

University of North Carolina at Asheville

Better and Greater Service for Humanity

The National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses and Integration in Nursing

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By Lyndsey Henderson

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Institutionalized racism frustrated employment and related opportunities for African American nurses in the medical field. Black women were prohibited from maximizing their professional competence as Jim Crow tradition heavily influenced nursing. The National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses formed to meet the needs of African American nurses who were being excluded from professionalism. The NACGN took on the responsibility to confront the marginalization of black nurses, “to advance the standing and best interests of trained nurses, and to place the profession of nursing on the highest plane attainable” according to Adah B. Thoms co – founder of the organization.¹ The organization accomplished higher standards of nursing and an overall shift in society by exposing the burdens of discrimination and segregation. Appealing to the authorities who had the power to create change, the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses would challenge the exclusion of African American women via politicians, legislation, and democratic morale. The turning point for the NACGN was the years concerning World War II because all nurses were needed regardless of race. This period is when apparent change began to occur in nursing. Previous contributions before this time provided the organization with groundwork and stability. The dissolution of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses proves that its mission was solely for the purpose of achieving integration in nursing; upon its fulfillment the association was no longer necessary. Yet its influences went beyond the nurses themselves and contributed to the end of Jim Crow.

The National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses is memorialized throughout scholarly sources as a subdivision of nursing and African American history rather than being recognized as an autonomous entity. An exception is the account by Mabel K. Staupers, who held an executive position on the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses organization

¹ Adah B. Thoms, R.N., *Pathfinders: A History of the Progress of Colored Graduate Nurses* (New York, New York: Kay Printing House, Inc., 1929), 237.

and was an advocate who fought for the integration of African American nurses in World War II. Her book, *No Time for Prejudice*, published in 1961, expresses the fight Staupers, and other Negro nurses, endured to be recognized as a professional. She provides contextual background as far back as the late 1800s where early pioneers began organize and show their proficiency. The history of African American nurses builds as their struggle became a contemporary issue as how to battle white supremacy notions and how to achieve integration into not only the Military services but the American Nurses' Association. Much of the information Staupers collected is from the official records, correspondences, and statements found in the files of the NACGN, found in the Schomburg Collection of the New York Library- which is also the basis of this paper. This book shows that discrimination and segregation becomes outdated as the world modernizes as there are "no time for prejudices" when it comes to wartime interests however it is crucial to highlight that however true this may be, the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses still had to campaign for equality.²

Darlene Clark Hine is a recognized scholar in African American women's history and black professionals in medical, nursing, and legal histories. Her book from 1989, *Black Women in White*, examines the crusade against racism and the efforts to professionalize black nurses in the healthcare field.³ This book shows the implications of blacks in nursing and the need for social change. Hine emphasizes color line and gender discernments as the foremost authorities that hindered integration in the nursing occupation, but concerning this paper, race- based discrimination is the issue at large. Part Two of "Black Women in White" contains the most

² Mabel Keaton Staupers, R.N. *No Time for Prejudice* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1961), 77.

³ Darlene Clark Hine, *Black Women in White: Racial Conflict and Cooperation in the Nursing Profession, 1890-1950* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 163.

relevant information pertaining to the argument that the pursuit of integration by the NACGN and the events in the time frame of World War II held an extension of political drive.

Sandra Beth Lewenson's *Taking Charge: Nursing, Suffrage, and Feminism in America, 1873-1920* is important because it provides a different angle of nursing history while still using the NACGN records. This source from 1993 is a thematic approach to the history of nursing. Lewenson's argument is distinct because it is rooted in women's rights and education. What set apart colored nurses was their training.⁴ The contribution to nursing history and the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses that Lewenson makes is distinct she stops at 1920 whereas these issues continue to have impact on society thereafter.

American Nursing (2010) by Patricia D' Antonio examines other areas of race relations in nursing rather than the headquarters of the NACGN in New York. A chapter is dedicated to North Carolina, revealing the range of struggles the state endured to carry out desegregation.⁵ This acknowledges that race issues pertained to both Northern and Southern industries. The information in her books is supported by personal accounts. While individual experience is meaningful, looking at the institutional transformation of North Carolina's nursing politics is more valuable because it is here where the tradition of segregation is the most difficult to change.

The National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses was founded in 1908 as a political and professional wing to confront discrimination in the nursing field. The association declared that its purposes were to: achieve higher professional standards; break down the discriminatory practices facing Negroes in schools of nursing, jobs, and in nursing organization activities; and

⁴ Sandra Beth Lewenson, *Taking Charge: Nursing, Suffrage, and Feminism in America, 1873- 1920* (New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1993) , 110, 266.

⁵ Patricia D'Antonio, *American Nursing: a History of Knowledge, Authority, and the Meaning of Work* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 133.

develop leadership among Negro nurses.⁶ The NACGN would have to adjust the instruments to professionalism to gain equal opportunity. The organization's ambitions would be directed towards those who had power to influence change. Therefore legislation, political holders, and the general public would be the NACGN's targeted audiences to implement the commitment of leveling out the prospects for qualified nursing in the United States.

A barrier that African American nurses faced early on was the state nurse registration. Introduced in 1903, this system was set up to assure that nurses had been trained appropriately and were qualified to perform the duties of a nurse. Those who made up the state board determined who qualified as a registered nurse based on the applicant's education and examination results. Negro nurses then struggled to be included due to their lack of educational opportunities and professional experiences. This excluded them from the state's assessment and therefore excluded them from participating in the public sphere of nursing. Thus a national registry for black nurses would be established in 1917. This registry would assist in providing an economic and professional substance for colored nurses since their job opportunities were hampered by biased employment ethics.⁷ The state nurse registry would continue to keep African American nurses from professional recognition and participation in the prevailing nursing until later years when nursing became an equal professional field for both black and white. For the time being they were restricted to private- service jobs which unfortunately were based on merit further barring colored nurses from partaking in the profession.

Although the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses was a functional group, it was not until the 1930s that the organization developed its stable presence. The following ten

⁶ Mabel K. Staupers, R.N., *Story of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses*, American Journal of Nursing Vol., 51, April 1952. Box 3, Vol. 8. Schomburg Collection.

⁷ Lewenson, 110-113.

year span held interest for authorizing the sincerity of the NACGN while empowering black nurses as individuals. In the 1930s the organization sought to authorize the legitimacy of the group while empowering black nurses as individuals. On into the '40s and '50s the association would continue its rally for integration. The efforts of the NACGN would be felt nation-wide as policies regarding race in health care quarters were reformed to pursue a “democratic way of life.”⁸ The United States’ home front was hypocritical to the nation’s war efforts. This contradiction was becoming well recognized and harmed the trademark of American excellence.

To maintain stability, the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses established a main office. The Articles and By-Laws of the NACGN stated that “to own and control a permanent headquarters and all rights and property held by the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses as a corporation” was one of its purposes.⁹ Subsequently in 1934 the NACGN established a permanent headquarters. Relationship building and high involvement in “projects, educational programs, consultation services, and day to day business of operating a national organization” heavily influenced this.¹⁰ Establishing the association as a permanent organization and creating fellowship would begin to generate the professionalism of black nurses but this did not fully grant them the opportunities they desired. The ownership of an institution did however signify a notion of citizenship which was being sought. The NACGN would have to make the obstacles that African American nurses faced not only a professional problem but a political and social problem to see reform. It was then necessary to develop a political strategy to see that this

⁸ Eugene Gordo, Women’s Army Can Make History; Will It Slap Jim Crow Out of Ranks? *The Worker*, New York, June 7, 1942. Schomburg Collection. Scrapbooks and Clippings. Box 5, Folder 8.

⁹ Martha M. Franklin, R. N. Articles of Incorporation and By-Laws. By-Laws, Articles of Incorporation. Box 2, Folder 1. p., 3.

¹⁰ M. Elizabeth Carnegie, *The Path We Tread: Blacks in Nursing Worldwide, 1854-1994*, 3rd ed. (Sudbury, MA: Jones & Bartlett Learning, 1995), 106.

organization be intrinsically recognized for pursuing the end of segregation to reach fair professional opportunity.

In 1937 the NACGN confronted New York's Commissioner of Hospitals, Dr. Sigismund S. Goldwater, about the discrimination within the hospitals of New York. He addressed the issue in an exchange of correspondence by claiming that "we try to adhere to the merit system; unfortunately, for reasons too complicated to discuss here, strict adherence to merit as a basis for the selection of interns and nurses would result in seeming adverse discrimination and the Department has actually extended itself in its effort to provide opportunities for Negro candidates."¹¹ Mabel K. Staupers, the executive secretary of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses, fired back, "since one of the functions of this Organization is to have Negro nurses meet the standards set for them by the several State Boards, Nursing Organizations and Institutions, I would appreciate very much if you would tell me some of these reasons which you claim are too complicated for discussion."¹² Often there were no genuine justifications for an imbalance of black to white nurses. The lack of explanation would generate the NACGN to become more persistent seeing that they knew that pro-segregation was undeniably the reason for dismissing black employment in the hospitals. The presence of African Americans in hospital facilities was prevented further by claims of black population to black worker ratios.¹³ With makeshift assurances that although "hesitant about instituting radical changes in the functional organization of the Department, believing that the time is not opportune for such changes" there

¹¹ Letter from Dr. Goldwater to Miss Florina Lasker. May 18, 1937. General Correspondence Box 2, Folder 2. Schomburg Collection.

¹² Letter from MK Staupers to Goldwater June 18, 1937. General Correspondence Box 2, Folder 2. Schomburg Collection.

¹³ Concerning employment in municipal hospitals, Goldwater claimed that Negroes made up "15% of the total number of persons employed- a ratio which is highly favorable to the Negro group, since the Negro population if New York bears no such proportion to the City's total population. Letter to Ruth Logan Roberts from S. S. Goldwater on January 15, 1937. General Correspondence Box 2, Folder 2. Schomburg Collection.

was insincere concern as Goldwater added that his mind was “not completely closed on this point.”¹⁴ Glimmers of false hope and future resolution were often depicted through letter exchange but were obviously a deception to true intentions of limiting African American nurses in the medical discipline. However this would not deter the course of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurse’s operations.

In December of that year, Goldwater, among other members of the Harlem Hospital Medical board, publically rejected charges of discrimination. Questions directed at Dr. Goldwater pertained to the selection and placement of African American staff in New York hospitals. He “angrily denied that there was discrimination again[st] Negro physicians and nurses.”¹⁵ Goldwater prominently emphasized that there was in fact black employment but it was limited “due to the situation [that] is reflected in the very current view, and I am not quoting my opinion on this, but there is a very current opinion among those who observed the work of the Department constantly that, by and large, a greater number of Negro nurses do not function as efficiently as a large number of the other group.”¹⁶

Goldwater additionally claimed that employment was decided on by the basis of merit. He maintained that “among the white applicants will be a very large proportion of very well conducted and highly trained men from the best medical schools in the country.” Comparatively, African Americans “come from two schools. Those schools do not compare in their facilities for

¹⁴ Letter from S. S. Goldwater to Mrs. E. P. Roberts on April 14, 1937. General Correspondences, 1937- 1951.. Box 2, Folder 2. Schomburg Collection.

¹⁵ A. M. Wendell Malliet. Discrimination Charges Heard By Commission. Bitter Quarrels Mark Heights Court Session. *The New York Amsterdam News*. Saturday, December 18, 1937.. Scrapbook and Clippings. Box 4. 1937-1938. Schomburg Collection.

¹⁶ Public Hearing New York State Temporary Commission on the Condition of the Urban Colored Population. p5 Speeches and Testimony, 1937, 1951. Box 2, Folder 5. Schomburg Collection.

training with some of which are the better schools. There is no doubt about that.”¹⁷ Undeniably educational opportunities had substantial weight pertaining to the odds of employment. This was a curse to black nurses because their educational opportunities were inferior to white pedagogy. Education, along with training and job prospects, were favored by the elite schools where African Americans were not accepted. Furthermore, qualified black nurses were inconvenient as suggested by Goldwater’s reaction pertaining to their professional appointment. When asked if “a Negro girl desired to become a nurse, where would she go to train in the City of New York?” Dr. Goldwater responded “she would go wherever she was accepted... into a hospital which she is qualified for, and where one better qualified is not obtainable.”¹⁸ Broad statements as such were misconceiving as they portrayed, but did not propose, acceptance of African Americans.

Dr. Goldwater upheld that discrimination was not present in the New York hospitals, that in fact there was black presence in the hospitals. He did, however, make clear, as seen in the following statements, that there was a distinction among African American workers and their white counterparts. He argued that differences were due to systematic flaws but that with the existing forces at work change was foreseeable. Goldwater avowed: “I attribute that to the fact that under the circumstances the Department is not free to exercise the full and free selection or rejection in the appointment of Negro nurses that it has in the case of whites.”¹⁹ Though he revealed “it is my firm conviction if my policy continues, that the opportunities, or rather the

¹⁷ Public Hearing New York State Temporary Commission on the Condition of the Urban Colored Population. p. 5 Speeches and Testimony, 1937, 1951. Box 2, Folder 5. Schomburg Collection.

¹⁸ Public Hearing New York State Temporary Commission on the Condition of the Urban Colored Population. p. 7-8 Speeches and Testimony, 1937, 1951 Box 2, Folder 5. Schomburg Collection.

¹⁹ Public Hearing New York State Temporary Commission on the Condition of the Urban Colored Population. p. 3 Speeches and Testimony, 1937, 1951 Box 2, Folder 5. Schomburg Collection.

increase of opportunities in the department will continue from now on, because I think nothing will stop them.”²⁰

Testifying against the allegations of discrimination, it could be assumed, would satisfy the issue. It, on the contrary, raised controversy. The publicized matter heightened the outcry for fair employment ethics as Dr. Goldwater indicated black inferiority. The protestors argued that his comments “indicated a racial bias that was sufficient ground for his removal.” An investigation was performed on these claims, but Dr. Goldwater’s removal was dismissed by the Mayor.²¹ Although Goldwater was not convicted, his accuse had significant importance. It was notably challenging white authority and the arrangements of an institution governed by such. The event moreover was publicized throughout the event of the hearing and newspaper coverage. The allegations made against Goldwater may have been unsuccessful but set a precedent as to how the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses and others would confront discrimination on a much larger scale.

The rejection of African Americans into national nursing organizations and service groups was not unusual as it had been implemented during World War I. Enrollment of black applicants was acceptable, according to superintendents, but participant opportunity never transpired. In the instances where African American involvement was acknowledged, segregation still concentrated the energies made to assimilate black nurses into wartime efforts. World War I was seen as a vehicle to recognition and acceptance.²² The circumstances and obstructions that African Americans faced during WWII seemed to reflect those of WWI.

²⁰ Public Hearing New York State Temporary Commission on the Condition of the Urban Colored Population. p. 18 Speeches and Testimony, 1937, 1951 Box 2, Folder 5. Schomburg Collection.

²¹ Goldwater Stays, Mayor Declares. *The New York Times*, Thursday December 23, 1937. Scrapbook and Clippings. Box 4. 1937-1938. Schomburg Collection.

²² Hine, 102.

However black nurses would push through the once imposed limitations to obtain amalgamation between the races for the “commitment to racial segregation in the establishment of medical services and facilities energized black physicians and nurses to an unprecedented degree.”²³

Their determination would revolutionize not only their profession but the social perceptions of African Americans by bringing attention that their disregard was non-beneficial to war or health care contributions.

World War II commenced in 1939 and “the Army Nurse Corps began at once to expand its resources and services,” according to Mabel Keaton Staupers, an African American nurse and leading member of the NACGN.²⁴ Black nurses acted upon this wartime emergency, much like their white colleagues, by requesting and submitting information to offer their services. Staupers, hoped that service “would translate into improved economic and educational opportunities.”²⁵ However, dilemma would be found in their enthusiasm and request for participation as African Americans nurses were not accepted as members of the American Nurses Association, which, in 1940, was a qualification for admission into the American Red Cross. Black nurses often received a letter of rejection which stated: “I regret to tell you that your application for appointment in the Army Nurse Corps cannot be given favorable consideration as there are no provisions in Army Regulations for the appointment of colored nurses in the Nurse Corps.”²⁶

Oneida Miller Stuart recalled her experience on nurse recruitment: “in the army, we need nurses- that was all on the radio all the time- we need nurses. And I kept applying, and they didn’t need

²³ Darlene Clark Hine, “Black Professionals and Race Consciousness: Origins of the Civil Rights Movement, 1890-1950”, *The Journal of American History* 89, no. 4 (Mar., 2003): 1279-94. (Accessed April 26, 2013 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3092543>).

²⁴ Staupers, 99.

²⁵ Hine, 170.

²⁶ Letter from the War Department Office of the Surgeon General, October 2, 1940, Nurses in the Armed Forces Correspondences 1940- 1945, box 2, folder 3. Schomburg Collection.

nurses. They needed nurses, but not black nurses.”²⁷ Her experience was common among the population of African American nurses.

In order to include all qualified nurses, the Red Cross created a “special membership category” for black nurses. The conditions for this membership were to have met the standard qualifications and to additionally be a member of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses.²⁸ This would allow colored nurses to participate in war efforts unlike before. A New York newspaper announcement stated that at the time “the next bulletin of the National Association of Negro Nurses will urge colored nurses to join the American Red Cross, qualifying for service with that organization.” The article continued to encompass information as to why this was so substantial. It brought to consciousness that “when the last war occurred, numbers of Negro nurses sought to enter the army service. They were barred because in most instances they had never qualified for Red Cross work.”²⁹ There was an obvious transformation in the military and public eye beginning to take place.

Despite their newly acquired status, black nurses were still being distinguished by their skin rather than skill. Initial assignments were based on race as many African American nurses were sent to designated areas where they were estranged from white colleagues. Furthermore the democratic integrity of colored nurses was misused as their service was limited to their race and prisoners of war. The years 1942 and 1943 revealed the grim struggles that black nurses faced in these conditional environments. An outbreak of violence against a colored nurse and harassment

²⁷ Oneida Miller Stuart Collection. (AFC/ 2001/001/4850), Veteran’s History Project, American Folklife Center, Library of Congress. <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/diglib/vhp-stories/loc.natlib.afc2001001.04850/>

²⁸ Staupers, 99.

²⁹ Urge Negro Nurses To Go In Army Units. New York, Oct. 10 (ANP). Scrapbooks and Clippings, 1939-1940. Box 4.

from non- American patients would confirm the marginalization of African Americans and expose the oppressions which they faced.

The event of Second Lieutenant Norma Greene's alleged beating by white police in Montgomery, Alabama raised concern as "this sort of thing makes it increasingly difficult to get Negro nurses to enroll for service."³⁰ African American nurses were already reluctant to become part of the military services due to membership qualifications. In this event, Mabel K. Staupers requested that the Superintendent of the Army Nurse Corps, Colonel Julia O. Flikke, further investigate the incident. Flikke replied that "the fact that Lt. Greene was not in uniform and failed to show her identification card" was in large part reason for her assault. Flikke further explained that "it is a most regrettable affair but I feel quite certain it would have not occurred if Lt. Greene had been in uniform or established her Army identity."³¹ This statement suggests that Greene brought the violence upon herself and there was no blame to be placed on the policemen for "Lieutenant Greene's connection with the armed forces was not and could not have been known to them at the time of the incident."³² Staupers made this impact statement: "When I realize that soldiers in uniform have been beaten also the lack of appreciation for the professional status of Negro women in that area, I am wondering whether Lieutenant Greene's uniform would have been sufficient protection."³³ This observation contains heavy content as it acknowledges that African Americans have no protection in their own country, even from those who enforce the law and are supposed to protect civilians. It further suggests that little value was placed on

³⁰ Letter to Julia O. Flikke from Mabel K. Staupers, September 25, 1942. Nurses in the Armed Forces Correspondences 1940- 1945. Box 2, Folder 3. Schomburg Collection.

³¹ Letter to Mabel K. Staupers from Julia O. Flikke, October 10, 1942. Nurses in the Armed Forces Correspondences 1940- 1945. Box 2, Folder 3. Schomburg Collection.

³² Letter to Mabel K. Staupers from J. A. Ulio, December 9, 1942. Nurses in the Armed Forces Correspondences 1940- 1945. Box 2, Folder 3. Schomburg Collection.

³³ Letter to Julia O. Flikke to Mabel K. Staupers, October 20, 1942. . Nurses in the Armed Forces Correspondences 1940- 1945. Box 2, Folder 3. Schomburg Collection.

these women as individuals and professionals; foreshadowing the opposition that blacks would face as they fought to integrate all institutions.

A draft to fill the demand for nurses was established as the war continued. However the draft heavily resisted black admission. It upheld that “no colored nurses will be appointed in the Army Nurse Corps in this augmentation.”³⁴ This statement emits that although there was a magnification for nurses, there was not enough desperation to call on the help of black professionals. This was of immense controversy as Staupers demanded “if nurses are so desperately needed, why isn’t the Army using Negro nurses?”³⁵ To incorporate black nurse involvement, regulations were made. A quota was instituted to manage the number of black personnel. This became problematic as the quota was said to be filled. The War Department denied the assignment of African American nurses in acknowledging their applications by contending that “enrollment in the Army Nurse Corps cannot be given favorable consideration at this time because the quota of colored nurses required by the Corps has been filled,” however the Armed Services were simultaneously asking for 60,000 nurses.³⁶ Staupers confronted Major Julia O. Flikke, Army Nursing Corps Superintendent, about this deficit by claiming that “recently several nurses who are enrolled with the American Red Cross and are eligible for Army Service have told us that they have received letters stating that there are no vacancies in the Corps for Negro nurses.”³⁷ This is an instance where the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses approaches authority as a way to test the current regulations. The quota did not stall black assignment for long as the general public quickly realized the inconvenience that it

³⁴ Patterson Calls 30, 000 Whites But No Colored, Under Secretary of War Says Quota is Already Filled. Washington. Scrapbooks and Clippings, Box 5.

³⁵ Army Still Baulky On Using Negro Nurses, Surgeon General Admits Drafting May Be Necessary. Friday January 3, 1945. Clippings 1944- 1945. Box 6, Folder 1.

³⁶ Ruth Murray. Army and Navy Need 60,000, but Stick to Color Line. Scrapbooks and Clippings, Box 5.

³⁷ Letter to Major Julia O. Flikke December 8, 1941 Nurses in the Armed Forces Correspondences 1940- 1945, box 2, folder 3. Schomburg Collection.

was causing. The matter of democracy was at stake as “no consideration is more urgent than guaranteeing adequate medical care for the thousands of white and Negro American fighting men who get wounded in this war against our fascist enemies.” Congruent with the realization that “our fighting men are suffering and dying needlessly from lack of medical attention” race became irrelevant. The cry was now “let our nation use every available nurse, white and Negro, to serve their needs.”³⁸ The cry was heard. Staupers received a telegraph which stated “Negro nurses will be accepted without regard. Any quota they will be used both this country and abroad. Should apply for commissions in regular manner.”³⁹ This incident affirms a shift in society. People were beginning to realize that the United States’ war services had to be a unified contribution which did not divide black and white efforts.

Even though African American nurses were admitted into the Army Services, their assignments did not enable them to truly assist their country. Black women often nursed German prisoners of war and were alienated from their white colleagues. Staupers amplified the disunity in this practice by testifying that “when our women hear of the great need for nurses in the Army and when they enter the service it is with the high hopes that they will be used to nurse sick and wounded soldiers who are fighting our country’s enemies and not primarily to care for these enemies.”⁴⁰ Black nurses were lured in by the same call as white women to serve their country but were being denied this responsibility, maintaining their second class citizenship status. Additionally, African American women were not allowed the same privileges as white nurses. They were deprived of public services and even had separate living facilities.⁴¹ Inequality would weaken the force of the United States as “the present discriminatory policy gives comfort to the

³⁸ What About Negro Army Nurses? *The People’s Voice*, January 13, 1945. Clippings, 1944-1945. Box 6, Folder 1.

³⁹ Western Union Telegraph July 8, 1944. To Mabel K. Staupers from Truman K. Gibson. 1944 Nurses in the Armed Forces Correspondences 1940- 1945, box 2, folder 3. Schomburg Collection.

⁴⁰ Hine, 178.

⁴¹ Staupers, 116.

enemy and is a gamble with the lives of fighting men.”⁴² The procedure in which nurses were being mobilized was an obvious disadvantage to the men and women directly involved in the war efforts.

Integration would become crucial as the war continued for the demand for nurses escalated to an unprecedented degree. Barriers to limit and exclude black nurses in wartime efforts were evident. In spite of this the NACGN and black nurses maintained assistance and promotion through various factors in order to assimilate. African American nurses would receive the acceptance that they had been looking for by seeking changes in legislation through the appreciation of democracy. The dynamics of these elements relied on the stresses of the war and public opinion to obtain integration. The National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses used such instances to court people with the idea that integration was politically and socially just to preserve the nation and its people for “what is of interest to one group is of interest to all.”⁴³

The issue of integration reached extended debate as the need for more nurses intensified but race was becoming irrelevant. Prudence Burrell recollected that, “when they [Japan] bombed Pearl Harbor, then, they [the United States] wanted every nurse they could get, white or black, therefore they began recruiting and took in all those who were interested.”⁴⁴ African American nurses were more than willing to serve; they saw it their duty not only as Americans but nurses. Mabel K. Staupers expressed that “today, Negroes are in the midst of the struggle for democracy both on the home front and on the battle field. We have the belief that the American Nurses

⁴²Ruth Murray. Army and Navy Need 60,000, but Stick to Color Line. Scrapbooks and Clippings, Box 5.

Letter to Major Julia O. Flikke December 8, 1941 Nurses in the Armed Forces Correspondences 1940- 1945, box 2, folder 3. Schomburg Collection

⁴³Eleanor Roosevelt. *My Day*. The Washington Daily News, Friday, February 11, 1938. Clippings 1937- 1938. Box 4. Schomburg Collection.

⁴⁴Prudence Burrell Collection. . (AFC/2001/001/4747), Veteran’s History Project, American Folklife Center, Library of Congress. <http://memory.loc.gov/diglib/vhp/story/loc.natlib.afc2001001.04747/transcript?ID=sr0001>

Association through its Board of Directors will continue to work with the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses for A. N. A. membership for all Negro nurses in order that every qualified American nurse can realize the professional status which is obtained through membership in your Organization. All of this has bearing on this present world struggle and on the kind of Peace which we are all hoping for.”⁴⁵ The National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses used to their advantage the fight for democracy as a means to gain favor to support themselves and their country since “democracy and unity are necessary for the development of a strong nursing program on a national level” and that “nurses, as citizens of their respective communities, must work with other citizens to remove the problems facing Negroes which would hamper the War Effort.”⁴⁶ Black people identified themselves as citizens but were being denied their duty and fulfillment as one. Their recognition as nurses was also being overlooked. These circumstances propelled the fight for integration in order for African Americans to serve their country and correspondingly to become a part of their country.

The Bolton Bill of 1943 was a major provision in integration as it established the U.S. Cadet Nurse Corps which was designed to “provide more nurses for military and civilian war training service through subsidized training.”⁴⁷ It made available “free education as a professional nurse” where “your tuition and fees are free” as well as other comforts. As if these incentives weren’t enough, the U.S. Cadet Nurse Corps fulfilled national responsibility and offered a promising future for “all the time you know you’re playing an important part in the

⁴⁵ Letter to Miss Julia C. Stimson from Mabel K. Staupers, January 14, 1943. General Correspondences, 1937- 1951 Box 2 Folder 2. Schomburg Collection.

⁴⁶ NACGN News Letter June 1943, Vol 1, No 2. News Letter Box 2 folder 11. Schomburg Collection.

⁴⁷ News from the Field, American Journal of Public Health Nations Health. 1943, August; 33(8): 1028–1042. <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1527552/>

war” while “preparing for a professional life that gives you a wide choice of interesting work.”⁴⁸ The significance in the Bolton Bill and U.S. Cadet Nurse Corps is that the opportunities available were created to supply the demand for nurses- black and white. It looked for the assistance of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses to “recruit African Americans” for the “Cadet Nurse Corps was required by law to accept African Americans. Consequently, the Corps not only welcomed black women but actively recruited them.”⁴⁹ The marketing techniques used for the U.S. Cadet Nurse Corps suggested through advertisements conflicting notions of acceptance and resistance. Flyers to promote the Nurse Corps conveyed the same message. However, characteristics of the target audience are distinct in their features as seen in Appendix 1 and 2. Although these advertisements still suggest hints of prejudice, the limelight that African American were being pursued by the Nurse Corps was pivotal regarding the history of colored nurses.

A revolutionary phase for the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses and integration in nursing was when the American Nurses Association created and Intergroup Relations Program. This was a committee created to assist “state and district nurses’ associations in achieving integration” to “promote inclusiveness: to achieve the integration of nurses or all racial and religious minorities and to protect the rights and privileges of all nurses.”⁵⁰ This was a steady start to full integration. It re-defined democracy in America and granted equal opportunities to African Americans. As it was put “the overwhelming sentiment in favor of the

⁴⁸U.S. Cadet Nurse Corps Advertisement, January 24, 1944, Life Magazine, 31. <http://books.google.com/books?id=-VYEAAAAMBAJ&lpg=PA84&pg=PA31#v=onepage&q&f=false> (Accessed October 7, 2013).

⁴⁹ 50th Anniversary: 1944-1994: Enlist in a Proud Profession! Join the U.S. Cadet Nurse Corps (American Nurses Association, Inc./Foundation) p,9. [http://uscadetnurse.org/sites/default/files/50anniv/USCNC50anniv\(p9-15\).pdf](http://uscadetnurse.org/sites/default/files/50anniv/USCNC50anniv(p9-15).pdf) (Accessed October 7, 2013.)

⁵⁰ American Nurses’ Association Intergroup Relations Program Box 3, Folder 9 Printed Material- Articles- American Nurses Association and the Negro Nurse, June 1953. P 1-3. Schomburg Collection.

motion to admit Negro nurses to individual membership in the A. N. A. further demonstrated that more and more Americans believe in full democracy in word and deed, as stated in the Constitution and Bill of Rights.”⁵¹ African Americans were becoming a larger part of society as they were beginning to be acknowledged as citizens and recognized as professionals.

The push for integration would have a particular impact on North Carolina. Although segregated, the state, to some extent, accommodated African Americans. The North Carolina State Nurses Association (NCSNA), founded in 1902, determined, like other state boards, who qualified as a nurse. It primarily acted on the white nurse’s behalf but saw fit to provide separate but equal facilities for African Americans. For instance, the NCSNA’s by-laws only referred to “white” members but the same registration exam was given to both races.⁵² The North Carolina State Nurses Association was not the only representation for black nurses. The State Association of Negro Registered Nurses (SANRN), a chapter of the NACGN in North Carolina, sought to enhance race relations through liberal agents.⁵³ Pressure to integrate nursing units would have the black State association to “dissolve its organization in order to join the North Carolina State Nurse Association.”⁵⁴ Black nurses would now be admitted and qualified to join the American Nurses Association as they were now recognized by the state professionally. According to the Alma Vessel John, the executive secretary for the NAGN at the time, “it was the first time such a move had been made.”⁵⁵ The State Association of Registered Negro Nurses concluded by affirming that “the final chapter has been written by the N. C. Association of Negro Registered

⁵¹ Statement given over phone to Miss Constance Curtis of the Amsterdam News 9/30/46. Press Releases 1942-1951. Box 2, Folder 10.. Schomburg Collection.

⁵² D’ Antonio, 133-138.

⁵³ D’ Antonio, 138- 150.

⁵⁴ Carolina Nurses Dissolve Segregated Association. Saturday, July 9, 1949. *Journal and ----- National Edition*. Schomburg Collection.

⁵⁵ Carolina Nurses Dissolve Segregated Association. Saturday, July 9, 1949. *Journal and ----- National Edition*. Schomburg Collection.

Nurses, Inc... The integrating of the associations gives opportunity for great service and in so doing provides assurance of better and greater service for humanity.”⁵⁶ The North Carolina State Nurses Association related, stating that those adjustments would “be a great asset in promoting better nursing services for all North Carolinians.”⁵⁷ The merging of the two organizations was due to the belief that professional affinity was an instrument to defend the legitimate contributions of these women with hope that it would have an impression on the broader field of medicine.⁵⁸ This transformation within the state forecasted the future of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses and proved that whatever benefited people is greater than timeworn policies.

The process of integration would be fulfilled when the American Nurses Association accepted Negro membership. In 1949 the ANA took up the operations of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses. By the “designation of the Board of Directors of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses as members of a liaison committee, which will include representatives of the American Nurses Association” the transfer would take place “to facilitate integration of the programs of the two organizations.” This was put into effect to “stimulate effective participation by Negro nurses in the total program of the ANA. It was further recommended that these services be made available without segregation either in staff assignments or in opportunities for membership participation in programs and projects of the ANA.” This would seem that the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses was near the end of its lifespan. When “questioned about recent reports that the NACGN was contemplating dissolution in the near future, Mrs. Staupers characterized such rumors as “without

⁵⁶ Statement of Mrs. Elizabeth MacMillian Thompson, President of the North Carolina Association of Negro Registered Nurses, Inc. Box 2, Folder 10. Press Releases 1942- 1951. Schomburg Collection.

⁵⁷ Statement of Mrs. Marie B. Noell, executive secretary of the North Carolina State Nurses Association. box 2, Vol 10 Press Releases 1942- 1951. Schomburg Collection.

⁵⁸ D’ Antonio, 156.

foundation.”⁵⁹ That was September of 1949. Ironically, the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses announced its termination in early 1951 because “it feels that its program of activities is largely no longer necessary.” The “full integration of Negro nurses into the nursing profession as a whole has been the goal of the NACGN during its 42 years of work” and “now that an increasing number of Negro nurses are being employed in hospitals, public health agencies, and enlisted in the armed services the organization feels that this goal is being achieved.”⁶⁰ The dissolution of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses was unique as it was “the first important national organization composed predominately of Negro members to terminate its work” seeing that, ultimately, their purposes were fulfilled.⁶¹ The organization was no longer needed as it had satisfied its agenda.

The National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses was not a militant organization, yet it challenged the very nature of American society. The idea that black women could nurse as well as white women undermined centuries old belief in the inherit inequality that African Americans could contribute to a professional trade. The success of the NACGN and the accomplishment of integration within the nursing profession cannot be accredited to a single activity or industry. Rather it is owed to a large composition of support- persistent staff and legislation- and a timely war which personified the struggles of African American nurses causing the United States to reevaluate its democratic foundation. Following this strategy, the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses broke down barriers that accepted segregation. The

⁵⁹ National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses Release: After 12:00 noon, Wednesday September 21, 1949. Box 2, Folder 10. Press Releases 1942- 1951. Schomburg Collection.

⁶⁰ For Immediate Release Box 2, Folder 10. Press Releases 1942- 1951. Publications of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses. Schomburg Collection.

⁶¹ National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses Release: After 12:00 noon, Wednesday September 21, 1949. Box 2, Folder 10. Press Releases 1942- 1951. Schomburg Collection.

National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses served the United States, not just African American nurses, by facilitating change in race relations for its own benefit.

Appendix 1

Appendix 2

Early are supported by the facilities recently released by the War Department.

Miss J. [unclear] at a [unclear] duties as [unclear] ward [unclear] Brons. Miss G. and Mrs. [unclear] same ad [unclear] Freedman in 1941, [unclear] ing won [unclear] award and [unclear] ship. Upon [unclear] after grad [unclear] ed first Ne [unclear] bers Hosp [unclear] she work [unclear] New York [unclear] appointed [unclear] time, Neg [unclear] Hospital, E [unclear] PROMOTE [unclear] Six mon [unclear] appointment [unclear] pilot, she [unclear] instructor, [unclear] able for [unclear] ing Avia [unclear] in [unclear] state of [unclear] Upon the [unclear] service of [unclear] words as [unclear] the [unclear] present [unclear] separation, [unclear] has held [unclear] Fashion [unclear]

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⁶² U. S. Army Nurse Corps Advertisement. Box 5. Schomburg Collection.

⁶³ U. S. Army Nurse Corps Advertisement. Box 5. Schomburg Collection.

Senior Thesis Primary Source List

American Nurses' Association Intergroup Relations Program, p. 1-3. National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses Records. The New York Public Library: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Box 3, Folder 9. Printed Material- Articles- American Nurses Association and the Negro Nurse, June 1953. Microfilm.

Tells what the Intergroup Relations stood for. The NACGN and ANA joined forces so that the two could eventually exist as one organization.

Army Still Baulky On Using Negro Nurses; Surgeon General Admits Drafting May Be Necessary. Friday January 3, 1945. National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses Records. The New York Public Library: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Box 6, Folder 1. Clippings, 1944- 1945. Microfilm.

This is where Staupers demands to know why there is a draft when so many African American women are willing to serve in the Army units. A powerful statement that shows the exclusion of Negro nurses.

Carolina Nurses Dissolve Segregated Association. Saturday, July 9, 1949. Journal and ----- National Edition. National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses Records. The New York Public Library: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Box 6, Folder 3. Clippings, 1946.

"For Immediate Release". National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses Records. The New York Public Library: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture. Box 2, Folder 10. Press Releases 1942- 1951. Microfilm.

A public announcement that that NACGN is disbanding as the organization has fulfilled its mission.

Franklin, Martha M., R. N. Articles of Incorporation and By- Laws. By- Laws, Articles of Incorporation. National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses Records. The New York Public Library: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Box 2, Folder 1. Microfilm.

Explains the initial objects of the NACGN- one of them being permanent headquarters. This shows that the NACGN is a property owning institution and that it has rights much like an individual would.

Goldwater Stays, Mayor Declares. The New York Times, Thursday December 23, 1937. National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses Records. The New York Public Library: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Box 4. Scrapbook and Clippings, 1937-1938. Microfilm.

As the debate regarding whether segregation exists in New York hospitals, the NACGN requested that Goldwater be removed from his position. This request was denied because evidence of discrimination did not exist according to the authorities.

Gordo, Eugene. *Women's Army Can Make History; Will It Slap Jim Crow Out of Ranks?* June 7, 1942. The W----- New York. National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses. The New York Public Library: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Box 5, Folder 8. Scrapbooks and Clippings. Microfilm.

WWII was being fought so that others may have the same privileges of freedom that the United States had. However, discrimination and segregation in the Army contradicted that. Therefore, the democratic way of life had to be reinforced not only overseas but in the United States as well.

Letter from Dr. Goldwater to Miss Florina Lasker. May 18, 1937. National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses Records. The New York Public Library: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture Nurses Box 2, Folder 2. General Correspondence, 1937-1951. Microfilm.

In this letter, Goldwater is saying that decisions are merit based and therefore if there seems to be discrimination it is because black nurses are not qualified according to merit.

Letter to Miss Julia C. Stimson from Mabel K. Staupers, January 14, 1943. National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses Records. The New York Public Library: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Box 2 Folder 2. General Correspondences, 1937-1951. Microfilm.

In this letter, Staupers says that they are all putting their efforts for Democracy and that hopefully peace will come out of such.

Letter to Major Julia O. Flikke December 8, 1941 Nurses in the Armed Forces. National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses Records. The New York Public Library: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture Nurses box 2, folder 3. Correspondences 1940- 1945. Microfilm.

Staupers addresses the issue that African American women are not being accepted to the head of the American Nurses Association. This is substantial to my thesis because it is a method in which the NACGN uses often.

Letter from MK Staupers to Goldwater June 18, 1937. National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses Records. The New York Public Library: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture Nurses Box 2, Folder 2, General Correspondence 1937- 1951. Microfilm.

Staupers wants to know the reasons, too complicated to discuss, for the lack of opportunity for black nurses in the hospital, according to Goldwater.

Letter to Ruth Logan Roberts from S. S. Goldwater on January 15, 1937. National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses Records. The New York Public Library: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Box 2, Folder 2. General Correspondence. Microfilm.

Here Goldwater tries to explain that though it may seem there is a small colored work force in the hospital, compared to the population of colored people in the city, the amount of colored workers is suitable.

Letter from S. S. Goldwater to Mrs. E. P. Roberts on April 14, 1937. National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses Records. The New York Public Library: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Box 2, Folder 2. General Correspondences, 1937- 1951. Microfilm.

Goldwater says that his mind is not completely closed on the point of more black workers in the hospital but the timing is not right. This is important because the NACGN did not see actions but had said support.

Letter from the War Department Office of the Surgeon General, October 2, 1940, National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses Records. The New York Public Library: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture Nurses, Box 2, Folder 3. Nurses in the Armed Forces Correspondences, 1940- 1945. Microfilm.

This is an example of the statements of which black nurses were given after they had enrolled in the Army. There was “no room” for the black women, yet there was encouragement to join all around.

Malliet, A. M. Wendell. *Discrimination Charges Heard By Commission. Bitter Quarrels Mark Heights Court Session*. The New York Amsterdam News. Saturday, December 18, 1937. The New York Public Library: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Box 4. Scrapbook and Clippings, 1937-1938. Microfilm.

Goldwater is described as angrily reacting to accusations of segregation. His reaction, made public through the paper, makes one question why he got so upset. This in turn leads one to ponder the operations of the hospitals.

National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses Release: After 12:00 noon, Wednesday September 21, 1949. National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses Records. The New York Public Library: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture Box 2, Folder 10. Press Releases, 1942- 1951. Microfilm.

The NACGN dissolved after integration in nursing was achieved. This kind of action was unique compared to other black organizations. This shows that the NACGN was dedicated to the nursing profession rather than civil rights.

NACGN News Letter June 1943, Vol. 1, No 2. National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses Records. The New York Public Library: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Box 2 folder 11 News Letter, 1943- 1947. Microfilm.

The benefit the war efforts, democracy must have been fully obtained. That meant the inclusion of African Americans in the Army Units. This belief is reoccurring throughout the paper.

News from the Field, American Journal of Public Health Nations Health. 1943, August; 33(8): 1028–1042. <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1527552/>

Here the Bolton Bill is introduced as a way for black nurses, or hopeful black nurses, to receive a proper education. This is huge because they had been denied equal education and nursing opportunities until this piece of legislation.

Oneida Miller Stuart Collection. (AFC/ 2001/001/4850), Veteran's History Project, American Folklife Center, Library of Congress. http://lcweb2.loc.gov/diglib/vhp-stories/loc.natlib.afc2001001.04_Schomburg_Collection_850/

From personal experience, Stuart recalls that the Army was looking for nurses but not black nurses. This is what the NACGN had been fighting for.

Patterson Calls 30, 000 Whites But No Colored, Under Secretary of War Says Quota is Already Filled. Washington. National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses Records. The New York Public Library: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Box 5. Scrapbooks and Clippings. Microfilm.

Nurses were being drafted to join the military operations, yet this did not apply to colored women. Here it is obvious that discrimination is present and that it is disadvantaging the United States and nurses.

Prudence Burrell Collection. (AFC/2001/001/4747), Veteran's History Project, American Folklife Center, Library of Congress. <http://memory.loc.gov/diglib/vhp/story/loc.natlib.afc2001001.04747/transcript?ID=sr0001>

When the United States was attacked, it changed the attitude of including race in the military forces. Burrell recalls that race did not matter at such a crucial time.

Public Hearing New York State Temporary Commission on the Condition of the Urban Colored Population. National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses Records. The New York Public Library: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture Nurses, Box 2, Folder 5 Speeches and Testimony, 1937, 1951. Microfilm.

In this public hearing Goldwater explains why there is a difference of white and black colleagues. Reasons include education and that black workers are not as efficient as white workers. He is asked if a black nurse was qualified, how and where would she be placed. This session brings about the issue of discrimination in hospitals and how there are no legitimate reasons for the lack of black workers.

Roosevelt, Eleanor. "*My Day*." The Washington Daily News. Friday, February 11, 1938. National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses Records: The New York Public Library: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Box 4. Clippings 1937- 1938. Microfilm.

Integrating the Army services was not an issue that pertained just to black folk, it effected white people as well. This quote makes it clear that segregation was a national problem that needed to be addressed in order to have success.

Ruth Murray. *Army and Navy Need 60,000, but Stick to Color Line*. National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses Records. The New York Public Library: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Box 5. Scrapbooks and Clippings. Microfilm.

There was a large need for nurses, however, there was not enough of a need for them to start recruiting colored nurses. This shows the extremes which Jim Crow was taken.

Statement given over phone to Miss Constance Curtis of the Amsterdam News 9/30/46. National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses Records. The New York Public Library: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture Box 2, Folder 10 .Press Releases, 1942-1951. Microfilm.

The meaning of democracy, of equal opportunity, began to infiltrate the public and nursing organizations. The campaign for democracy was essential to the success of the NACGN during war efforts.

Statement of Mrs. Elizabeth MacMillian Thompson, President of the North Carolina Association of Negro Registered Nurses, Inc. National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses Records. The New York Public Library: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture Box 2, Vol. 10 Press Releases 1942- 1951. Microfilm.

Integrating North Carolina nursing organizations was for the betterment of humanity which is in other words for the betterment of democracy. Here is once again the pattern that old policies such as Jim Crow are invalid when compared to the health of the nation.

Statement of Mrs. Marie B. Noell, executive secretary of the North Carolina State Nurses Association. National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses Records. The New York Public Library: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture Box 2, Folder 10. Press Releases, 1942- 1951. Microfilm.

This statement also concerns the integration of nursing organizations in North Carolina. Health care service was now though the be more proficient if everyone operated together rather than being separate organizations with the same purpose.

Staupers, Mabel Keaton R.N. *No Time for Prejudice*. (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1961.

This book can be used as both a primary and secondary source. It tells the history of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses as Stauper's experience it as well as being factual.

Urge Negro Nurses To Go In Army Units. New York, Oct. 10 (ANP). National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses Records. The New York Public Library: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Box 4. Scrapbooks and Clippings, 1939-1940. Microfilm.

This article encourages African Americans to join the Army. They had before been denied this opportunity in previous wars and current Army related organizations.

Western Union Telegraph July 8, 1944. To Mabel K. Staupers from Truman K. Gibson. 1944, National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses Records. The New York Public

Library: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture Nurses, Box 2, Folder 3
Armed Forces Correspondences 1940- 1945. Microfilm.

This telegraph, sent to Staupers, states that black people will be accepted as nurses and that they should apply in a regular manner. Although accepted into the Army unit as a worker, they would come to find out, were not accepted as people.

“*What About Negro Army Nurses?*” The People’s Voice, January 13, 1945. National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses Records. The New York Public Library: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Box 6, Folder 1. Clippings, 1944-1945. Microfilm.

This article shows that the nation realized how damaging segregation and discrimination was to the United States. People were requesting the use of both races as it was vital to the health of the men fighting.

U.S. Cadet Nurse Corps Advertisement, January 24, 1944, Life Magazine, 31.

[http://books.google.com/books?id=-](http://books.google.com/books?id=-VYEAAMBAJ&lpg=PA84&pg=PA31#v=onepage&q&f=false)

[VYEAAMBAJ&lpg=PA84&pg=PA31#v=onepage&q&f=false](http://books.google.com/books?id=-VYEAAMBAJ&lpg=PA84&pg=PA31#v=onepage&q&f=false) accessed 10/7/13

U. S. Army Nurse Corps Advertisement. National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses Records. The New York Public Library: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Box 5. Microfilm.

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Carnegie, M. Elizabeth. *The Path We Tread: Blacks in Nursing Worldwide, 1854-1994*. 3rd ed. Sudbury, MA: Jones & Bartlett Learning, 1995.

This source is used to describe the process of the permanent headquarters of the NACGN due to their relationship building and efforts.

D'Antonio, Patricia. *American Nursing: a History of Knowledge, Authority, and the Meaning of Work*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010.

In this text the process of integration of North Carolina is described. This supports the primary sources I used to explain why integration in North Carolina was so important in nursing history.

Hine, Darlene Clark. *Black Women in White: Racial Conflict and Cooperation in the Nursing Profession, 1890-1950*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989.

Hine examines the progress of professionalism in nursing for African American women. The NACGN goes through the hospital, legislation, politicians, and the Army to achieve the organizations goals.

Hine, Darlene Clark. “Black Professionals and Race Consciousness: Origins of the Civil Rights Movement, 1890-1950.” *The Journal of American History* Vol. 89, No. 4 (Mar., 2003): 1279-94. Organization of American Historians. Accessed April 26, 2013
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3092543>

This article talks about the commitment of the NACGN and their determination, no matter what obstacles they may face.

Lewenson, Sandra Beth. *Taking Charge: Nursing, Suffrage, and Feminism in America, 1873-1920*. New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1993.

Lewenson talks about early obstacles which prevented African American women from reaching full recognition as a professional nurse until integration.

Thoms, Adah B., R.N., *Pathfinders: A History of the Progress of Colored Graduate Nurses*. New York, New York: Kay Printing House, Inc., 1929.

Co- founder of the NACGN, Thoms explains the purpose of the organization.

Staupers, Mabel Keaton R.N. *No Time for Prejudice*. (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1961.

Staupers, a highly active member of the NACGN, is recognized for her role in desegregating the Army Nurse Corps. She made segregating and discrimination a public issue.

Staupers, Mabel K., R.N., *Story of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses*, *American Journal of Nursing* Vol., 51, April 1952. National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses Records. The New York Public Library: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture Nurses, Box 3, Vol. 8. Microfilm.

Proud Profession! Join the U.S. Cadet Nurse Corps American Nurses Association, Inc./Foundation (Accessed October 7, 2013).
[http://uscadetnurse.org/sites/default/files/50anniv/USCNC50anniv\(p9-15\).pdf](http://uscadetnurse.org/sites/default/files/50anniv/USCNC50anniv(p9-15).pdf)

This booklet talks about the recruitment of colored nurses during World War II.