

**United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places  
Registration Form**

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form* (National Register Bulletin 16A). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the information requested. If an item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions. Place additional entries and narrative items on continuation sheets (NPS Form 10-900a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer, to complete all items.

**1. Name of Property**

historic name St. Joseph African Methodist Episcopal Church (Additional Documentation / AD)

other names/site number St. Joseph's African Methodist Episcopal Church, Hayti Heritage Center

**2. Location**

street & number 804 Fayetteville Street

**N/A** not for publication

city or town Durham

**N/A** vicinity

stat North Carolina code NC county Durham code 063 zip code 27701  
e \_\_\_\_\_

**3. State/Federal Agency Certification**

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended, I hereby certify that this  nomination  request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set for in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property  meets  does not meet the National Register criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant  nationally  statewide  locally. (See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature of certifying official/Title State Historic Preservation Officer Date \_\_\_\_\_

North Carolina Department of Natural and Cultural Resources

State or Federal agency and bureau

In my opinion, the property  meets  does not meet the National Register criteria. ( See Continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature of certifying official/Title \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

State or Federal agency and bureau

**4. National Park Service Certification**

I hereby certify that the property is:

entered in the National Register.

See continuation sheet

determined eligible for the National Register.

See continuation sheet

determined not eligible for the National Register.

removed from the National Register.

other,(explain:) \_\_\_\_\_

Signature of the Keeper

Date of Action

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**5. Classification**

**Ownership of Property**  
(Check as many boxes as apply)

- private
- public-local
- public-State
- public-Federal

**Category of Property**  
(Check only one box)

- building(s)
- district
- site
- structure
- object

**Number of Resources within Property**  
(Do not include previously listed resources in count.)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
0	0	buildings
0	0	sites
0	0	structures
0	0	objects
0	0	Total

**Name of related multiple property listing**  
(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing.)  
N/A

**Number of Contributing resources previously listed in the National Register**  
1

**6. Function or Use**

**Historic Functions**  
(Enter categories from instructions)

RELIGION: Religious Facility  
SOCIAL: Meeting Hall

**Current Functions**  
(Enter categories from instructions)

RECREATION AND CULTURE: Auditorium  
SOCIAL: Meeting Hall

**7. Description**

**Architectural Classification**  
(Enter categories from instructions)

GOTHIC REVIVAL  
MODERN MOVEMENT

**Materials**  
(Enter categories from instructions)

foundation BRICK  
walls BRICK

roof STONE: Slate  
ASPHALT

other

**Narrative Description**

(Describe the historic and current condition of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

**8. Statement of Significance**

**Applicable National Register Criteria**

(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

- A** Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- B** Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- C** Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- D** Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

**Criteria Considerations**

(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

Property is:

- A** owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.
- B** removed from its original location.
- C** a birthplace or grave.
- D** a cemetery.
- E** a reconstructed building, object, or structure.
- F** a commemorative property
- G** less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years.

**Areas of Significance**

(Enter categories from instructions)

Ethnic Heritage: Black  
Civil Rights  
Social History  
Architecture

**Period of Significance**

1891-1976

**Significant Dates**

1952

**Significant Person**

(Complete if Criterion B is marked)

Fitzgerald, Richard Burton

**Cultural Affiliation**

African American

**Architect/Builder**

Leary, Samuel Linton, architect (1891 church)  
Haines, H. N., architect (1952 addition)  
Haynes Construction Company (1952 addition)  
DePasquale Thompson Wilson Architects & Planners  
(1991 addition)  
The Freelon Group, architects (2001, 2010 renovations)

**Narrative Statement of Significance**

(Explain the significance of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

**9. Major Bibliographical References**

**Bibliography**

(Cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form on one or more continuation sheets.)

**Previous documentation on file (NPS):**

- preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
- previously listed in the National Register
- previously determined eligible by the National Register
- designated a National Historic Landmark
- recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # \_\_\_\_\_
- recorded by Historic American Engineering Record \_\_\_\_\_

**Primary location of additional data:**

- State Historic Preservation Office
- Other State Agency
- Federal Agency
- Local Government
- University
- Other

Name of repository: Durham County Library, Main  
Branch, Durham

St. Joseph African Methodist Episcopal Church (AD)  
Name of Property

Durham County, NC  
County and State

## 10. Geographical Data

**Acreeage of Property** 1.05 acres  
See Latitude/Longitude coordinates continuation sheet

### UTM References

(Place additional UTM references on a continuation sheet.)

1                                   
Zone Easting Northing  
2                                 

3                                   
Zone Easting Northing  
4                                 

See continuation sheet

### Verbal Boundary Description

(Describe the boundaries of the property on a continuation sheet.)

### Boundary Justification

(Explain why the boundaries were selected on a continuation sheet.)

## 11. Form Prepared By

name/title Heather Fearnbach  
organization Fearnbach History Services, Inc. date 1/4/2024  
street & number 3334 Nottingham Road telephone 336-765-2661  
city or town Winston-Salem state NC zip code 27104

### Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

#### Continuation Sheets

#### Maps

A **USGS map** (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location

A **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources.

#### Photographs

Representative **black and white photographs** of the property.

#### Additional items

(Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items.)

## Property Owner

(Complete this item at the request of SHPO or FPO.)

name St. Joseph's Historic Foundation, c/o Angela Lee, Executive/Artistic Director  
street & number 804 Fayetteville Street telephone (919) 683-1709  
city or town Durham state NC zip code 27701

**Paperwork Reduction Act Statement:** This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listing. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C. 470 *et seq.*)

**Estimated Burden Statement:** Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 18.1 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Chief, Administrative Services Division, National Park Service, P. O. Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127; and the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reductions Projects (1024-0018), Washington, DC 20303.

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# National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number 7 Page 1 St. Joseph African Methodist Episcopal Church (AD)  
Durham County, NC

## Introduction

St. Joseph African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1976 under Criterion A for its statewide religious and Black ethnic heritage significance and Criterion C for its architectural importance.<sup>1</sup> The period of significance for the 1976 nomination begins in 1891, when construction of the Gothic Revival-style sanctuary designed by Philadelphia architect Samuel L. Leary and built with brick supplied by prominent Black Durham businessman Richard Burton Fitzgerald commenced. The period of significance end date was not specified. The purpose of this additional documentation is to update the nomination to correct inaccuracies; describe the building's 1952 and 1991 expansion and subsequent modification; delineate the period of significance; establish significance under Criterion A in the areas of social history and civil rights; provide architectural context; add Criterion B as an area of significance for the sanctuary's association with Richard Burton Fitzgerald; and explain the building's function as Hayti Heritage Center after the congregation occupied a Modernist sanctuary at 2521 Fayetteville Street in 1976. Minimal religion context was provided in the 1976 nomination and that area of significance will no longer be claimed. Although the church is often referred to as St. Joseph's AME (as in the 1976 nomination), the congregation's actual name is St. Joseph AME.

Additional documentation provided herein is in the following sections from the current NRHP nomination form: Section 1 (property name); Section 2 (location); Section 5, Classification (ownership); Section 6 (current function); Section 7, Description; Section 8, Statement of Significance; Section 9, Major Bibliographical References; Section 10, Geographical Data; Section 11, Author; and Section 12, Additional Documentation, including an updated site plan, floor plans, and photographs illustrating current general views with an accompanying photo key. Although the National Register boundary has not changed as a result of this update (the parcel is the same, but the stated acreage in the 1976 nomination was incorrect), a map that delineates the boundary is included in this Additional Documentation submission.

## Section 7. Narrative Description

### Site

St. Joseph AME Church stands one block south of the Durham Freeway (North Carolina Highway 147) on Fayetteville Street's east side. Highway construction began in 1967 and the first section was completed in late 1970. The traffic corridor's creation in conjunction with the city's urban renewal program decimated the vibrant African American neighborhood of Hayti, displacing hundreds of

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<sup>1</sup> Mary Alice Hinson and John B. Flowers III, "St. Joseph's African Methodist Episcopal Church," National Register of Historic Places nomination, 1976.

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businesses and families. St. Joseph AME Church, the oldest extant community landmark, maintains a prominent presence at the north end of the remaining portion of Hayti.

The church occupies a 1.05-acre lot bounded by East Lakewood Avenue to the north, Fayetteville Street to the west, Old Fayetteville Street to the east, and Phoenix Square, a 1987 strip mall comprising two one-story flat-roofed buildings flanking a parking lot, to the south. Concrete municipal sidewalks border the streets. The primary façade fronts Old Fayetteville Street. The 1891 church and south 1952 and 1991 additions span the east third of the parcel. An elevated 1991 brick and concrete terrace and asphalt-paved parking lot fill the area west of the building. A narrow alley separates the south elevation from Phoenix Square's north building. Chain-link fences secure the alley's east and west ends.

Most egress is from the west, where wide concrete steps with orange-finished tubular-steel railings rise from the parking lot to a landing and turn south to terminate at a concrete-paver terrace edged with matching railings. Planting beds with deciduous and evergreen trees and shrubs line the terrace's tall north and west foundation walls, minimizing its visual impact. Tall square brick columns punctuate the ground-level landscaped area south of the terrace. Wide concrete sidewalks lead from the parking lot to two basement entrances, one in the elevator vestibule and the other to the south at the southwest 1991 stair tower and corridor's west end.

A two-level concrete-paver courtyard completely fills the area east of the 1991 hyphen. Planting beds containing deciduous and evergreen trees and shrubs and flowers flank wide concrete steps with orange-finished tubular-steel railings. Concrete-capped brick walls border the planting beds and steps.

## Setting

Late-twentieth-century commercial and residential development dramatically transformed the area flanking Fayetteville Street near the highway. On Old Fayetteville Street's east side opposite St. Joseph AME Church, where late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century houses were demolished, late-twentieth-century residences line three cul-de-sacs. The five houses on Withers Court were built in 1984 and 1985. The Foxgate Development encompasses seven clusters of 1986 townhouses on Hayti Lane. Habitat for Humanity erected seven houses on Shirley Caesar Court in 1994. East and south of that development, the two-hundred-unit Fayetteville Street public housing complex, erected in 1966 and 1967, replaced blocks of houses and businesses. Designed by the Durham architecture firm John D. Latimer and Associates for the Durham Housing Authority, the complex of two-story, redbrick, low-gable-roofed buildings occupied nineteen acres bounded by Fayetteville Street to the west, Umstead Street to the south, and the Durham

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Freeway to the east and north.<sup>2</sup> The public housing complex was demolished in 2009. Today the chain-link-fenced site is overgrown and vacant, with deteriorated concrete foundation slabs and paved parking areas and sidewalks remaining.

However, a mix of residences, businesses, churches, schools, recreational venues, and institutional buildings historically associated with the African American community remain further south. Significant resources on East Umstead Street west of Fayetteville Street include the former Harriet Tubman YWCA (1953, 1969) and Hillside Park High School (1922, 1955; NR 2013), the city's first public secondary school for Black students.<sup>3</sup> The locally designated Fayetteville Street Historic District (2000), a linear collection of resources fronting the road between East Umstead and Nelson Streets, includes early- to mid-twentieth century houses as well as the W. D. Hill Recreation Center, which occupies the site of the Algonquin Tennis Club's two-story frame clubhouse and three red-clay tennis courts. The club, established in 1922, met in private homes until acquiring the clubhouse in 1934. The African American fraternal organization hosted social gatherings and provided accommodations for Black travelers during the mid-twentieth century.<sup>4</sup>

The primarily residential Stokesdale Historic District (NR 2010) spans Fayetteville Street and encompasses much of the locally designated Fayetteville Street Historic District. Most of the 203 resources within the Stokesdale district were constructed between 1912 and 1960. Just to the south, North Carolina Central University (NCCU, NR 1986) also flanks Fayetteville Street. The historically Black institution began operating as a private school in 1910, was reconstituted as a teacher training school in 1915, received state financial support in 1923, and in 1925 became North Carolina's first publicly funded four-year liberal arts college for African American students, then named North Carolina College for

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<sup>2</sup> "First Families Ready," *Durham Morning Herald* (hereafter abbreviated *DMH*), December 17, 1966, p. B1. The complex was renamed Fayette Place in the early 2000s when the Durham Housing Authority commenced planning for the property's renovation.

<sup>3</sup> Hillside Park High School was renamed Hillside High School in 1941, James A. Whitted Elementary School in 1950, and James A. Whitted Junior High School in the 1950s. The campus consists of a T-shaped, two-story-on-basement, redbrick, Classical Revival building erected in 1922 and expanded in 1955 with a redbrick Modernist addition encompassing a three-story T-shaped classroom block and one-story-on-basement gymnasium. Jennifer F. Martin, "Hillside Park High School," National Register of Historic Places nomination, 2013. The complex was renovated in 2016 to house Whitted School, a preschool, and Veranda at Whitted, affordable senior apartments. The City of Durham incorporated the school's athletic fields to the south into Hillside Park, which encompasses a baseball/softball field, basketball court, swimming pool, playground, sprayground, shelter, grill, and picnic tables.

<sup>4</sup> The Algonquin Tennis Club dissolved in 1964 and the clubhouse burned in on July 16, 1968. Fay Mitchell, "N.C. Highway Historical Marker Honors Groundbreaking Tennis Club," North Carolina Department of Natural and Cultural Resources press release, July 31, 2019. W. D. Hill Recreation Center includes a fitness center, gymnasium, playground, and tennis courts.

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Negroes. The residential College Heights Historic District (NR 2019), west of the university campus and Fayetteville Street, contains 159 primary resources erected from around 1925 to 1966.<sup>5</sup>

## St. Joseph AME Church, 1891, 1952, 1991, 2001

The following description provides information not included in the 1976 nomination and details changes since that time.

### *Rehabilitation Overview*

Initial stabilization including roof repair, exterior wall cleaning and waterproofing, and interior painting and plaster restoration was undertaken in the late 1970s and early 1980s. When more funding was available in the late 1980s, St. Joseph's Historic Foundation engaged the Durham architecture firm DePasquale Thompson Wilson (DTW) Architects and Planners, Ltd. to delineate the scope of work and render drawings for a two-phase \$5.5-million renovation and expansion. The first phase, which modified and slightly enlarged the 1952 wing to facilitate heritage center programming, was finished in July 1991. The L-shaped wing's north section, which abutted the 1891 sanctuary, was replaced with a glass-enclosed hyphen. The second phase, the sanctuary's renovation to serve as a performance hall, was completed in August 2001 under the direction of the Freelon Group, a Durham firm headed by African American architect Philip Freelon. The firm also specified mechanical systems replacement and finish updates throughout the building in 2010.

### *Description*

#### **1891 Sanctuary Exterior**

Most of the 1891 sanctuary exterior remains as described in 1976. During the rehabilitation, brick walls were cleaned and repointed as needed and the foundation was reparged. Roof repairs were executed per the specifications of structural engineer David C. Fischetti. Wood decking and slate shingles were removed to allow for heavy timber trusses repair and replacement and reinstalled. The twenty-four figural and foliate stained glass windows were refurbished by Hauser Studios.<sup>6</sup> The concrete steps at the northwest entrance received orange-finished tubular-steel railings. A 2021 award from the National Park

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<sup>5</sup> Heather Wagner, "Stokesdale Historic District," National Register of Historic Places nomination, 2010; Charles W. Wadlington, "North Carolina Central University," in William Powell, ed., *Encyclopedia of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 808; Heather Slane and Cheri Szcondronski, "College Heights Historic District," National Register of Historic Places nomination, 2019.

<sup>6</sup> Froehling and Robertson, Inc., "Analysis of Scissors Trusses, St. Joseph's Church," February 11, 1986 report, and 1987 and 1988 stained glass window restoration proposals from Hauser Studios, Boxes 1 and 2, Frank DePasquale Collection, North Carolina Collection, Durham County Library, Durham.



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Service's African American Civil Rights Grant Program subsidized the June 2024 replacement of the double-leaf, seven panel, wood door at that entrance at a cost of approximately \$35,000.<sup>7</sup> The western three bays of the south elevation, initially encapsulated by the 1952 addition, remain enclosed in the glazed two-story 1991 hyphen. Two stained-glass windows flank double-leaf doors at both levels that provide egress between the sanctuary and lobbies. The windows are protected by full-height wood-framed glass panels set within the openings on the lobby side. The brick wall's upper section and buttresses are exposed. The lower portion is sheathed with painted gypsum board.

## 1891 Sanctuary Interior

The sanctuary interior was completely restored in 2001. Plaster walls were repaired and repainted. The wood floors were refinished and the wainscoting, trim, and doors were re-lacquered. The pressed metal ceiling was removed in conjunction with the roof repair, reinstalled, and repainted. Woody Crenshaw, a historic lighting expert from Floyd, Virginia, restored three 1891 brass chandeliers. The primary modifications were construction of a balcony section to span the distance between the east and west balconies, an accessible ramp adjacent to the south wall beneath the balcony, and a lift at the stage's northeast corner. The circa 1910 Mollier pipe organ was dismantled and stored offsite. New mechanical systems, stage lighting and curtains, a large retractable projection screen, and a sound system were installed. A \$177,011 allocation from the National Park Service's African American Civil Rights Grant Program in 2021 subsidized the pew restoration completed in fall 2023.<sup>8</sup> The partial basement, which contained offices, a meeting room, restrooms, and the boiler room, now functions as mechanical and storage rooms. The basement stair is at the stage's northwest corner adjacent to an exterior door on the north wall.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Carol Lloyd (Hayti Heritage Center development director), email correspondence and telephone conversation with Heather Fearnbach, July 2024.

<sup>8</sup> The pipe organ, original steeple bell, hymnal holders removed from pews, and other artifacts were returned to Hayti Heritage Center in 2013 and have since been stored in the basement. Paul Bonner, "Heritage Unearthed, Reborn," *Durham Herald-Sun* (hereafter abbreviated *DHS*), March 14, 2000, pp. 1-2; Artelia Covington, "Lighting Up a Historic Church," *DHS*, August 24, 2001, pp. C1 and C3; National Park Service, "National Park Service awards \$15 million to help preserve African American civil rights history," press release, July 27, 2021; Angela Lee, telephone conversation with Heather Fearnbach, March 29, 2024.

<sup>9</sup> Although the congregation rarely used the sanctuary basement after the 1952 addition was constructed, the space functioned as a meeting place for civil rights advocates during the mid-twentieth century. Walter Riley, then a high school student, attended planning meetings, peaceful civil disobedience training sessions, and post-demonstration gatherings in the basement, which was easily accessible from the northwest entrance, as well as mass meetings in the sanctuary. Walter Riley, telephone conversation with Heather Fearnbach, January 19, 2024; Reverend Casimir Brown, telephone conversation with Heather Fearnbach, January 22, 2024.

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## 1952/1991 Addition Exterior

The two-story-on-basement, L-shaped, variegated-red-brick-veneered 1952 addition comprised a gable-roofed education building that extended south from the sanctuary and a hip-roofed parsonage that projected east from the education building at its south end (Exhibits A and B). The education building structure remained largely intact during the 1991 renovation except for removal of the north section adjacent to the sanctuary to create a glass-enclosed hyphen containing lobbies and art galleries on both floors. The hyphen roof system comprises steel beams and trusses exposed on the interior beneath translucent panels. On both sides of the hyphen, terraces abut the sanctuary's south wall. The remainder of the education building received a more steeply pitched asphalt-shingle roof.

Above a traditional six-to-one common bond foundation, the education building walls comprise six stretcher courses followed by a course of alternating stretchers and headers. The one-over-one sash windows in most existing openings on the exposed west and south elevations were installed in 2010. Portions of the walls have been repointed and two second-story window openings in the west wall's north bays filled with lighter red running-bond brick. Aluminum fascia gutters, downspouts, and were installed in 2010.<sup>10</sup>

Two stair towers and an elevator tower were constructed on the east and west elevations outside of the 1952 footprint. All have flat roofs, running-bond red brick veneer, and aluminum coping. The three-story elevator shaft at the terrace's southeast corner is topped with a darker red-brick penthouse. Large clear-glass-look windows light the stair towers and elevator tower vestibules. Single- and double-leaf metal doors provide egress.

The parsonage was replaced in 1991 with a taller two-story-on-basement, flat-roofed wing with an angled south wall that parallels the property line. Flat parapets partially conceal HVAC and other mechanical equipment. The running-bond red brick walls are punctuated with a header-and-soldier belt course between the first and second stories. The uppermost portion of the walls above the second-story belt course of square, ivory-colored, rough-face concrete tile is darker red brick. Six one-over-one sash windows (three on each level) pierce the wing's north elevation. Four matching sash punctuate the east elevation's second story. The one-story, flat-roofed stair tower that covers the first story has three nine-section metal sash with internal metal screens on the east elevation and a large clear-glass-look window and a single-leaf metal door on the north elevation. The recessed entrance vestibule with metal screen walls at the tower's south end shelters the single-leaf metal door. The wing's south elevation is blind.

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<sup>10</sup> The Freelon Group, "St. Joseph's Hayti Heritage Center Stabilization and Maintenance Project," February 22, 2010, drawings in the possession of Hayti Heritage Center.

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## 1952/1991 Addition Interior

Although the 1952 interior was heavily altered in 1991, some original walls remain. The west first-floor classrooms and offices were reconfigured to create offices flanking a central corridor. The remaining offices, classrooms, pastor's study, and meeting room were removed to allow for the open lobby and art gallery. On the second floor, a lobby, corridor, two expansive classrooms, and a corridor replaced classrooms of various sizes. The basement, originally the fellowship hall and kitchen, encompasses a large open central room lined on two sides with staff and small business offices. The central room was initially intended to serve as an archival repository. Restrooms were updated on each floor. The new wing constructed on the parsonage site contains a first-floor community room and kitchen, second-floor dance studio, and basement storage and mechanical rooms. Angling the south wall allowed for more square footage. Front and rear terraces were added to provide egress and outdoor gathering areas. Two large storage rooms, the basement elevator lobby, and a mechanical room are beneath the west (rear) terrace. The west storage room is only accessible from the exterior.<sup>11</sup>

Utilitarian 1952 finishes were replaced during renovations in 1991 and 2010. The interior is characterized by acoustical tile and painted gypsum board ceilings and painted gypsum board walls. Some were replaced in kind following 2010 mechanical system upgrades. Floor finishes reflect room function: large square ceramic tile in the first-floor lobby and community room, vinyl-composition-tile in the kitchen and adjacent storage room, commercial-grade carpeting in offices and classrooms, small square beige floor tile in restrooms, and resilient rubber in the dance studio. Bathrooms have full-height square white-and-beige-glazed ceramic-tile wall sheathing. In 2010, carpeting was replaced and luxury vinyl plank floors were installed in the open basement room, the south portion of the first-floor gallery and the adjacent corridor, the second-floor lobby and corridor, and all elevator vestibules.<sup>12</sup> In the second-floor lobby, a glass railing with a molded wood handrail secures the edges of the walkway that extends to wide wood steps and the landing at the sanctuary entrance. Emily Weinstein and David Wilson painted the mural of historic Hayti that wraps around the lobby's south wall in 2019.<sup>13</sup> A timeline of Hayti's history is mounted on the corridor's west wall. The steel and concrete stairs in the three 1991 stair towers have horizontal-bar tubular-steel railings, coin-pattern rubber treads, and square textured-rubber-tile landing floors. Single and double-leaf flat-panel wood-veneered doors with a natural finish and metal storage and mechanical room doors were installed throughout the 1952/1991 wing during the renovation.

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<sup>11</sup> Reverend Casimir Brown, telephone conversation with Heather Fearnbach, January 22, 2024; "St. Joseph's Center for the Performing Arts, Phase 1," March 8, 1988 existing conditions first floor plan and circa 1989 floor plans of each level, Box 2, Frank DePasquale Collection, North Carolina Collection, Durham County Library, Durham; Robin Akumbor, "Historic St. Joseph's Cultural Foundation," *Carolina Times* (hereafter abbreviated *CT*), May 20, 1989, p. 2.

<sup>12</sup> The Freelon Group, "St. Joseph's Hayti Heritage Center Stabilization and Maintenance Project," February 22, 2010, drawings in the possession of Hayti Heritage Center.

<sup>13</sup> The artwork replicates a 1998 mural that the artists rendered on Heritage Square Shopping Center's south wall.

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## 1991 West Terrace

West of the building, wide concrete steps with orange-finished tubular-steel railings rise from the parking lot to a landing and turn south to terminate at a concrete-paver terrace edged with matching railings adjacent to the 1991 hyphen. Tall square brick columns with concrete intermediary panels and caps on the terrace and at ground level to the south create an open screen that emulates the 1891 church's cast-stone-capped brick buttresses. Concrete-framed brick panels connect the top of most columns. Concrete-panel soffits span two columns at the terrace's west end as well as some of the south columns. All 1991 brick elements are executed in running bond.

## Integrity Statement

St. Joseph AME Church possesses the seven qualities of historic integrity—location, setting, feeling, association, design, materials, and workmanship—required for National Register designation. The building maintains integrity of location as it stands on its original site, a 1.05-acre lot that provides appropriate surroundings in keeping with the building's size and function. Although commercial and residential development near the Durham Freeway has continued since the church was listed in the National Register in 1976, the sanctuary survives as the most prominent pivotal building in the historically African American neighborhood of Hayti, thus allowing for integrity of setting, feeling, and association.

The 1891 sanctuary retains integrity of design, materials, and workmanship. Post-1976 modifications necessary to facilitate the building's ongoing use do not appreciably diminish its integrity. Gothic Revival features including five-to-one common-bond redbrick walls, cast-stone-capped brick buttresses, pointed-arch door and window openings, twenty-three stained-glass windows with figural and foliate motifs, granite window sills, paneled-wood doors, a parged foundation, and the slate-shingle roof are in good condition. The interior contributes to the overall high integrity, with restored plaster walls, narrow hardwood floor boards, paneled-wood wainscoting with molded chair rails and tall baseboards, wood window and door surrounds, single- and double-leaf paneled-wood doors, turned balcony railings and paneled sheathing, and an ornate painted-pressed-metal ceiling. All woodwork retains a lacquered finish. The 2001 modifications to provide accessibility and additional seating and achieve code compliance were executed in sensitive manner. The turned railing and paneled sheathing of the central balcony constructed between the east and west balconies emulate original balcony elements. The ramp adjacent to the south wall beneath the balcony and a lift at the stage's northeast corner are inconspicuous. The remainder of the building attained its current footprint upon the construction of 1952 and 1991 additions, both designed to minimize visual impact from the primary 1891 elevations. To that end, planting beds with deciduous and evergreen trees and shrubs create a natural screen along the west terrace's tall north and west foundation walls.

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## Statement of Archaeological Potential

The State Historic Preservation Office requested a statement of archaeological potential from the North Carolina Office of State Archaeology (OSA) for this property. Following their review of the nomination and supporting documentation, the OSA provided the following statement of archaeological potential for St. Joseph's AME Church: "For over a century, St. Joseph's AME Church has been central to the development and transformation of the cultural landscape of Durham, especially the Hayti neighborhood. Archaeological deposits, such as structural remains of the historic buildings on and near the parcel and remnant landscape features like old roadbeds, may still exist, as well as debris that accumulated from activities related to church and neighborhood construction and church-related functions and events. Therefore, the information obtained from archaeological research at this property could address various topics related to Durham's social history, including the character and experience of daily life in African American neighborhoods, development and change in cultural institutions within the community, labor and economic history, and events that have contributed to the settlement pattern and character of the city. To date, no investigations have been conducted to identify archaeological resources, but it is likely that they do exist on the parcel, and this should be considered in any future development of the property."

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## Section 8. Statement of Significance

St. Joseph African Methodist Episcopal Church in Durham, North Carolina, possesses statewide significance under Criterion A for Black ethnic heritage, social history, and civil rights. Located within the African American neighborhood known as Hayti, the building was historically a vital community center and remains so today. The congregation has played an important role in the lives of Durham's Black residents from its formation in 1869 until the present. The church's formation manifested the increased economic, social, political, and religious freedom afforded African Americans during Reconstruction. The congregation's perseverance demonstrates the importance of religion as a unifying institution. The construction of the 1891 sanctuary and 1952 education building and parsonage exemplifies the Black community's resilience, growth, and prosperity. Throughout the twentieth century, the St. Joseph AME congregation undertook service projects and supported civic and fraternal organizations, many of which met in the church. The building served as a forum for mid-twentieth-century civil rights movement planning and training sessions, meetings, and rallies. Many St. Joseph AME members engaged in social and political advocacy in Durham and beyond, employing coordinated civil disobedience and legal action in myriad campaigns against racial, political, economic, and social injustice.

St. Joseph AME Church also possesses local significance under Criterion C as an intact example of Gothic Revival-style late-nineteenth-century ecclesiastical architecture. The 1891 church is Durham's second-oldest and the city's most intact historic African American sanctuary of any denomination. Designed by Philadelphia architect Samuel L. Leary and built with brick supplied by prominent Black Durham businessman Richard Burton Fitzgerald, the sanctuary features a traditional front-gable form and a projecting pyramidal-roofed entrance and bell tower. Gothic Revival stylistic elements include redbrick five-to-one common-bond walls, cast-stone-capped brick buttresses, pointed-arch door and window openings, twenty-three stained-glass windows with figural and foliate motifs, granite window sills, paneled-wood doors, a parged foundation, and a slate-shingle roof. The interior contributes to the overall high integrity, with plaster walls, narrow hardwood floor boards, paneled-wood wainscoting with molded chair rails and tall baseboards, wood window and door surrounds, single-and-double-leaf paneled-wood doors, turned balcony railings and paneled sheathing, and an ornate painted-pressed-metal ceiling.

The period of significance begins in 1891 when construction commenced and ends in 1976 when the congregation moved to a Modernist sanctuary at 2521 Fayetteville Street. Criterion Consideration G is not claimed since the church's operation at 804 Fayetteville Street perpetuated its historical significance under Criterion A until the building ceased to be used as a church in 1976. The purpose of this additional documentation is to update the nomination to correct inaccuracies; describe the building's 1952 and 1991 expansion and subsequent modification; delineate the period of significance; establish significance under Criterion A in the areas of social history and civil rights; provide architectural context; add Criterion B as an area of significance for the sanctuary's association with Richard Burton Fitzgerald; and explain the

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building's function as Hayti Heritage Center after the congregation occupied a Modernist sanctuary at 2521 Fayetteville Street in 1976. St. Joseph's Historic Foundation, organized in 1975, facilitates ongoing rehabilitation and operates the center, which hosts a wide variety of cultural and educational programs.

## Criterion A Context and Historical Background

### *The AME Church in North Carolina*

The African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church aggressively pursued missionary programs in the southern states following the Civil War. The denomination's focus on achieving community uplift through social service and education resonated with formerly enslaved people. Organized in Wilmington in 1868, the North Carolina Conference of the AME Church encompassed the entire state. Many western North Carolina congregations joined the conference in 1869 at the first annual meeting in Greensboro. AME membership increased exponentially during Reconstruction, rising to 400,000 nationally by 1880. Subsequent congregation proliferation in North Carolina prompted formation of two regional districts. The Western North Carolina Conference created on November 19, 1892, encompassed churches located from Wake County westward including St. Joseph and Emmanuel AME churches in Durham.<sup>14</sup>

### *Early History of St. Joseph AME Church*

AME evangelists in North Carolina during the reconstruction era included Black preacher Edian D. Markham (1824-1910), who had been enslaved in Elizabeth City, North Carolina, and was taken in bondage to Ohio, where slavery was illegal but "Black laws" severely restricted African American civil liberties. Abolitionists in northeastern Ohio promoted repeal of the laws in the 1830s and facilitated the escape of enslaved and marginalized people including Markham to Canada via the Underground Railroad. After learning to read and write, he studied the Bible and was called to missionary work, preaching in New York before moving in 1868 to Durham. Markham initially led worship services in a brush arbor erected on acreage he purchased from Minerva Fowler in 1869. On June 10<sup>th</sup> of that year, he received a twenty-dollar allotment from the Freedmen's Bureau to subsidize a school, and with the assistance of community members erected a log building to house academic and religious instruction. On August 20,

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<sup>14</sup> African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ) membership also burgeoned in the South after the Civil War, with one hundred pastors serving 20,000 central North Carolina parishioners in 1882. The Western and Eastern AME district affiliation of some central North Carolina congregations has varied over time. James Walker Hood, *One Hundred Years of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church* (New York: A. M. E. Zion Book Concern, 1895), 299; St. Joseph's AME Church Directory, 2003, AME Churches vertical file, North Carolina Collection, Durham County Library, Durham; C. Eric Lincoln and Lawrence H. Mamiya, *The Black Church in the African American Experience* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1990), 51-55; "African Methodist Episcopal Church," in Teresa Douglas, Heather Fearnbach, Rebecca Smith, and Carroll Van West, *Powerful Artifacts: A Guide to Surveying and Documenting Rural African-American Churches* (Murfreesboro, TN: Center for Historic Preservation, Middle Tennessee State University, 2000), 7-8.

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1869, Markham and six followers organized a congregation named Union Bethel in honor of Bethel, the country's first AME congregation established in 1794 by Black preacher Richard Allen and his followers in Philadelphia. Allen, ordained the first Black Methodist Episcopal minister in 1799, orchestrated official organization of the AME denomination in 1816.<sup>15</sup>

After Reverend Markham was called to lead another charge, the congregation slowly grew during the tenure of pastors including C. C. Cobeal, Billy Paine, Lewis Edwards, George Hunter, and Andrew J. Chambers. The frame sanctuary erected during Reverend Hunter's pastorate was repaired after being heavily damaged in a storm on February 28, 1882. A larger frame church was completed in 1884. However, more space was soon necessary for worship services, musical concerts, lectures, and other events that drew both Black and white community members. Thus, the congregation began planning for a brick sanctuary in 1890 and engaged architect Samuel Linton Leary to design the edifice.<sup>16</sup> Leary, a Philadelphia native, moved to Durham from Charlotte in August 1890 after rendering plans for the main building of Trinity College, which in 1924 became Duke University.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Edian Markham (also spelled Marcum) and Permellia, called Millie or Molly, Walden (1857-1941) married on April 1, 1875, in Northampton County. Millie was the youngest child of Temperance James, known as Tempie, a white woman whose prosperous parents Benjamin and Charlotte James owned a large Roanoke River farm near Rich Square, and William Squire Walden, an enslaved head coachman sold out-of-state by Millie's father when the couple's relationship was discovered. Tempie was disinherited after leaving to purchase his freedom. Tempie and Squire Walden wed in Halifax County, North Carolina, on March 28, 1832, and had fifteen children. After Edian retired from preaching, the Markhams resided in Durham and were members of St. Joseph AME Church until their deaths. In 1900, Edian worked as a plasterer, Millie and their daughter Maggie were laundresses, and their son William Benjamin was a factory employee. *U.S. Freedmen's Bureau Records, 1865-1878* (accessed via ancestry.com December 2023); Northampton County Register of Deeds, marriage and birth records; death certificates; US Census, population schedules, 1800-1900; Travis Jordan, "Millie Markham's Story," June 1, 1937, interview number 320273, Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration, *A Folk History of Slavery in the United States From Interviews with Former Slaves, 1936-1938*; J. A. Valentine (St. Joseph pastor 1936-1949), William Benjamin Markum [sic], *The Life of a Great Man* (Boston: n. p., 1941), 8-13; "Durham's First Colored Church Has Anniversary," *DMH*, December 10, 1944, Section 2, p. 3; St. Joseph's AME Church Directory, 2003. Name spelling varies and dates of pastor tenure are unclear.

<sup>16</sup> *Tobacco Plant*, March 1, 1882, p. 3; *Durham Globe*. November 5, 1890, p. 4; "St. Joseph A. M. E. Church," *DMH*, April 28, 1935, Section 2, p. 8; Valentine, "Durham's First Colored Church Has Anniversary;" Markum [sic], *The Life of a Great Man*, 14-15.

<sup>17</sup> Samuel Linton Leary (1863-1913) returned to Philadelphia in July 1892. During his brief tenure in Durham, he designed his Shingle Style residence at 809 Cleveland Street (1891-1892), Durham Fire Station #1 at 204 North Mangum Street (1891), Mangum Building (1891) on Main Street, Durham Graded School at 111 Jackson Street (1892), and Trinity College's main building (1890-1892). The shingle-style Leary-Coletta House, St. Joseph AME Church, and Durham Fire Station #1 are Leary's only extant known Durham commissions. "Getting Along," *Durham Globe*, November 23, 1891, p. 1; "Live Local Links," *Durham Globe*, December 30, 1891, p. 1, and March 28, 1892, p. 1; "Many are Moving," *Durham Globe*, March 28, 1892, p. 1; Claudia P. Roberts (Brown) and Diane E. Lea, *The Durham Architectural and Historic Inventory* (Durham: City of Durham, 1982), 74-75, Catherine W. Bishir, Claudia R. Brown, and Gary Kueber, "Samuel Linton Leary," *North Carolina Architects and Builders: A Biographical Dictionary*, 2015 <https://ncarchitects.lib.ncsu.edu/people/P000290> (accessed December 2023).



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Union Bethel AME Church reconstituted as St. Joseph AME Church in 1891. A large multiracial crowd attended ceremonies at the site of St. Joseph's new sanctuary on August 31 of that year, when representatives from two Black fraternal organizations—Masons and Odd Fellows—laid two cornerstones. Speakers included African American community leaders such as educator William G. Pearson, barber shop proprietor John W. Wright, and White Rock Baptist Church pastor Allen P. Eaton. Factories closed to allow workers to attend and railroads reduced rates for travelers. Collections were taken to subsidize the sanctuary's estimated \$14,000 construction cost. Prominent Black Durham businessmen including Richard Burton Fitzgerald, who owned a brick yard, supplied building materials. The imposing church, completed around 1910 during Reverend John E. Jackson's tenure, was a testament to the success and determination of the African American community and interracial collaboration. White tobacco magnates Washington Duke, Julian S. Carr, and William T. Blackwell, and Lucy Lathrop Morehead (white banker Eugene Morehead's widow), made sizable donations toward construction and maintenance. Washington Duke's sons James Buchanan Duke and Benjamin Newton Duke donated the final \$2,000 needed to satisfy the mortgage in March 1902.<sup>18</sup> In recognition of Washington Duke's contributions, the stained-glass window in the sanctuary's front-gable oculus features his portrait.

Many prominent African American citizens worshipped and held leadership positions at St. Joseph AME Church. Early members include educator and beautician Julia Warren and her husband obstetrician Stanford Lee Warren, who co-founded with physician Aaron McDuffie Moore and businessman John Henry Merrick North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company in 1898 and Mechanics and Farmers Bank in 1907. Educator and businessman James Edward Shepard was among North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company's seven incorporators and assisted with Mechanics and Farmers Bank's establishment. In 1910, he opened the National Religious Training School and Chautauqua, a private institution that became North Carolina Central University in 1969. John and Martha Merrick, James and Annie Shepard, Hillside Park High School principal and businessman William Gaston Pearson and his wife Minnie, North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company executives Alonzo Gaston Spaulding and John Moses Avery and their wives Janie Spaulding and Lula Avery, obstetrician Joseph Napoleon Mills and his wife Bessie, and Alexander Sterling Hunter (said to be Durham's first African American dentist) and his wife Nell, and public school principal Edward Douglas Mickle and his wife Ruth were St. Joseph AME Church members. All were known for their philanthropy and served as church trustees, stewards, Sunday school class leaders, choir members, or missionaries. They were also active in fraternal

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<sup>18</sup> Reverend John E. Jackson pastored St. Joseph AME Church from 1907 until 1917. "St. Joseph's Church," *Durham Globe*, August 31, 1891, p. 1; "Laying of the Corner Stone," *Durham Globe*, August 22, 1891, p. 1; "Wiped Out the Debt," *Durham Daily Sun* (hereafter abbreviated *DDS*), March 31, 1902, p. B1; "Mayor Moore Thrills Audience," *Morning Star* (Wilmington), December 4, 1917, p. 3; Markum [sic], *The Life of a Great Man*, 14-15; "St. Joseph A. M. E. Church," *DMH*, April 28, 1935, Section 2, p. 8; US Census, population schedules, 1900, 1910.

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organizations including the Masons, Odd Fellows, Pythians, Good Samaritans, Gideons, Royal Knights of King David, and Order of the Eastern Star.<sup>19</sup>

John Merrick, James Shepard, and North Carolina Mutual executive Charles Clinton Spaulding were among the businessmen and clergy who accompanied Tuskegee Institute founder Booker T. Washington as he traveled from Charlotte to Wilmington, North Carolina, from October 28 until November 4, 1910. The pilgrimage was sponsored by the North Carolina State Negro Business League (NCSBL), a statewide chapter of the National Negro Business League organized by Merrick in 1909 with Spaulding as secretary. AMEZ Bishop George Wylie Clinton headed the committee of Black leaders who established the itinerary during which Washington and prominent African American and white citizens drew large crowds to events in thirteen towns. Washington conducted a series of such tours in Southern states to promote Black progress and uplift through education, industriousness, and perseverance. After visiting Durham on October 31, 1910, Washington commented that St. Joseph AME was the finest African American church he had ever seen.<sup>20</sup>

St. Joseph AME Church hosted innumerable gatherings of secular and civic organizations. Examples include regular use of the commodious sanctuary for annual meetings of the Western North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the North Carolina Interdenominational Sunday School convention. James Shepard was the latter organization's treasurer and William Pearson its first vice president in 1909. African American and white speakers and attendees gathered to discuss Black achievements in religion and education.<sup>21</sup> Myriad fundraisers were held to support local, statewide, and national causes. During World War I, the North Carolina chapter of the National War Savings Committee promoted the purchase of war-saving stamps at St. Joseph AME Church. Black state executive committee member John Merrick organized one such gathering, inviting speakers including the organization's state secretary, Winston-Salem Teachers College president Samuel G. Atkins.<sup>22</sup>

The congregation increased to 577 people by 1935 during Reverend V. C. Hodges's tenure, many of whom participated in Sunday school, vacation Bible school, Pastor's and Ladies' aid societies, Men's Brotherhood, and church improvement, earnest workers, and Richard Allen clubs. During the late 1930s, the congregation organized and sponsored Boy Scout Troop 105 and Girl Scout Troop 711. Due to the

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<sup>19</sup> Edward Douglas Mickle was the principal of East End School followed by W. G. Pearson Elementary School. A. B. Caldwell, ed., *History of the American Negro*, Vol. IV (Atlanta: A. B. Caldwell Publishing Company, 1921) 14-26, 312-314, 423-426, 448-451; Leslie Brown, *Upbuilding Black Durham: Gender, Class, and Black Community Development in the Jim Crow South* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 263-264; "Dr. Alexander Hunter," *DMH*, August 26, 1957, p. 1; Bill King, "After Half a Century," *DMH*, December 3, 1957, p. B8.

<sup>20</sup> Charles Clinton Spaulding and his uncle Dr. Aaron Moore were White Rock Baptist Church members. Caldwell, *History of the American Negro*, 20, 23; David H. Jackson Jr., *Booker T. Washington and the Struggle Against White Supremacy* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 105, 116-118.

<sup>21</sup> "Colored Conference," *DS*, November 20, 1899, p. 4; "Convention Next Week," *DMH*, July 3, 1909, p. 1.

<sup>22</sup> "Colored Work is Organized," *DMH*, March 28, 1918, p. 7.

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dearth of meeting space at the church, many of these groups met at member homes. The St. Joseph AME choir, which grew in size, skill, and reputation under the direction of North Carolina Mutual head cashier Bessie Alberta Whitted, was lauded for its ability. Although the congregation solely comprised African Americans, white community members had also attended services, events, programs, and meetings at the church since its founding.<sup>23</sup>

## *St. Joseph AME Church during the mid-twentieth century*

St. Joseph AME Church was a venue for the community to express solidarity and support the military during World War II. Church member and educator Bessie McLaurin taught literacy classes for African American soldiers. Interracial tension escalated in Durham following the acquittal of white city bus driver Herman Lee Council for the July 8, 1944, murder of uniformed Black U. S. Army private Booker T. Spicely. The soldier questioned Council's direction to move from the second-to-last to the last seat in the bus, but complied. Regardless, Council shot Spicely twice as he disembarked. An all-white jury acquitted Council in September. The case reinvigorated the Durham chapter of the NAACP, which organized a September 24, 1944, memorial service for Spicely held at St. Joseph AME Church. At that gathering, the NAACP elected new officers including Shaw University biology department head R. Arline Young. As branch secretary, she requested support from national NAACP branch director Ella Baker and youth director Ruby Hurley as the chapter attempted to attract a more diverse constituency. The Durham NAACP held routine and special meetings at St. Joseph AME Church. On January 6, 1952, the chapter joined a nationwide initiative to hold memorial services for civil rights activist Harry T. Moore, killed in the Christmas 1951 bombing of his Florida home.<sup>24</sup>

The St. Joseph AME congregation began raising funds for the sanctuary's renovation and construction of an austere two-story brick classroom wing and parsonage during the late 1940s. In 1950, the building committee, chaired by physician Joseph Napoleon Mills, engaged Durham architect Howard N. Haines to design the addition and Haynes Construction Company to erect it.<sup>25</sup> The \$78,188 project included

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<sup>23</sup> The Richard Allen Club, a service organization, was named in honor of the first Black Methodist Episcopal minister. Boy Scout Troop 105 became Troop 137 in 1987. "The Nightingale Club," *Tobacco Plant*, June 10, 1889, p. 1; "Colored Marriage in High Life," *Durham Recorder*, February 27, 1896, p. 3; "St. Joseph A. M. E. Church," *DMH*, April 28, 1935, Section 2, p. 8; Mrs. B. A. J. Whitted," and "Mrs. Nan Sears Entertains," *CT*, May 16, 1942, p. 4; Olanda Sample, "Boy Scout Troop 137," *CT*, August 23, 2014, p. 7.

<sup>24</sup> "Memorial Mass Meeting for Booker T. Spicely," *DMH*, September 24, 1944, p. 7; "Memorial Planned for Bombing Victim," *DS*, January 5, 1952, p. 12; "NAACP Planning Memorial Rites," *News and Observer* (Raleigh), January 6, 1952, Section 2, p. 7; Alexander Barnes, "Local Group Sets Moore Protest Meeting Sunday," *CT*, pp. 1 and 8; Christina Greene, *Our Separate Ways: Women and the Black Freedom Movement in Durham, North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 12, 18-24, 47.

<sup>25</sup> Cambridge, Illinois, native Howard N. Haines (1895-1982), a Duke University graduate and professor, became the chief architect for the Duke Endowment's church building program in 1929 and designed almost three hundred North Carolina churches and additions by 1964. Wendell Weisend, "His Business is Building Churches," *News and Observer*, September 29,

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cleaning and repointing the sanctuary exterior, work executed by U. S. Waterproofing Company in July 1950 at a cost of \$12,500. The interior plaster was repaired and the ornate pressed-metal ceiling repainted. The education wing, which contained a fellowship hall, kitchen, pastor's study, offices, and classrooms, was named in honor of founding pastor Edian D. Markham. The parsonage extended east from the wing's south end. The addition provided much needed space for programming such as a daycare operated by Hattie M. Jenkins, Maggie Guion, and Annie B. Brown that opened in October 1952. Initial enrollment comprised forty-three children ranging from infants to first graders. At the addition's dedication on October 17, 1953, during the annual Men's Day observance, Howard University president Mordecai W. Johnson and Durham's Covenant Presbyterian Church pastor J. W. Smith Jr. gave keynote addresses at two cornerstone-laying ceremonies conducted by Masonic representatives.<sup>26</sup>

Church membership rose to eight hundred by September 1954. The congregation regularly hosted gatherings of civic groups such as the Friendly Circle Club as well as multi-day annual meetings of organizations including the North Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs, Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, and Order of the Eastern Star, which were attended by hundreds. Lincoln Hospital Nursing School commencements often took place in the sanctuary.<sup>27</sup>

As civil rights activism intensified in the 1950s, St. Joseph AME Church members were among those who employed coordinated civil disobedience and legal action in campaigns against racial, political, economic, and social injustice. Through marches, pickets, sit-ins, and boycotts, protestors demanded desegregation of the city's departments, programs, and venues including hospitals, schools, libraries, recreational facilities, and privately-owned concerns such as stores, restaurants, and hotels/motels. Local government agencies, business owners, and service providers were pressed to integrate facilities and hire African American workers. St. Joseph AME Church hosted myriad gatherings and conventions to promote civil rights. The Durham Committee on Negro Affairs, organized in 1935, sponsored mass meetings at the church in 1954 to advocate for school desegregation, voter registration, employment equity, and a new fire station in the Hayti neighborhood. At the opening meeting of the North Carolina NAACP's October 1955 convention, Dr. James M. Hinton of Columbia, South Carolina, addressed 350 delegates at St. Joseph AME Church. Mount Zion Baptist and White Rock Baptist churches held subsequent sessions on integration, political action, and youth councils and college chapters. In May 1957, on the third

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1955, Section IV, p. 3; "Duke Promoting Three," *DMH*, p. 5B; "Howard Haines," *DHS*, July 17, 1982, p. 6B; "Church Plans New Building," *DS*, July 27, 1950, p. 2;

<sup>26</sup> Snow Bailey, *Souvenir edition of the St. Joseph Story, celebrating the dedication of the Edian D. Markham memorial building and parsonage of St. Joseph A. M. E. church, including pertinent historical data* (Durham: Service Printing Company, 1952); "Cornerstone Rites," *DMH*, October 17, 1953, p. 9; "Cornerstone Laid," *DS*, October 17, 1953, p. 6;

<sup>27</sup> The 1924 Lincoln Hospital stood at 1301 Fayetteville Street (south of St. Joseph AME Church) until 1983. "State-Wide Meet of Negro Women's Clubs Opens," *DMH*, May 16, 1952, Section 3, p. 2; "Durham's Picturesque Churches," *CT*, September 4, 1954, p. 3; "To Appear in Concert," *DS*, May 6, 1955, p. B6; "Negro Masons," *DMH*, December 12, 1955, Section 2, p. 1; "Area Eastern Star Meeting Set Today," *DMH*, July 16, 1958, p. 11; "Nurses to Graduate," *DMH*, September 9, 1961, p. 10.

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anniversary of the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, the Durham Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance sponsored a meeting at St. Joseph AME Church to encourage support of school desegregation and other equal rights campaigns.<sup>28</sup>

Youth played an important role in demonstrations since adults feared economic and social retaliation for participation. Asbury Temple Methodist Church pastor Douglas E. Moore, a Boston University School of Theology classmate of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and six young people—Harriet Tubman YWCA residents Virginia L. Williams (later a St. Joseph AME Church member) and Mary E. Clyburn, Vivian E. Jones, Claude Glenn, Jesse Gray, and Melvin Willis—were arrested during a June 23, 1957, sit-in at the Royal Ice Cream Company parlor.<sup>29</sup> The demonstration was a model for subsequent nonviolent racial discrimination challenges in Durham and elsewhere in the state.

The St. Joseph AME congregation's efforts to promote civil rights engagement during the late 1950s included engaging NAACP field secretary and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, newspaper executive Daisy E. Lampkin's to give the keynote address at the April 1956 Woman's Day program. The focus of the August 1957 Interdenominational Ushers Association of North Carolina's convention held at St. Joseph AME was to draft a civil rights bill for the organization. The church was the headquarters for the April 9, 1958, workshop coordinated by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), North Carolina Interdenominational Leaders, and the NAACP to teach ministers techniques to increase voter participation. Washington, D. C., NAACP branch head Clarence Mitchell led the training for approximately 250 pastors who announced their goal of registering 250,000 new African American voters in North Carolina. The event culminated with Reverend Martin Luther King's address to an audience of approximately twelve hundred people at Durham's St. Mark AME Zion Church, where he rallied support for initiatives to attain equal rights through peaceful demonstrations, voter registration, and legislative change. Such attempts to garner support for the movement were effective. The Durham NAACP branch had approximately one thousand members by January 1959.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> "Negro Group Holds Meet," *DS*, May 24, 1954, p. 8; "Desegregation Still Topping NAACP Meet," *DS*, October 22, 1955, pp. 1 and 2; "Woman's Day Speaker," *DMH*, April 21, 1956, p. 7; "Ministerial Group," *DMH*, May 17, 1957, p. B9; "Ushers Association," *DMH*, August 23, 1957, p. C1; Greene, *Our Separate Ways*, 69-70.

<sup>29</sup> "Durham Group Fined on Trespass Charge," *The Carolinian* (Raleigh), June 29, 1957, pp. 1-2; Jon Phelps, "SBC-Watchword is Growth," *DMH*, October 27, 1963, p10D; Greene, *Our Separate Ways*, 65-68; City of Durham Neighborhood Improvement Services Department, Community Engagement Division, "Our Community Stories: Harriet Tubman YWCA," recording of March 25, 2022, interview with twenty-year-old Harriet Tubman YWCA resident Virginia Williams; North Carolina Museum of History, "Durham Royal Ice Cream Sit-In," recording of June 23, 2022, interview with Virginia Williams and Mary Clyburn Hooks; Matthew E. Milliken, "Civil Rights History Marked," *DHS*, June 23, 2008, pp. 1 and 5

<sup>30</sup> "Ministers' Meet to Begin April 9," *DMH*, March 30, 1958, p. 6; "Rally Told Negroes Can Change History," *DS*, April 10, 1958, p. C3; Paul Whitefield, "State NAACP Head," *DMH*, January 19, 1959, p. 9; Michael Biesecker, "1957 sit-in began a life of activism," *News and Observer*, February 21, 2010, pp. B1 and B5.

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Many places of public accommodations including stores, hotels, restaurants, and theaters remained segregated during the early 1960s, fueling ongoing demonstrations. St. Joseph AME Church hosted numerous protest planning meetings and rallies. At a November 1960 gathering, Dr. Frank Porter Graham, a white evangelist, former University of North Carolina system president, United States senator representing North Carolina, and United Nations mediator, endorsed civil rights activism.<sup>31</sup> In January 1961, members of Durham's seven NAACP youth chapters orchestrated a boycott of downtown stores with discriminatory hiring practices. After almost two months of interracial pickets outside the stores, twenty-three of the businesses employed more than fifty African American workers. An interracial sixteen-member executive committee led a 1961 initiative to integrate movie theaters in Durham and Chapel Hill. Supporters met at St. Joseph AME Church to plan pickets and boycotts.<sup>32</sup>

Church members including chiropractor Eldee Leonuse Brown, his wife Whitted Junior High School teacher Claronell Trapp Brown, and their children supported this and subsequent equal rights advocacy. Reverend Casimir Brown, born in 1952, handed out flyers promoting campaigns, while his older siblings participated in demonstrations. Reverend Brown attended kindergarten at St. Joseph AME Church before entering the Durham public school system. He was involved in the St. Joseph AME youth council and many church activities. Now pastor of Maxwell Chapel AME Church in Alamance County, he credits his elders at St. Joseph AME with instilling the importance of faith, education, and community service in congregants.<sup>33</sup>

When the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) sent volunteers to Durham in 1962 to coordinate regional activity, the team's headquarters was St. Joseph AME Church. Activists including East End Elementary School teacher and St. Joseph member Bessie McLaurin, North Carolina College for Negroes librarian Sadie Hughley, and educator Evelyn McKissick (the wife of attorney and civil rights activist Floyd B. McKissick), provided meals and lodging for myriad civil rights leaders and supporters. Some came for a few days; others remained for months. An interracial contingent of thirty-four CORE student volunteers stayed for three weeks. McLaurin facilitated the use of St. Joseph facilities for movement planning meetings, peaceful civil disobedience training sessions, and post-demonstration gatherings to evaluate event effectiveness, many led by Hughley and Floyd McKissick.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Bob Aldridge, "Former UNC President in Speech Here," *DMH*, November 28, 1960, p. B1.

<sup>32</sup> Jim Clotfelder, "Movie Pickets May Resume," *Daily Tar Heel* (Chapel Hill), October 26, 1961, p. 1; Greene, *Our Separate Ways*, 80, 173-174.

<sup>33</sup> Reverend Casimir Brown, telephone conversation with Heather Fearnbach, January 22, 2024.

<sup>34</sup> Greene, *Our Separate Ways*, 83-84, 86, 99; "Sadie Sawyer Hugley," March 13, 2004 funeral program, Durham County Library; Sadie Sawyer Hugley interview by Paul Ortiz, June 8, 1994, Behind the Veil Oral History Project conducted by the Duke University Center for Documentary Studies, transcript at the David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University; Evelyn Chlorine Williams McKissick, *News and Observer*, October 5, 2004.

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Activists were granted full use of the offices and meeting room in the basement beneath the sanctuary. Oakland, California-based civil rights attorney Walter Riley, who participated in NAACP youth council and CORE initiatives from 1959 until 1963 while a Merrick-Moore School student, regularly attended meetings and events at the church. He remembers the support of the aforementioned leaders as well as St. Joseph AME pastor Melvin Chester Swann and congregation members including Walter's teacher Nellie Q. Gilliard. St. Joseph AME Church provided a welcoming, safe environment for youth who gathered after school to plan rallies, marches, sit-ins, and door-knocking campaigns to encourage voter registration. Walter later became a CORE field secretary, union organizer, and lawyer advocating nationally and internationally for social justice and political change.<sup>35</sup>

Floyd McKissick facilitated SCLC, CORE, and NAACP initiatives to attain equal rights by organizing demonstrations and providing legal counsel and defense for arrested participants. He orchestrated an August 12, 1962, rally at St. Joseph AME Church where speakers including NAACP executive director Roy Wilkins, Durham NAACP chapter president Dr. William Fuller, NAACP Crusaders president Walter Brown, CORE national director James Farmer, program director Gordon Carey, field secretary Reverend B. E. Cox, and other national and local civil rights leaders addressed hundreds of activists. After the meeting, many attendees caravanned to the Howard Johnson's restaurant on Chapel Hill Boulevard to protest discriminatory practices and trespassing convictions of four youth following an earlier demonstration. Approximately five hundred people sang and prayed outside the establishment. The following Sunday, around eight hundred activists met at St. Mark AMEZ Church before moving to the restaurant. Subsequent planning sessions and rallies were held at St. Joseph AME Church. Boycotts of segregated businesses spread and continued. During three days of demonstrations in May 1963, 1,600 individuals were arrested. The May 19<sup>th</sup> protest began with a gathering at St. Joseph AME Church where Roy Wilkins and James Farmer addressed about one thousand people and culminated with a demonstration of between four and five thousand desegregation supporters at the Howard Johnson's restaurant. Newly elected Durham mayor Wense Grabarek negotiated with integration leaders including Floyd McKissick to suspend protests. Both spoke at a May 21, 1963, evening meeting of over one thousand people at St. Joseph AME Church. Seven restaurants—Tops, Honey's, Turnage's Barbecue Place, Blue Light Café, and Rebel, Oh-Boy, and McDonald's drive-ins—voluntarily desegregated as a result.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Walter Riley, telephone conversation with Heather Fearnbach, January 19, 2024. Merrick-Moore School, located at 2325 Cheek Road in northeast Durham, opened in September 1950 to serve students of all grades who resided outside of the city limits. The Modernist building named in honor of John Merrick and Dr. Aaron Moore has been enlarged and remodeled several times and remains in use as Merrick-Moore Elementary School. St. Joseph AME Church member Luther Samuel Gilliard was the first principal. "Name Chosen for County Negro School," DS, August 8, 1950, p. 5B; "Luther S. Gilliard," News and Observer, April 9, 1959, p. 29.

<sup>36</sup> After being denied admission to the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill's law school, Floyd B. McKissick, represented by NAACP lawyer Thurgood Marshall, won a lawsuit in 1951 that permitted his enrollment. Although McKissick earned a law degree from North Carolina Central College that spring, he and two other Black students took law courses at UNC-CH during summer 1951. Harold Jones, "Nation's Major Negro Leaders Speak at Rally," *DMH*, August 13, 1962, p. B8;

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Such nonviolent direct action throughout the United States led to the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and 1965 Voting Rights Act. Pivotal events included the August 28, 1963, March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, during which Dr. King, SNCC chairman John Lewis, CORE chairman Floyd McKissick, and others addressed approximately two-hundred-fifty-thousand supporters from the Lincoln Memorial in the nation's capital. McKissick represented CORE since national director James Farmer had been jailed following an Alabama protest. Hundreds of Black and white Durham residents including a large contingent of students traveled together to Washington on chartered buses and private cars. Three buses departed from St. Joseph AME Church at 1:00 am on the 28<sup>th</sup> and returned to Durham at the conclusion of the day's events. Participants including Virginia Williams were deeply moved by Dr. King's inspirational "I Have a Dream" speech. The March 1965 Selma-to-Montgomery March for Voting Rights was also seminal. The three-week campaign included "Bloody Sunday," so named due to the violence that ensued when law enforcement brutally attacked about six hundred marchers on the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma, Alabama, on March 7, 1965.<sup>37</sup> Activism after the legislation was enacted focused on expediting implementation, empowering Black citizens, and electing representatives to local, state, and national offices who would advocate for civil rights. Floyd McKissick, CORE's national chairman since 1963, became national director on January 3, 1966.<sup>38</sup>

Construction of the Durham Freeway and the city's urban renewal program had a profound impact on Hayti. The destruction of the physical environment that began in the 1960s severed social and economic bonds that had strengthened the community. As the Durham Redevelopment Commission began relocating hundreds of businesses and families from areas to be impacted by the planned construction, a religious affiliate group organized to provide assistance. Reverend Philip R. Cousin, St. Joseph AME's pastor from 1965 until 1976, was elected chairman in October 1966. Cousin led the effort to expedite relocations and encouraged community activism as businesses closed, unemployment soared, and housing conditions worsened. Demonstrations planned at St. Joseph AME Church included a July 1967 rally and march in protest of poor public housing conditions in southeast Durham that prompted the City Council to appoint a study committee to propose solutions. Meetings and news conferences regarding the subsequent public housing tenant rent strike in January 1968 were also held at the church. Business

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"Attempt to Enter Restaurant." *Greensboro Daily News*, May 20, 1963, p. B1; Jon Phelps, "Grabarek Secures Pledge," *DMH*, May 22, 1963, pp. 1 and B2; "Floyd Bixler McKissick," The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute, Stanford University, <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/mckissick-floyd-bixler> (accessed January 2024); Greene, *Our Separate Ways*, 85-87, 90-95.

<sup>37</sup> "Big Turnout Urged for D. C. in March," *News and Observer*, August 3, 1963, p. 3; "Buses Set for 'March' to Capital," *DS*, August 27, 1963, p. B1; Jon Phelps, "Number from City in March," *DMH*, August 29, 1963, p. B1; National Park Service, "March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom," <https://www.nps.gov/articles/march-on-washington.htm> (accessed in December 2022); Wells and Sanders, *Golden Asro Frinks*, 63-64; National Park Service, "Alabama: The Edmund Pettus Bridge," <https://www.nps.gov/places/alabama-the-edmund-pettus-bridge.htm> (accessed in December 2022); Virginia Williams, telephone conversation with Heather Fearnbach, January 5, 2024.

<sup>38</sup> "Floyd Bixler McKissick," The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute.



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boycotts continued in the late 1960s. Reverend Cousin, a founding member of the Black Solidarity Committee for Community Improvement, an interracial group that met at St. Joseph AME Church, encouraged equal rights supporters to avoid patronizing white-owned businesses with a dearth of Black employees including Northgate Shopping Center, Model Laundry and Cleaning, Coca-Cola Bottling Company, and Belk department store in August 1968. The Durham Chamber of Commerce and Black Solidarity Committee negotiated at St. Joseph AME Church as boycotts continued for six months.<sup>39</sup>

The tone of civil disobedience changed after Dr. King's April 4, 1968, assassination when those frustrated by lack of progress embraced more aggressive tactics endorsed by the Black Power movement. Howard Fuller, an Operation Breakthrough staff member in the Durham Office of Economic Opportunity, led marches originating at St. Joseph AME Church protesting conditions in Hayti including a dearth of street lights, unpaved roads, and neglected property. On one occasion, participants overturned trash cans and broke several downtown store windows.<sup>40</sup> However, activists continued to employ nonviolent protest as a means of achieving social justice. They promoted racial pride and self-determination while championing causes including affordable housing, desegregation, equitable employment, environmental justice, and prison reform. On March 10, 1969, about four hundred Duke University students, approximately three hundred North Carolina College students, a small contingent of Durham Business College students, and other activists led by Foundation for Community Development training director Howard Fuller marched through downtown before gathering at St. Joseph AME Church to rally and plan further action. The demonstration was precipitated by the failure of Black Duke University students to be afforded equal representation during creation of a Black studies program at Duke.<sup>41</sup>

Although the Civil Rights Act mandated school desegregation as a prerequisite for federal funding eligibility, it was not until the late 1960s that most North Carolina public school systems completely integrated school districts. Floyd and Evelyn McKissick's daughters Joycelyn and Andree, who experienced relentless harassment as pioneering Black students at predominantly white schools in the late 1950s, were leaders in the NAACP youth council and CORE during the 1960s. The NAACP's monthly meetings at St. Joseph AME Church often included community forums to discuss busing and desegregation. The church also hosted workshops for students, teachers, administrators, and parents. Charlotte attorney Julius Chambers, who traveled throughout the southeast with the NAACP Legal

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<sup>39</sup> "Cousin to Head Religious Group," *DMH*, October 7, 1966, p. 7B; Glenn Bishop, "Five Named to Act Now on Housing," *DS*, July 20, 1967, pp. 1-2; "Tenants on Rent Strike," *Winston-Salem Journal*, January 10, 1968, p. 21; "Chamber in Accord," *DS*, August 1, 1968, pp. 1 and 5; Stan Swafford, "Committee Extorts Negroes to 'Slow Down' on Buying," *DMH*, August 5, 1968, p. 1; "More Jobs Won't Bring Boycott End," *DS*, August 12, 1968, p. B1; Greene, *Our Separate Ways*, 129-130, 167-168.

<sup>40</sup> Gene Wang, "Do What the Situation Calls For," *Daily Tar Heel*, April 28, 1968, p. 1; Greene, *Our Separate Ways*, 128-131.

<sup>41</sup> "Waiting for Duke Marchers" and "Coordinating Activities," *DMH*, March 11, 1969, p. B9; "Durham Faces New March," *DS*, March 11, 1969, p. B1.

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Defense Fund to represent plaintiffs suing for school integration, addressed St. Joseph congregants at worship services. Chambers was a lead litigator in lawsuits challenging segregation in Durham city and county schools.<sup>42</sup>

St. Joseph AME Church continued to serve as a gathering place for myriad groups. The Western North Carolina Conference of the AME Church held its six-day annual conference at St. Joseph in November 1971.<sup>43</sup> Many events during the 1970s promoted health and equal rights. Community members attended a North Carolina Central University and Operation Breakthrough-sponsored health fair at the church where city and county agency representatives explained available services. Politicians with social justice agendas campaigned at meetings and workshops.<sup>44</sup>

St. Joseph remained one of Durham's largest historically African American congregations with 512 members in May 1974. As the existing complex no longer met programming needs, the congregation commissioned African American Greensboro architect Clinton Gravely's firm to design a Modernist sanctuary, education building, and fellowship hall. The 105<sup>th</sup> anniversary and homecoming celebration on October 27, 1974, included the groundbreaking ceremony for the new church about twenty blocks south of the existing complex at 804 Fayetteville Street. The Durham Redevelopment Commission agreed to sell the congregation 7.1 acres at Burlington Avenue and Fayetteville Street's intersection for \$163,872 and purchase the historic building for \$125,000 to avert its demolition. The St. Joseph AME congregation moved to the facility at 2521 Fayetteville Street on February 15, 1976. After the initial part of Sunday worship in the 1891 sanctuary, Reverend Philip R. Cousin and approximately four hundred parishioners and supporters marched to the new church to conclude the service. Emmanuel AME Church members provided transportation for those unable to walk the distance. The 750-seat sanctuary was filled to capacity. Reverend William W. Easley Jr. assumed the pastorate in August 1976.<sup>45</sup>

***Post 1976 Rehabilitation and Function***

When it appeared that the 1891 church would be demolished to allow for commercial development, entities including the St. Joseph's Historic Foundation (created in 1975), Durham Historic Preservation Society, Bicentennial Commission, and Durham Housing Authority rallied to save it. North Carolina

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<sup>42</sup> "NAACP Units Will Debate Court Suit," *DS*, March 29, 1970, p. B1; "NAACP Attorney to Speak," *DMH*, April 9, 1970, p. C1; David McKnight, "Blacks Slate Sessions," *DMH*, August 8, 1971, p. 6; Greene, *Our Separate Ways*, 74-75, 82, 85, 95-96.

<sup>43</sup> "St. Joseph's to Play Host," *DMH*, November 13, 1971, p. 5.

<sup>44</sup> "Health Fair Scheduled," *DS*, October 13, 1970, p. 18; Howard Covington and Larry Traleton, "Hawkins Splits Black Votes," *Charlotte Observer*, May 28, 1972, Section I, pp. 1 and 5.

<sup>45</sup> St. Joseph's Has Plan," *DS*, May 29, 1974, p. C1; "New Church is Planned," *DMH*, October 26, 1974, p. 9; Elva P. DeJarmon, "St. Joseph's Members in Historic March," *CT*, February 21, 1976, p. 19; Don Frederick, "Group Organizes Efforts," *Durham Morning Herald*, March 9, 1976, p. B1; Elnora Kennedy, "Brief History of St. Joseph's AME Church," AME churches vertical file, North Carolina Collection, Durham County Library, Durham.

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Department of Cultural Resources (NCDCCR) staff wrote the nomination for the building to be listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1976. Durham City Council provided \$20,000 for site security including plexi-glass protection for stained glass windows and subsequently allocated \$35,000 from the Community Development fund toward initial stabilization work such as roof repair, exterior wall cleaning and waterproofing, and interior painting and plaster restoration. Building rehabilitation and expansion continued under the oversight of St. Joseph's Historic Foundation, which purchased the building in April 1977 and has since operated it as Hayti Heritage Center, hosting a wide variety of cultural and educational events and programs. The foundation's goals are to facilitate community collaboration and uplift.<sup>46</sup>

A \$2-million allocation from a 1986 Durham County bond referendum, \$75,000 appropriation from NCDCCR, grants from the City of Durham and Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation, and private donations subsidized a two-phase rehabilitation and expansion that began in the late 1980s per the specifications of the Durham architecture firm DePasquale Thompson Wilson (DTW) Architects and Planners, Ltd. Frank Albert DePasquale (1925-2010) guided the project. The first phase, a \$2.2-million project which modified and slightly enlarged the 1952 wing to facilitate heritage center programming, was finished in July 1991. DePasquale, a 1951 graduate of North Carolina State College's School of Design, was a proponent of Modernist architecture as well as preservation of historic buildings, serving on the Durham Historic Commission and the Historic Preservation Society of Durham's board of directors. DTW Architects and Planners, Ltd. received a Tower Award from American Institute of Architects North Carolina for the Hayti Heritage Center renovation in 1993.<sup>47</sup>

St. Joseph's Historic Foundation staff at the time of the September 8, 1991, reopening included program director V. Dianne Pledger, project coordinator Alvin E. Stevenson, Bull Durham Blues Festival director Richard Y. Lee, and administrative assistant Janice D. Morgan. Wayne Kee directed the Hayti Heritage Center community and new generation (children) choirs. The Triangle Performance Ensemble was the theater company in residence. Ongoing programs include the Black American Music Series, with performances held on Sunday afternoons; Jambalaya Soul Slam, a Saturday evening poetry reading competition and associated poetry workshops; Hayti Lit, a monthly book discussion forum; and Hayti Film, which celebrates productions that highlight African American heritage through monthly showings and a March festival held since 1994. Dance, art, and wellness classes; Hayti walking tours; concerts, and Juneteenth and Kwanzaa festivals are offered throughout the year. The Saturday Youth Arts Enrichment

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<sup>46</sup> Jack Adams, "Oldest Black Church Threatened," *DMH*, January 11, 1975, p. 5; "Steering Committee Seeks to Save Historic Church," *DS*, February 18, 1975, p. 5; Keith Upchurch, "Church Renovation Funds," *DS*, May 22, 1975, p. B1; "Church Preservation Group Meets," *DS*, March 9, 1976, p. 9; Mary Alice Hinson and John B. Flowers III, "St. Joseph's African Methodist Episcopal Church," National Register of Historic Places nomination, 1976.

<sup>47</sup> Robin Akumbor, "Historic St. Joseph's Cultural Foundation," *CT*, May 20, 1989, p. 2; Marla Cohen, "Black Cultural Center," *News and Observer*, March 28, 1991, p. 8F; "DTW Architects and Planners, Ltd.," *DHS*, June 19, 1993, p. C2; Preservation Durham, "Frank DePasquale," Open Durham, <https://www.opendurham.org/people/depasquale-frank> (accessed January 2024).

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Program (SYAEP) and Summer Arts Intensive (SAI) provide immersive cultural enrichment for youth ages five to seventeen. Operations and programming funding sources include allocations from City of Durham, appropriations from the State of North Carolina, and myriad grants from organization such as the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Durham and North Carolina arts councils. The Bull Durham Blues Festival held from 1987 until 2016 drew a national audience to performances at the center and Durham Athletic Park.<sup>48</sup>

The Hayti Heritage Center education wing remained open during the second phase of the renovation, the sanctuary's modification to serve as a performance hall. Virginia-based Blair Construction Company and specialized sub-contractors executed the project completed in August 2001 under the direction of the Freelon Group, a Durham firm headed by African American architect Philip Freelon. A \$2-million 1996 Durham County bond and donations including \$500,000 from the Doris Duke Charitable Foundation facilitated the work. The foundation also provided \$500,000 to start an endowment fund to subsidize future repairs and operations. St. Joseph's Historic Foundation board members Pepper and Don Fluke led the campaign to raise \$52,500 to restore three brass chandeliers. In 2010, per the Freelon Group's specifications, mechanical systems were replaced and finishes updated throughout the building. A \$177,011 allocation from the National Park Service's African American Civil Rights Grant Program in 2021 subsidized the 1891 sanctuary pew restoration and northwest door replacement completed in June 2024.<sup>49</sup> The center continues to perpetuate its mission and hosts myriad institutions, agencies, civic groups, and private individuals for programs, performances, and events.

## Criterion C Architecture Context

Early African American churches in North Carolina were typically plainly finished, log or frame, front-gable buildings. As Black citizens prospered, congregations erected sanctuaries displaying Craftsman, Classical, Colonial Revival, Gothic Revival, or Romanesque stylistic elements. Gothic Revival features such as steeply-pitched gable roofs, pointed-arched windows, castellated towers, patterned masonry and asymmetrical massing were widely incorporated into high-style churches and public buildings throughout the country from the late nineteenth century through the first few decades of the twentieth century.

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<sup>48</sup> Fran Arrington, "Center hopes to revive pulse of Hayti," *News and Observer*, August 4, 1991, p. C1 and C3; "Grand Opening and Ribbon Cutting Ceremony," September 8, 1991, program, and *Hayti Heritage Center Highlights*, December 1911-January 1992 newsletter, Box 2, Frank DePasquale Collection, North Carolina Collection, Durham County Library, Durham; Hayti Heritage Center, "Events and Programs," <https://hayti.org/events-programs/> (accessed January 2024).

<sup>49</sup> Paul Bonner, "Heritage Unearthed, Reborn," *DHS*, March 14, 2000, pp. 1-2; "Dramatic Transformations," *DHS*, City of Durham Citizen's Report, July 13, 2001, p. 3; Artelia Covington, "Lighting Up a Historic Church," *DHS*, August 24, 2001, pp. C1 and C3; Owen Cordle, *News and Observer*, What's Up Section, October 5, 2001, pp. 4-5; The Freelon Group, "St. Joseph's Hayti Heritage Center Stabilization and Maintenance Project," February 22, 2010, drawings in the possession of Hayti Heritage Center; National Park Service, "National Park Service awards \$15 million to help preserve African American civil rights history," press release, July 27, 2021.

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Gothic Revival church interiors are often characterized by white plaster walls, hardwood floors, coffered ceilings, and dark, robust woodwork with a lacquered finish.

St. Joseph AME Church remains eligible for the National Register under Criterion C as a distinctive example of Gothic Revival-style late-nineteenth-century ecclesiastical architecture. The 1891 church is Durham's second-oldest and the most intact historic African American sanctuary of any denomination in the city. Designed by Philadelphia architect Samuel L. Leary and built with brick supplied by prominent Black Durham businessman Richard Burton Fitzgerald, the sanctuary has a traditional front-gable form and a projecting pyramidal-roofed entrance and bell tower. Gothic Revival stylistic elements include redbrick five-to-one common-bond walls, cast-stone-capped brick buttresses, pointed-arch door and window openings, twenty-three stained-glass windows with figural and foliate motifs, granite window sills, paneled-wood doors, a parged foundation, and a slate-shingle roof. Interior elements including the ornate painted-pressed-metal ceiling, narrow hardwood floor boards, white plaster walls, and woodwork with a dark lacquered finish—paneled-wood wainscoting with molded chair rails and tall baseboards, wood window and door surrounds, single-and-double-leaf paneled-wood doors, and turned balcony railings and paneled sheathing—have been refurbished.

Although African American congregations in Durham proliferated during the late nineteenth century, St. Joseph AME and the 1888 Gothic Revival-style Emmanuel AME Church at 710 Kent Street are the only surviving sanctuaries erected for the Black community from that period. St. Joseph AME is the most intact. Emmanuel AME, like St. Joseph, is a front-gable brick church with a projecting pyramidal-roofed entrance and bell tower, pointed-arch door and window openings, and stained-glass windows. However, the smaller, more simply executed building was stuccoed in 1962 except for the tower, which was painted. The congregation moved in March 1971 to a newly completed Colonial Revival-Style sanctuary at 1018 Riddle Road. Deliverance Temple Holy Church purchased the building at 710 Kent Street.<sup>50</sup>

Other African American congregations--St. John, First Calvary, Morehead Avenue, and Ebenezer Baptist; Oak Grove Free Will Baptist; Russell Memorial CME; Covenant Presbyterian; and Seventh Day Adventist—erected new sanctuaries and educational buildings during the mid-twentieth century. Most were Colonial Revival in style.<sup>51</sup> The sophisticated brick 1896 Gothic Revival-style White Rock Baptist Church was demolished during clearing for the Durham Freeway. The congregation commissioned construction of a Modernist front-gable brick sanctuary with a prominent bell tower and elaborate stained-glass windows at 3400 Fayetteville Street. Completed in 1977, the building's form references the 1896 church.

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<sup>50</sup> Richard and Sallie Fitzgerald, founding members of the Emmanuel AME congregation, began hosting worship services at their home in 1880. Emmanuel AME Church, "About Us," <https://www.emmanuelamec.com/about-us/> (accessed December 2023); Claudia Roberts Brown, "Emmanuel A. M. E. Church," National Register of Historic Places nomination, 1985.

<sup>51</sup> "Durham's Picturesque Churches," *CT*, September 4, 1954, pp. 3 and 6.

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## Criterion B Context: Richard Burton Fitzgerald (ca. 1843-1918)

St. Joseph AME Church is also significant for its association with African American entrepreneur Richard Burton Fitzgerald, who moved to Durham from Orange County in 1879 with his wife Sarah Ann Williams (known as Sallie) and their children. The Fitzgeralds soon became community leaders. They acquired property near the tobacco factories west of the central business district where Fitzgerald established the first of several brick yards in late 1879 and the couple in the 1890s commissioned construction of an eighteen-room Queen-Anne-style mansion known as The Maples, which stood on Gattis Street facing the end of Wilkerson Avenue. Richard advertised extensively, noting in 1887 that he had an inventory of 400,000 bricks, some made by hand and others pressed with steam-powered equipment. By 1891, the brick yard had the capacity to produce 70,000 bricks daily. That year, Durham County purchased brick for the “poor and work house” from Fitzgerald.<sup>52</sup> The high-quality brick survives in Durham buildings including the 1888 Emmanuel AME Church (NR 1985), for which Richard and Sallie donated the building materials as well as the Kent Street (then Chapel Hill Road) lot close to their home on which the sanctuary still stands.<sup>53</sup> Oral tradition maintains Fitzgerald brick was used to erect the 1891 St. Joseph AME Church and Erwin Cotton Mill No. 1 (NR 1984), completed in 1893.<sup>54</sup>

Fitzgerald fulfilled orders for clients throughout North Carolina and in South Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and other states. Since shipping brick was prohibitively expensive, he often sent equipment by rail to sites where his crews made bricks near sizable projects. Such commissions included the Neuse Cotton Mill in Smithfield, North Carolina, where in summer 1892 Fitzgerald’s employees worked from an existing brick yard.<sup>55</sup> Likewise, in 1895 Sterling Cotton Mill secretary-treasurer S. C. Vann engaged Fitzgerald to supply two million bricks for a factory and worker

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<sup>52</sup> In 1886, Richard owned 38 ½ acres in Durham and 10 acres in Orange County. Sally owned a quarter-acre. Orange County Register of Deeds, marriage records; death certificates; U. S. Census, Manufacturing Schedule, 1880; Emerson, *Charles Emerson’s North Carolina Tobacco Belt Directory*, 169, 489; “R. B. Fitzgerald, Brick Manufacturer,” *Daily Tobacco Plant*, Durham, September 14, 1887, p. 2; “Brick,” *Durham Globe*, August 1, 1891, p. 4; “Accounts Audited and Allowed,” *Durham Globe*, December 15, 1891, p. 3; Pauli Murray, *Proud Shoes: The Story of an American Family* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1999, reprint of 1956), 221.

<sup>53</sup> The Fitzgeralds were members of the Emmanuel AME congregation. Claudia Roberts Brown, “Emmanuel A. M. E. Church,” National Register of Historic Places nomination, 1985.

<sup>54</sup> Definitive attributions for buildings erected with Fitzgerald brick are impossible in many cases due to a dearth of written documentation. However, Fitzgerald’s personal associations with St. Joseph AME Church members and Erwin Cotton Mills’ principal stockholders Benjamin N. Duke, George W. Watts, and William A. Erwin make it likely that his brick was used in those projects.

<sup>55</sup> The brick made in Smithfield may not have been used as intended, as the town’s first cotton mill was not erected until 1900. “Neuse Cotton Mills,” *Smithfield Herald*, June 30, 1892, p. 3. “R. B. Fitzgerald,” *Durham Recorder*, April 16, 1900, p. 24.

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house foundations and chimneys in Franklinton, North Carolina. Fitzgerald's crews always used local clay. When their work in Franklinton was finished, the clay excavation pit served as the mill reservoir.<sup>56</sup>

By 1900, Fitzgerald's brick yards on Chapel Hill Road and in East Durham could make more than 100,000 bricks daily. He supplied brick for numerous structures in Durham's Black and white commercial districts, including a two-story building with an elaborate corbelled cornice erected in 1899 on West Main Street to house two of his businesses, Durham Drug Store and Durham Mercantile Company. The City of Durham purchased brick pavers for sidewalks.<sup>57</sup>

Historian Loren Schweninger's analysis of federal census data found Richard Fitzgerald and Warren C. Coleman of Concord to be the only two African American property owners who accumulated North Carolina estates with assessed values of \$50,000 to \$99,999 between 1870 and 1915. Thirty-six other black Southern entrepreneurs attained comparable holdings. The only higher tier—estates worth more than \$100,000—encompassed sixty-six African American men, seven of whom resided in North Carolina: Winston-Salem merchant and realtor Charles H. Jones, Durham barber and insurance company founder John Merrick, Durham physician and insurance agent Aaron McDuffie Moore, Wake County merchant Berry O'Kelly, Durham insurance executive Charles Clinton Spaulding, and Winston-Salem physician Daniel Cato Suggs. Schweninger noted that all of these men cultivated interracial business dealings, whether by securing loans from white financiers or catering to a diverse clientele.<sup>58</sup>

Although Richard Fitzgerald's primary business endeavor was his brick yard, he also speculated in real estate and other ventures. Warren Coleman persuaded him to invest in Coleman Manufacturing Company, incorporated by the North Carolina General Assembly on February 16, 1897. The concern's twenty initial stockholders included eighteen distinguished African American men (authors, businessmen, educators, pastors, politicians, an attorney, and a physician), a black female teacher (Polly A. King), and one white man (Marshall J. Corl). The first officers were Richard B. Fitzgerald as president; Raleigh lawyer, educator, and politician Edward A. Johnson as vice-president; and Warren C. Coleman as secretary and treasurer. These three men and six others comprised the board of directors.<sup>59</sup> Their

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<sup>56</sup> "Franklinton Items," *Franklin Times*, July 5, 1895, p. 3; M. Ruth Little, "Sterling Cotton Mill," National Register of Historic Places nomination, 1996.

<sup>57</sup> "More Buildings," *DDS*, July 20, 1899, p.1; "Thrift and Energy Shown," *DDS*, November 27, 1899, p. 1; "R. B. Fitzgerald," *Durham Recorder*, April 16, 1900, p. 24; "Report of Financial Committee," *DDS*, November 16, 1901, p. 3.

<sup>58</sup> Loren Schweninger, *Black Property Owners in the South, 1790-1915* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 226, 298-300.

<sup>59</sup> Richard B. Fitzgerald's brick yard did not supply the brick used to erect Coleman Manufacturing Company. Builder Adolphus Henry Propst, brick maker and mason Rufus A. Brown, both of whom were white, and their crews undertook the 1898 mill's construction. Coleman-Franklin-Cannon Mill was listed in the National Register at a statewide level of significance in April 2015. *Private Laws of the State of North Carolina Passed By the General Assembly at the Session of 1897* (Winston: M. I. and J. C. Stewart, 1897), 47-49; "The Colored Cotton Factory," *Concord Times*, February 11, 1897, p. 3; "Laying the Corner Stone of the Coleman Cotton Mill," *Concord Times*, February 10, 1897, p. 3; *Charlotte Observer*, February

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photograph's inclusion in the African American history exhibit at the Paris Exposition of 1900 along with images of Warren C. Coleman and the company's Concord cotton spinning and weaving mill as it neared completion demonstrates the undertaking's significance as one of the few large-scale African American-owned industrial endeavors in the United States at that time.<sup>60</sup>

Fitzgerald continued to diversify his business interests. He collaborated with Jesse A. Dodson, J. R. Hawkins, John Merrick, Aaron M. Moore, W. G. Pearson, James E. Shepard, G. W. Stephens, and Stanford L. Warren to charter Mechanics and Farmers Bank, incorporated in Durham on February 20, 1907.<sup>61</sup> Richard and Sallie's twelve children, many of whom remained in Durham, manifested their parents' entrepreneurial spirit. Charles Thomas Fitzgerald, born in 1875, was a house carpenter. Burton Fitzgerald, called Burke, born in 1887, worked in the family brick yard until his 1916 death. Samuel Fitzgerald, born in 1883, also perpetuated his family's brick making legacy. After Richard died on March 24, 1918, Sallie moved from The Maples to a modest dwelling at 802 Chapel Hill Road (now Kent Street) where she resided with her youngest daughter Irene, an insurance company clerk, until her death on January 18, 1931.<sup>62</sup>

Claiming significance under Criterion B for St. Joseph AME Church's association with Richard Burton Fitzgerald is appropriate as the 1891 sanctuary is the most prominent extant African American landmark in Durham erected with brick supplied by Fitzgerald's brick yard.<sup>63</sup> The brick was manufactured at the height of his productive career, as his businesses prospered. Fitzgerald's close connections to church members, many of whom were friends and colleagues, undoubtedly made the commission especially meaningful. St. Joseph AME Church is a rare survivor of the widespread demolition associated with the Durham Freeway's construction and the city's urban renewal program that resulted in the loss of numerous buildings in Hayti and the surrounding area erected with Fitzgerald brick. Extant Durham buildings associated with Fitzgerald such as his commercial building at 700 East Kent Street and Emmanuel AME Church at 708 Kent Street have diminished integrity. Both were parged in the 1960s. In

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23, 1897; *Concord Standard*, February 25, 1897; "The Coleman Factory," *Daily Concord Standard*, October 13, 1897, December 14, 1897, December 16, 1897, and February 7, 1898.

<sup>60</sup> W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, "The American Negro at Paris," *The American Monthly Review of Reviews* XXII, no. 5 (November 1900): 575-577; "Coleman Manufacturing Co., a Negro operated cotton mill, Concord, N. C.," in the "African American Photographs Assembled for 1900 Paris Exposition" collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

<sup>61</sup> "Notice," *Durham Recorder*, February 5, 1907, p. 4; "Additional Bills Passed," *Raleigh Times*, February 20, 1907, p. 4; *Daily Industrial News* (Greensboro), February 20, 1907, p. 4.

<sup>62</sup> Charles Thomas Fitzgerald's death certificate lists his birth date as February 24, 1875. Other sources state he was born in 1876. U. S. Census, Population Schedules, 1900-1940; death certificates.

<sup>63</sup> Due to the dearth of written documentation including early St. Joseph AME Church records and nominal news coverage, it is impossible to definitively delineate the source of the brick used to construct the 1891 sanctuary. However, it is highly unlikely that any brick manufacturer other than Fitzgerald would have provided the brick given his personal associations with church members and dominance of the local market. Oral tradition has long affirmed Fitzgerald's involvement in the project.



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the case of the commercial building, the stucco obscured its distinguishing decorative features and all windows, doors, and storefronts have been replaced. Late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century buildings throughout Durham were replaced as the city grew. The sites of the Fitzgerald brick yards have been redeveloped. His expansive house, The Maples, was destroyed by fire by 1937.<sup>64</sup> Although countless buildings were erected with Fitzgerald brick, the 1891 St. Joseph AME sanctuary, with its high level of architectural integrity, is thus the most important and intact building closely associated with Fitzgerald during his productive career. The building is a testament to Fitzgerald's professional achievements and the exceptional quality of the brick manufactured in his yards.

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<sup>64</sup> Preservation Durham, "Fitzgerald Building," and "The Maples," Open Durham, <https://www.opendurham.org/> (accessed July 2024).

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## Section 10. Geographical Data

Latitude: 35.985776 Longitude: -78.897838

## Verbal Boundary Description

The National Register boundary encompasses 1.05-acre Durham County tax parcel 0831-03-1722 as indicated by the heavy line on the enclosed map. Scale: one inch equals approximately forty feet

## Boundary Justification

The nominated tract encompassed the acreage historically associated with St. Joseph AME Church.

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## Additional Documentation: Historic Images



*Parsonage*

*Edian D. Markham Memorial Building*

*Sanctuary*

### Exhibit A. St. Joseph AME Church, 1952 photograph

*Souvenir edition of the St. Joseph Story, celebrating the dedication of the Edian D. Markham memorial building and parsonage of St. Joseph A. M. E. Church, including pertinent historical data*

## Current Photographs

All photographs by Heather Fearnbach, Fearnbach History Services, Inc., 3334 Nottingham Road, Winston-Salem, NC, on August 29, 2023. Digital images located at the North Carolina SHPO.

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1. Northeast oblique (above) and 2. East elevation (below)



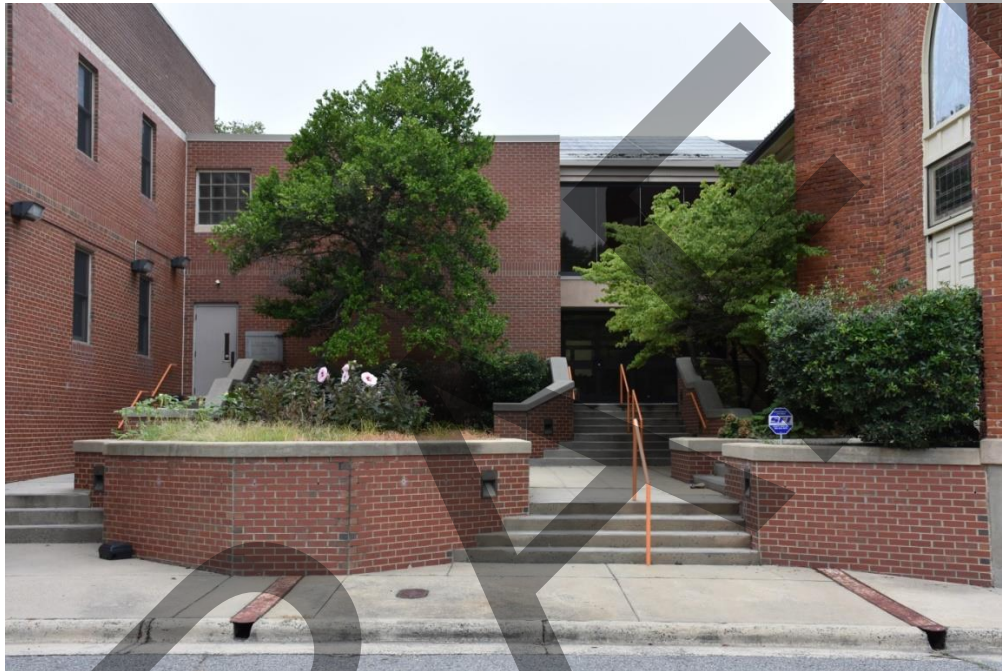


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3. 1991 hyphen and stair tower, east elevation (above) and 4. Southeast 1991 wing and stair tower (below)



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5. Northwest elevation (above) and 6. West elevation (below)





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7. 1891 sanctuary, looking north (above) and 8. looking east (below)



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9. 1891 sanctuary, looking west (above) and  
10. Lobby and art gallery in 1952/1991 addition looking north (below)





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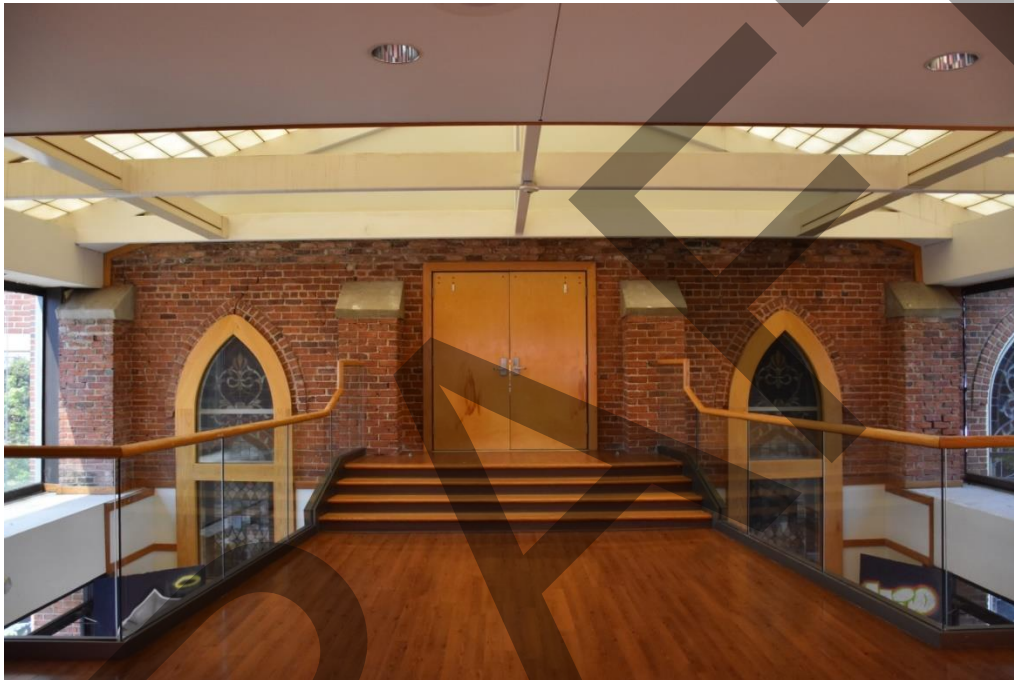
11. Community room, looking southwest (above) and 12. Basement looking north (below)



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13. Second-floor lobby, looking north (above) and 14. looking south (below)



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15. Second-floor classroom, looking south