executive board of the Women's Baptist Home and Foreign Missionary Convention and of the Harriet Tubman Branch of the Young Women Christian Association. She constantly encouraged members to broaden their scope and to develop and sustain outstanding organization that will carry out community service and spread Christian principles.

Religiously she was a staunch member of the Baptist church although she was reared and educated in an African Episcopal Methodist Zion faith and setting. She was an ardent supporter of the White Rock Baptist Church in Durham, North Carolina. There she served as assistant superintendent of the White Rock Baptist
Church Sunday School and also a cherished member of the Communion Committee. She served for over thirty years, as teacher of the "Pals Class" of the Sunday School and treasurer of district no. 4, of White Rock Baptist Church.

When her health prevented her from continuing her teaching activities, the "Pals Class" named Mrs. Moore teacher-emeritus of their class.

Upon her death on July 26, 1950 at her home, at 606 Fayetteville Street, a chapter in the life of one of North Carolina's and Durham's most noted citizen was closed. The (NCFNWC) would record "For many years Mrs. Cottie S. Moore was one of the brightest lights of the North Carolina Dedication of Negro Women's Clubs." The funeral for Mrs. Moore was held at White Rock Baptist Church where hundreds of friends and relatives were assembled. Dr. Miles Mark Fisher, noted theologian, historian and pastor of White Rock Baptist Church chose as his text for the eulogy of Mrs. Moore "A Daughter of Dorcas" Acts 9:36, "This woman was full of good works and alms deeds which she did." Other notable personalities from the Mutual, the Daughters of Dorcas and the Reverend Dr. Johnson of St. Joseph African Methodist Episcopal Church would participate.

Pallbearer would include members of White Rock, North Carolina Mutual, Trustees of the Lincoln Hospital, and the Stanford L. Warren Public Library.

Floral bearers included the Daughters of Dorcas Club and members of the all women "Pals Sunday School Class." She was buried in the Beechwood Cemetery beside the remains of her late husband Dr. A. M. Moore and her daughter Mattie Louise who preceded her in death in 1928."
E. MRS. AGNES B. NELSON

Mrs. Agnes B. Nelson of Greensboro, North Carolina was born in Rome, Georgia. She attended the local public schools of Rome and matriculated at Hampton Institute, in Hampton, Virginia now called Hampton University. She was married to Dr. W. N. Nelson, a noted citizen of Greensboro. Among the founders of the NCFNWC she served in various capacities such as second treasurer of the N.C. Federation from 1924 to 1933, Recording Secretary 1940, and chairperson of the executive board from 1942 to 1943. She is also remembered as a fund raiser of the Efland Home for Girls. She served with distinction until death.

F. MINNIE R. SUMNER PEARSON

Minnie R. Sumner Pearson (1869-1940) of Durham, North Carolina was also a founding member of the (NCFNWC). She was born in Charlotte, North Carolina on June 6, 1869 the daughter of Jethrow and Janie Miller Sumner also of Charlotte. She received her early training in the local public schools of Charlotte. Later she attended A.M.E. Zion Church Led Livingstone College in Salisbury, North Carolina where she received a teaching certificate. After graduation from college, she taught in the city schools of Charlotte. On June 6, 1893 she married Professor W. G. Pearson, one of the state's most noted educator, business and fraternal leader. He served for over fifty years as the black Superintendent of
Negro Schools in the City. After moving to Durham, North Carolina to live, she continued to teach in both Durham City and May 11, 1995 Durham county School systems, she became actively involved in Durham's black middle class, where she fostered educational advancement and civic minded uplift for her community at large. No children were born to the union of the Pearsons although they raised and educated numerous nephews and nieces. During her tenure as the third president of the state federation (1936-1940) she was noted for work in two distinct areas -- that of political activism and the Efland Home For Girls.

She also was heavily involved in Durham's already progressive Black middle where she fostered such ideas as educational advancement, religious respectability, political activism and uplift for her community at large.

In her community she served as Chairperson of the Ladies Board of Lincoln Hospital; a member of the Board of the Stanford L. Warren Public Library and a founder of the Harriet Tubman Branch of the Y.W.C.A. all viable institutions in the South-East area of Durham known as Hayti.

Religiously she was a member of the St. Joseph A.M.E. Church in Durham where she served as Sunday School teacher and president of the Stewardess Board. Also she served as Treasurer of the Western Branch of the Home and Foreign Missionary Society which today bears her name. She later served as its vice-president then president. As a tribute to her work in the A.M.E. Church the A.M.E. Memorial Church of High Point, North Carolina was named in her honor.
Death for this noted club woman, civic leader and religious cornerstone came on September 5, 1940 at the (white) Watts Hospital in Durham. She died of cancer of the stomach and was eulogized at the St. Joseph A.M.E. Church on September 7, 1940. She was buried in the Pearson family plot in the Beechwood Cemetery in Hayti.

G. MRS. JULIA MCCAULEY WARREN

Mrs. Julia McCauley Warren (1877-1944) of Durham, North Carolina was a charter member of The Federation. In an article in The Federation Journal an organ of the (NCFNWC) it stated "Mrs. Julia Warren was one of the most unselfish club women North Carolina has ever seen." She was born in Sumter, South Carolina on August 12, 1877, but early in life was taken to Washington, D.C. where she was cared for by family and friends due to the death of her parents. She attended the local public schools of Washington and later attended Howard University where she obtained a teaching certificate. In 1900 she ventured to Durham, North Carolina where she accepted an assignment to teach Domestic Science in the Durham school system. However, another love of hers was beauty, culture and after studying during the summer months for a few years she left the teaching arena and opened a beauty salon in the city of Durham.

On December 28, 1904 Mrs. Warren married Dr. Stanford L. Warren, a noted physician, churchman, philanthropist and businessman. In 1909 she would later become one of the founders of the (NCFNWC) and remained a staunch supporter.
of The Federation. Mrs. Julia Warren, along with Minnie Pearson and Charlotte Brown, also played a substantial role in founding The Efland Home For Girls. In 1943, at the Annual Meeting of The N. C. Federation at Bennett College, Greensboro, North Carolina. Mrs. Warren was given the privilege of burning the mortgage because it was she who gave the first donation to the Efland Home in order to spread ideas of "true womanhood" to young African-American females in North Carolina.

Mrs. Warren was an active participant in the social, commercial and religious life of Durham. Besides being a pioneer business woman in Durham, Mrs. Warren was also a member of the influential Volkamenia Literary Club, one of the founders of the Harriet Tubman Branch of the Young Women Christian Association and served as an Executive Board member. A faithful member of the prominent St. Joseph's A.M.E. Church, she served in various capacities such as on the Stewardess Board, past president of the Women's Home and Foreign Missionary Society, organizer and teacher of the One More Effort class, treasurer of the Sunday School and superintendent of the Cradle Roll Department of the church. One daughter, Mrs. Selena Warren Wheeler, was born in this union.

At the time of her death on October 28, 1944. She was eulogized at St. Joseph A.M.E. Church on Monday, October 30, 1944. Dr. J. A. Valentine, pastor of the church eulogized Mrs. Warren and other ministers assisting included Dr. J. H. Thomas, pastor of Mt. Vernon Baptist Church and Dr. Miles Mark Fisher,
pastor of White Rock Baptist Church. She was long remembered as a pioneer club woman and a committed church servant.  

H. Bessie Doby

No information has been found on Mrs. Doby.

I. SARAH MCCOY FELDER

Sarah Felder - Sarah McCoy Felder was born the daughter of the late Ella and Mercer White in Virginia. She attended the public schools of Virginia, and later migrated to Durham, North Carolina. She was later married to John McCoy who preceded her in death. She later remarried Allie Clay Felder, Sr. (1889-1964) who was a native of Orangeburg, South Carolina. He attended the local public schools of South Carolina and later graduated from Claflin College, in Orangeburg, South Carolina.

They both became active ingredients in Durham's religious and civic life. Sarah Felder held membership in such prestigious circles as the Daughters of Dorcas Club, The Year Round Garden Club, The S. Moore Chapter of The Needle Guild of America and The Maude E. Logan District of White Rock Baptist Church in Durham, North Carolina.

Mr. Allie C. Felder, Sr. succeeded Mrs. Felder in death and died at the Lincoln Hospital in Durham, on August 2, 1964. Sarah Felder died on October 19, 1968 and her funeral was held on October 22, 1968 at the St. Joseph African
Ada Louise Yarborough Leach (1884-1983) was born in Raleigh, North Carolina in 1884. Her father was head waiter at the Yarborough Hotel in Raleigh and her mother worked as a domestic in the home of Washington Duke, tobacco magnet and millionaire. After her parents relocated to Durham they became active members of Durham's religious and civic affairs. As a youth she attended the all-black Whitted School and then the National Religious Training School, which was led by Dr. James Edward Shepard. The National Religious Training School has since been renamed North Carolina Central University. She stated "I recall that Dr. James E. Shepard who headed this school, would have General Julian S. Carr come and make talks. It was through Dr. Shepard that I received my education, training which would equip me to teach school," she said.

In 1905 she was united in holy matrimony to William T. Leach a native of Raleigh, North Carolina. He was employed for over forty-six years as an elevator operator by the Duke Power Company of Durham. Mr. Leach died in October of 1959. Three children were born to this union of which one William T. Leach, Jr. survived to adolescence. Both life long members of White Rock Baptist Church regularly gave financial support to the church. Mrs. Leach died in 1989 and was interred beside her husband in Beechwood Cemetery.
K. ANNIE MAGGIE MOORE LENNON

Annie Maggie Moore Lennon, was born in Columbus County, North Carolina the daughter of the Reverend Daniel J. and Mrs. Francenia Mitchell Moore. She attended the local public school in her community. She was baptized in Sandy Plain Baptist Church of Columbus County. She later was united in holy matrimony to Montgomery Lennon; to this union two children were born. In 1909 after the deaths of her husband and children she moved to Durham, North Carolina. There she joined the family of her paternal uncle and aunt Dr. A. M. and Mrs. Cottie S. Moore. She remained in the Moore home for over forty two years where she cared for the immediate family and dozens of visiting relatives pursuing educational degrees and business careers.

She along with Mrs. Cottie Moore were active participants in the religious, civic and institutional advancement of the "Hayti" community in Durham, North Carolina. She had the distinction in 1917 of not only being a founder of the Daughters of Dorcas Club but also its first president and served from 1917 to 1921. She was also a member of the Executive Board of the Harriet Tubman Branch of the Young Women Christian Association; Chairperson of the Cottie Moore district of the Needlework Guild of America; a member of the Ladies Auxiliary of the Lincoln Hospital and member and Treasurer of the Board of Trustees of the Stanford L. Warren Public Library founded by Dr. A. M. Moore in the Baraca room of White Rock Baptist Church.
A staunch Baptist she immediately became a member of the White Rock Baptist Church where she worked as a committed servant. She served for many years on the Baptismal and Communion Committees; she was Superintendent of the Primary Department of its Sunday School, Treasurer of the Sunday School Forum and Treasurer of District Four.

She died on November 29, 1962 and was eulogized on December 1, 1962 at the White Rock Baptist Church. The Reverend Miles Mark fisher, pastor of the church chose for his topic "Friend Maggie." Members of the Philaethea Sunday School Class of White Rock Baptist Church, Daughters of Dorcas Club, Harriet Tubman Branch of the Y.W.C.A. and the Needlework Guild of America served as her floral bearers. She was interred in the Moore Family plot in Beechwood Cemetery.

L. Bessie Pratt

No information has been obtained on the life of Mrs. Pratt.
Janie Spaulding was born in Clarkton, North Carolina. At a very early age she migrated to Durham, North Carolina where many of her family members including the Spaulding and Moore families had already come for educational and financial advancement. She attended the local Whitted School and continued her education at Hampton Institute in Hampton, Virginia. She later was employed as one of the first clerks at the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company. For a number of years she owned and operated Spaulding Real Estate Agency.

She was married to Alonzo Gaston Spaulding. Janie Spaulding was actively involved in the civic business and religious life of Durham, North Carolina. She was among the organizers of the Harriet Tubman Branch of the Y.W.C.A. and became a life member of this organization. Further in 1917 she became a charter member of the Daughters of Dorcas Club and served as its first Secretary.

Religiously she was a member of Durham's White Baptist Church and a member of the Adult Missionary Sunday School Class no. 2. She died on October 17, 1971 at her home, 110 Lawson Street. Her funeral was held at the White Rock Church on October 19, 1971. She was interred in Beechwood Cemetery in Durham.
Mrs. Lillie A. Thompson was born in Durham County and attended the Whitted School in Durham. She was a long-time member of White Rock Baptist Church where she served as a member of the Deaconess Board, the Minerva Womack Missionary Circle, District 14, and a charter member of the Philathea Sunday School Class.

In 1906 she was united in holy matrimony to Mrs. David A. Thompson (1876-1973) who was born in Alamance County until moving to Durham to work at the Liggett and Myers Tobacco Company. At White Rock Baptist which he joined soon after migrating to the city he served on the Deacon Board, the James E. Shepard Bible Class and the D. Thompson District which was named in his honor.

Lillie Thompson was a charter member of the Daughters of Dorcas Club, and a member of the Price Street Neighborhood Club. She along with her husband had the distinction of being the oldest two policyholders of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company.

Death for Mrs. Thompson came on July 7, 1970 and she was eulogized at the Saint Joseph's A.M.E. Church because of the construction of a new White Rock Baptist Church. Mr. Thompson died on September 25, 1973 and funeral services were held in the new White Rock Baptist Church on September 27, 1973.

Mr. and Mrs. Thompson were buried in the Beechwood Cemetery in Durham, North Carolina.
Mrs. Matilda Braham Townsend was born in Henderson, North Carolina on July 28, 1883 the daughter of John Braham and Parthenia Sneed. At an early age she moved to Durham, North Carolina with her parents who came to work in the tobacco industry. In 1892 she was baptized by the Reverend A. P. Eaton at the White Rock Baptist Church, where she was a life long member. She was a long time member of the Philathea Bible Class of the (WRBC) Sunday School. For many years she sang in the choir and was a member of the Edward M. Brawley District which held its first organizational meeting at her home.

She was united in holy matrimony to Raymond Trice until his untimely death. After his demise she married Haywood Townsend who also preceded her in death. Of this union one child was born to this marriage.

She served for years with distinction as a domestic in the home of the late Duke University professor C. W. Toms and subsequently for his daughter the late Mrs. J. A. Buchanan where she remained until retirement. Her community affiliations included being a charter member of The Daughters of Dorcas Club but also a member of the Utopia Club.

She died on March 14, 1965 in Durham, North Carolina and funeral services were held on March 17, 1965 at the White Rock Baptist Church where the pastor Dr. Miles Mark Fisher chose as his text "God Is All Right." She was interred in Beechwood Cemetery.


For information on Mrs. Cotton see the Henderson Institute Archives materials in the Cotton files. Also see the Cotton Memorial Presbyterian Church materials for Cotton family. Also see quotes on Maude Cotton in banquet program entitled Cotton Memorial Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.--Centennial Edition (1888-1988), held at Cotton Memorial on November 26, 1988 in Henderson, North Carolina.

For information on Mrs. Moore see the author.

Information on Mrs. Nelson in the possession of the author.

Quotes on Mrs. Pearson are taken from primary sources inclusive of church programs, funeral programs and other information given to the author by Mrs. Jesse Logan Pearson, niece of Mrs. Pearson.

For information on Mrs. Warren see the author. Family information on the life of Mrs. Warren was provided by Mrs. Selena Warren Wheeler, daughter of Mrs. Warren.

No information has been obtained on the life of Mrs. Doby.

Information on Mrs. Felder was obtained from the White Rock Baptist Church Archives room.

11. Information on Mrs. Lennon was obtained from the funeral program of Mrs. Lennon, in the possession of the author.

12. No information has been obtained on the life of Mrs. Pratt.

13. Information on Mrs. Spaulding is in the possession of the author.

14. Information on Mrs. Thompson is in the possession of the author.

15. Information on Mrs. Townsend is in the possession of the author.
This thesis presented the development of the women's club movement from the founding of the NACWC 1896 the response of women to Jim Crow in the South. The dynamics of Jim Crow desegregation in the South served to unite club women as they emerged to defend racial attacks upon their character. This response was very evident on the national level with the creation of the NACWC, on the state level, the formation of the North Carolina Federation of Negro Women's Club (1909), and on the local level, the emergence of the Daughters of Dorcas Club (1917). As a network of club women they were bound together to promote gender solidarity, class consciousness and racial understanding as a means to uplift their communities.

This research provides a microcosm study of the Daughters of Dorcas Club from 1917-1954. The club developed a three-point plan: (1) international, (2) state, and (3) local level efforts in order to meet the needs of the race. The history of the Daughters of Dorcas and other clubs are a collective history of clubwork among African American women whose lives intersected as a result of their desire to remove the veil of poverty and despair from those who were disenfranchised. It is also an account of women whose lives and stories were
marginalized and placed on the fringes of historical debate and interpretation. Scholars in many ways have overlooked many of the ties that bound black women together such as race, sex and class consciousness. The historical profession has just begun to grapple with adequately recording the achievements and accomplishments of countless black heroines who have for centuries remained oblivious to the recorded pages of history and times.

This study examines a movement of organized reformers from a position of marginalization to a position of prominence. Moreover, it is a discovery of the social, political, religious and cultural lives of determined African-American women reformists who sought change through the only avenue that they knew, that of organized reform.

There were several common threads that united black club women in Durham; they were education, socio-economic status, civic mindedness, and religion. The club members were all well educated and members of the black middle class and the same clubs in Durham. Many of the organizers formed common bonds and ties that united club women in the Daughters of Dorcas whose lives intersected figuratively in terms of race, class solidarity, gender and religious issues.

It was in the early years 1917-1950, that part one of the three point plan was implemented. Under the leadership of Presidents Maggie Lennon, Nellie Whitted, and Cottie Moore they met the immediate needs of the Hayti community. The establishment of a working relationship with the Lincoln
Hospital served to address many of the inadequate health care needs of the economically disadvantaged residents in the city. So positive was their impact on the hospital that a Dorcas room was established at Lincoln as an ongoing tribute to the Daughters of Dorcas Club.

From 1950 to 1954, the progressive leadership of Ruth G. Rush and Lyda Merrick helped to catalyze the last two points of the three-point plan. Rush as President of the Dorcas Club and the North Carolina Federation of Negro Women's Clubs served not only to establish an international effort to aid missionaries in Africa, but also served to provide financial infrastructure for Lyda Merrick's Negro Braille Magazine.

Through the formation of clubs in Durham's African American community, African American women served as vehicles of change as they transformed difficult situations into positive ones. As agents of change, these reformers sought to improve the lives of people in their communities on the local level and often moved to broaden their scope by organizing on the national level. In their efforts to "Make A Way Out of No Way" club women constantly struggled to harness strength from within the race as they fought assiduously both night and day to remove many of the racist, verbal, literary and physical attacks upon their character which was a remnant of predominant white society from the days of slavery.

The Daughters of Dorcas Club has for seventy-eight years served as a beacon of hope and a spark of life for those who are still downtrodden and
disadvantaged. Through their many efforts they have still maintained consistency in meeting the needs of their communities. Whether it is sending a cheer card to the sick, visiting the rest homes or paying fuel and electricity bills for the underserved the club goes on.

The history of the history of the Dorcas Club records that during its seventy-eight years of existence, no meeting has been cancelled as a result of bad weather. This attests to the devotion and commitment of service-oriented clubs that seek to aid those who need support and uplift. In conclusion, this study included here validates the commitment made by black women reformists in Durham as they sought to uplift the community as they climbed.
Table of Contents for Appendix

I. Dorcas Club Necrology

II. Past Presidents of Dorcas Club
   - Maggie Lennon 1917-1921
   - Nellie Whitted 1921-1927
   - Cottie S. Moore 1927-1950
   - Lyda V. Merrick 1954-1964

III. Presidents of the (NCFNWC)
   - 1909-1914 Marie L. Clinton
   - 1915-1936 Charlotte Hawkins Brown
   - 1936-1940 Minnie S. Pearson
   - 1941-1945 Lula Spaulding Kelsey
   - 1946-1953 Ruth G. Rush
   - 1954-1957 Rose Douglass Aggrey

all deceased
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<td>Lottie Campbell</td>
<td>1902-91</td>
<td>Educator</td>
<td>White Rock Baptist Church</td>
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<td>Otelia S. Stewart</td>
<td>1909-91</td>
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<td>Marjorie Shepard</td>
<td>1897-92</td>
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<td>Mary Horton</td>
<td>1908-92</td>
<td>Educator</td>
<td>West Durham Baptist Church</td>
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<td>Martha S. Dooms</td>
<td>1911-92</td>
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<td>Elise E. Greene</td>
<td>1903-92</td>
<td>Educator</td>
<td>White Rock Baptist Church</td>
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history account of the founding of the Negro Braille Magazine as told by Mrs. Lyda Moore Merrick to Delores Marvin.


The title "The Will and the Way," was taken from a 1929 play that was arranged by Hilda A. Davis, and the dancing was directed by Mildred Burris as a tribute to Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown. The play depicted the development of Palmer Memorial through the lens of its founder Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown. This thesis seeks to examine in the same spirit the idea of the "The Will and the Way" which is a fitting tribute to the historical development of African American club women who sought to make a way out of no way, on the local, state and national level.


8. Ibid., 93.

9. Ibid., 93.


18. Information on Marie Clay Clinton included in Chapter IV.

19. Wesley, 312.

20. Ibid.

21. Information on Lula Spaulding Kelsey found in 60th Anniversary booklet, 8.

22. Ibid., 9.

23. This biblical verse is taken from the Old Testament of the King James version of the Bible.


33. The Daughters of Dorcas Club song was written by Mattie Louise Moore McDougald in the early 1920's. (1893-1928) She was the daughter of Dr. Aaron M. Moore and Mrs. Cottie Moore. She not only wrote the words and music to the club song but she also suggested the name Daughters of Dorcas. She was married to banker Richard L. McDougald of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank.


39. Ibid., 72.


43. For information on Mrs. Cotton see the Henderson Institute Archives materials in the Cotton files. Also see the Cotton Memorial Presbyterian Church materials on the Cotton family. Also see quotes on Maude Cotton in banquet program entitled Cotton Memorial Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.--Centennial Edition (1888-1988), held at Cotton Memorial on November 26, 1988 in Henderson, North Carolina.

44. For information on Mrs. Moore see the author.

45. Information on Mrs. Nelson in the possession of the author.

46. Quotes on Mrs. Pearson are taken from primary sources inclusive of church programs, funeral programs and other information given to the author by Mrs. Jesse Logan Pearson, niece of Mrs. Pearson.

47. For information on Mrs. Warren see the author. Family information on the life of Mrs. Warren was provided by Mrs. Selena Warren Wheeler, daughter of Mrs. Warren.

48. No information has been obtained on the life of Mrs. Doby.

49. Information on Mrs. Felder was obtained from the White Rock Baptist Church Archives room.

51. Information on Mrs. Lennon was obtained from the funeral program of Mrs. Lennon, in the possession of the author.

52. No information has been obtained on the life of Mrs. Pratt.

53. Information on Mrs. Spaulding is in the possession of the author.

54. Information on Mrs. Thompson is in the possession of the author.

55. Information on Mrs. Townsend is in the possession of the author.
Black Women Unite: A History
Black Women's Club in Durham, North Carolina, 1917-1954

This reserved book is not transferable and must not be taken from the library, except when properly charged out for overnight use.

Date
Name