WHY THIS BOOK: A PREFACE

Herein is unabashed local history where historians of vast stretches of ‘civilization’ and geography might not deign to browse. There are comparatively few instances of incorporating national - much less international - relationships and/or influences. The story thus has a rather restricted compass - that of its central figure. Hopefully the narrative is a contribution to the larger story of northeastern North Carolina, one of the least written about sections of the State.

In microcosm, northeastern North Carolina contains strands, echoes, and examples of the Nation’s historical development like many other locales, more so than some. Perhaps because the sector is neither blessed nor burdened with a noted population center, if not for other reasons, northeastern North Carolina has usually rated a sentence or so about its "Lost Colony" (the one not found by those hunting Sir Walter Raleigh) and about Virginia Dare. This was the case until the publications of David Stick and conferees, aside from scattering other and earlier productions. Then the histories rapidly proceed with other matters, such as the Wright Brothers’ first flight some three centuries later; and afterwards make little or no further mention of the locale.

Even monographs dealing directly with North Carolina’s history become quite sketchy where the northeastern region of the State is concerned. In mentioning “eastern” North Carolina, historians have mostly remained a decorous 100 miles or so west or southwest of the locale which is the base of operations for the present subject.

In fairness, it should be noted that local writers also have been notably scant with productions designed to enlighten either local readers or persons at large who might be
interested.\textsuperscript{1} In addition, printed materials giving any prominence to Negroes of the region ("Blacks" in the 1970s and 1870s among other timespans) are almost non-existent. Not inappropriate, therefore, is the assessment of the late Christopher Crittenden (1902-1969), writing in terms of North Carolina as a whole: "For centuries Negroes have played a role in North Carolina history. The role has never been adequately recorded."\textsuperscript{2}

Hugh Cale, the subject of the present effort, seems to this writer to be among the most representative persons of his race and times in northeastern North Carolina. His base of operations was less-than-frequently written about Pasquotank County, North Carolina.

In quite a few aspects, his career was something more than run-of-the-mill. Negroes and others of Cale's time span were active in politics, as was he. Moreover, some Negroes rose to far greater prominence in politics and other fields during the period when Cale flourished - the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Nonetheless, Cale's story reflects cross currents of thought, customs, and events in his locale, especially as these relate to a Negro holding public office during his time. In a sense, Cale may be said to have

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{1} A treatise by William A. Griffin on Ante-Bellum Elizabeth City, the efforts of the business known as North Carolina Books (located at Kitty Hawk), the Yearbooks of the Pasquotank Historical Society, architectural histories of Pasquotank and Gates counties by Thomas Butchko, and a master's thesis by the Reverend Harold H. Murrill, D.D., on the Roanoke Missionary Baptist Association (founded in Manteo, 1866) are among noteworthy exceptions to this generality.
\end{flushleft}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{2} Quoted in the Elizabeth City Daily Advance, the town's newspaper, June 19, 1969. Dr. Crittenden was director of the then State Department of Archives and History in Raleigh. (See Dictionary of North Carolina Biography, ed. William S. Powell, thus far five volumes, 1979-1994 [Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press; hereinafter referred to as DNCB with appropriate Volume and author], I, pp. 461-462.) Later (September 14, 1973), the Daily Advance editorialized: "It has become a motto to say 'proud of our past; excited about our future.'... But what is our past?... All the work that has been done to research and preserve our history is appreciated.... Although much has been done, the great bulk of research may still lie ahead."
\end{flushleft}
done well surviving racism, which Carl Degler termed "nothing less than the monstrous offspring of America's noblest values: individualism, mobility, and democracy."³

Learning about this man whose legislation initiated the present Elizabeth City State University was the self-assigned original impetus. Work was done substantially during 1964-1966, but was then put aside. The original effort involved many of the research mechanics of unwritten history: interviews, searching for and copying records, visiting cemeteries, reading sources in all 'sorts and conditions' of repair and legibility, drafting and re-drafting, etc. The author's *Pasquotank Pedagogues and Politicians* (1966) was an abstract from that manuscript.

Since that time, only a relatively small portion of the text was altered because of the author’s re-readings of it - primarily during the late 1970s amid that once-flourishing period of "blackology" or négritude. Efforts between initial construction and the present included catching-up with the literature; updating/correcting names or titles of institutions and persons; inserting various additional insights garnered about Cale, the man, his life and times; and seeking to strengthen the text in general.

Two items became particularly manifest during re-readings. One was that, although not an original (or later) objective, a story of a newspaper and its editor had emerged. With Palemon John's *North Carolinian* becoming a critical source, this development may have been unavoidable. The second was an apparent need to create two chapters: one focussing on three mid-1860s personalities and the other tracing four local normal schools.

Beyond this was a decision about racial tags. "Negro," "colored," "black" (whether upper or lower case), "Afro-American," "African-American" are used interchangeably, thus acknowledging here but otherwise ignoring changing customs of nomenclature. "Negro" was the word when the text was first completed; it therefore appears more frequently than "Black." The person could be a bit more important than the label? Rather frequent initial prominence given various persons and events associated with Elizabeth City State University - especially during its earliest years - was not only retained but strengthened as information became available. Hopefully, these emphases may complement the institution's published history by Dr. Evelyn A. Johnson.

It may be appropriate at this point to address very briefly the literature of Cale’s times. First of all, adding to comparisons between or analyses of the First and Second Reconstructions was an inviting prospect generally resisted. One reason is that, in general, such excursions would not add materially to Cale’s story. Another reason - at least equally compelling - is the excellent possibility of needless redundancy.

The earlier Reconstruction and its aftermath has a mountainous pile of printed and manuscript sources containing both generalities stemming from almost any conceivable viewpoint or bias, and particularities dissecting it from just about any angle the reader desires. A baker’s dozen examples - mostly targeting North Carolina - may help illuminate this literary mastodon. There are: Congressional attention to the Freedmen’s Bureau, the Ku Klux Klan, and Black emigration to promised lands; Kousser’s statistical analyses of North Carolina’s tax revenue

---

allocations for public education; and Savitt’s\(^5\) perceptive discussion of Blacks used for medical experiments. McKinney\(^6\) explored some mountain Republicans’ attitudes concerning Blacks; Crofts\(^7\) discussed Blacks and the Blair Educational Bill; and Trelease\(^8\) joined Kousser in statistical analyses - but in this instance targeting voting patterns in the North Carolina House of Representatives. There are Whitener’s\(^9\) citation of Republicans’ “general apathy” toward North Carolina’s public education; Higgins’\(^10\) remarks on the so-called Exodus; Wieck’s\(^11\) discussion of habeas corpus; Gatewood’s\(^12\) notice of disillusionment among Black Spanish-American War veterans; and Logan’s\(^13\) clear description of Negroes’ less-than-gainful and well segregated employment. Capel\(^14\) suggested that Reconstruction’s failure was due to insufficient levels of

---

\(^5\) Todd L. Savitt, "The Use of Blacks for Medical Experimentation and Demonstration in the Old South," *Journal of Southern History*, 48 (1982), pp. [331]-348, hereinafter referred to as Savitt, "Experimentation."


"cognitive dissonance," while Godbold\(^{15}\) made first-rate 'Revisits' to messages penned by several prominent fiction writers and Kolchin\(^{16}\) rated North Carolina number two on his 'Scalawag Index' - explained with readable write-up.

Some relief is fortunately available. Allen W. Trelease provides a readable, reliable, compact excursion through the enormous thickets of the period (Reconstruction - The Great Experiment, Harper & Row, 1971) and shows appropriate relevancies for a century later. Also of great value with similar focus - but larger and reassuring investigators with normal scholarly adornments - is Eric Foner's\(^{17}\) Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877 (Harper & Row, 1988). Finally, Keith Weldon Medley combines reader enjoyment and historical perspicacity as he envelopes his treatment of Plessy vs. Ferguson with an overview of Reconstruction, in "The sad story of how 'separate but equal' was born" (Smithsonian, February 1994, Volume 24, Number 11).

Given the awesome size of Reconstruction literature, it is easy to decide that Blacks began ascension of the American spiral with Appomattox as ground zero. That perception has some truth but puts earlier activity in a vacuum - an inadvisable perspective.


\(^{17}\) His Freedom's Lawmakers - A Directory of Black Officeholders during Reconstruction (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993; hereinafter referred to as Foner, Freedom's Lawmakers) will surely become the bible for its subject, despite regrettable flaws; e.g.: Cale's dates in error (p. 37) and missing from the legislative index (p. 269); incongruent citations of Francis, Henry and Thomas Cardozo's parents (pp. 39-40); North Carolina legislators Prince Albert Hinton, George Allen Mebane, Noah R. Newby, and Turner R. Speller completely absent. The present author's North Carolina's Black Legislators (described p. 22 n 17, present text), was compiled prior to the privilege of seeing Foner's work; retention is warranted as a complementary reference.
History finds the American of Color in many roles - before 'The War' as well as after. They founded religious denominations, published hymnbooks for them, and had more literacy than generally credited. They fought - some also fifed,bugled and/or drummed - in just about all the Nation’s wars (including the 'Civil' one); founded "Free African" societies; gave formal concerts at home and abroad. There were college degree-holders - excluding the 16th-century mulatto Spaniard with a master's and, as of 1874, those earning doctorates - which excludes the 18th-century Black Dutchman who got his for defending slavery in Latin. There were antebellum playwrights, Abolitionists, poets, bandmasters, and a mathematician whose Washington, DC layout is not responsible for its recurrent political maze. These people also included minstrels and other mischief-makers, bishops, brigands, cowpokes, artisans, journalists, farmers, watermen, wastrels, and inventors - as well as fugitive slaves and emigres to places like Liberia and Kansas. Many fiddled; many more were field-hands and house servants; and some were rather wealthy financiers - including a few of the slaveholders of color. In short, they were people - but of that special sort which seemed to require legislation and caste codes delineating their assigned 'places' in the American schema, especially when 'place' was a bit fuzzy if "master" and "daddy" were identical people. In sum and to repeat, it may be inadvisable to view these Americans in a Reconstruction - or any other - vacuum.

Finally and returning to the main subject, interest in recalling Hugh Cale and his milieu was sparked once again as the author’s workplace began observing its Centennial in 1991 - highlighted by the North Carolina Legislature’s second-known return to Pasquotank County on March 1, to reenact the institution’s creation. Presiding on that historic occasion were Senate
President pro tem Henson P. Barnes and the State’s first Black Speaker of the House, The Honorable Daniel Terry Blue Jr. Against those backdrops, Mr. Cale seemed even more so, to merit the recounting of his rather distinguished career - and the author to seek conclusion of an unfinished business. One hopes this portrayal of the Gentleman from Pasquotank, his locale and his times, will demonstrate accountability to Clio; that it will be of interest to the readership - not testing too greatly its patience.

L. R. B.

Elizabeth City State University

March 1994
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Since history compilers assemble other people's knowledge, attachment of the historian's (the compiler's) name is primarily a public service to make it clear who the culprit is. It is therefore a pleasant duty to credit those who provided so much assistance, the majority of which was received during 1964-1966.

Staff members at the North Carolina State Library and the State Department (now Division) of Archives and History (both in Raleigh), and of the Museum of the Albemarle (Elizabeth City), were very helpful with printed documents, census data, and manuscript materials. The staff of the G. R. Little Library at Elizabeth City State University, and the Pasquotank County Public Library in Elizabeth City (now re-named Pasquotank-Camden Library), also assisted and gave of their knowledge.

Dr. Walter Nathaniel Ridley, former president and as of March 1988, President Emeritus of Elizabeth City State University, placed quantities of the institution's archives materials at the author's disposal, before there was a University Archives, and gave permission for various quotations from those documents. He and other officials of the institution, then as now, gave encouragement as well as practical assistance in procuring some data.

Various individuals who granted interviews are mentioned in the text and here extended thanks, personally or to families of those who are now deceased. Mrs. Joseph Davis of Elizabeth City is due gratitude for taking pains to gather data from other elder citizens of the community. Mrs. Howard Newby of Elizabeth City provided the photograph of Mrs. Fannie Burke Cale. Miss Ethel Lane of New York, provided the photograph of her father, Mr. Whitmel Lane, and the late Mr. Albert S. Perkins, also of New York, provided the photograph of his grandmother,
Mrs. Huldah Gordon Williams-Hathaway. A number of other photographs were kindly provided by faculty and students. All are here acknowledged with thanks, and specifically attributed in the text.

Several former students at Elizabeth City State University were helpful in research assistance: Miss Barbara O. Fearing '67 (Mrs. Laurent), then a Junior English major; Miss Ingrid Y. East '68 (Mrs. Dildy), then a Sophomore Sociology major; Miss Sundra F. Taylor '69 (Mrs. Myers), then a Mathematics major; Mrs. Ruth Carolyn Williams '72 (Mrs. Farrow), then an Intermediate Education major. Mrs. Gloria W. Reid '75, a Social Sciences major and a collateral descendant, gave research assistance, data on her ancestral background (Rooks-Lane), and effected location of several photographs. Several faculty and staff members were kind enough to review some portions of the manuscript: Dr. Carol A. Calloway Jones of the English Faculty; Dr. Benjamin F. Speller Jr, former Assistant Dean; Dr. Winfred E. Simpson '65; and Mrs. Nancy Y. Lee, as did other professional educators, Mesdames Harrietta Jarrell Eley and Gloria H. Tolentino, of Norfolk and Virginia Beach, Virginia, respectively.

Officials of public agencies facilitated access to assorted manuscript documents. Mr. S. P. Aydlett and Mr. ________ Houtz, Clerks of Elizabeth City during the main writing period, and their staff members, assisted. Officials at the Perquimans, Gates, Northampton, and New Hanover County Courthouses also were helpful. Mr. Franklin L. Britt, then Pasquotank's Superintendent of Education, and Mrs. Phil Sawyer of his office, made available manuscript minutes of that County's Board of Education.

Mr. E. S. Eskridge, then Deputy Secretary of State (Raleigh), provided access to manuscript materials related to the General Assembly of North Carolina. The Honorable Robert
W. Scott, then Lieutenant Governor (and later Governor) of North Carolina, gave permission for quotations from his Founders Day address at Elizabeth City State College (now University), February 27, 1966.

A great percentage of the text would be out of killer were it not for the patient assistance and guidance of officials in the Pasquotank County Courthouse. The author is very grateful to Mrs. Naomi A. Chesson, then Clerk of Superior Court and to her staff at the time of main research: Mesadames Betty Murphy and Frances Thompson. He is deeply indebted to the late Joseph C____ Spence (for more than forty years Pasquotank’s Register of Deeds) and his staff at the time of main research: Mrs. Marie H. Brinson, Miss Lois Foster, and Mrs. Edna Sawyer. These persons provided many courtesies and interpretations, graciously aided with printed and manuscript documents whenever requested, and made available any collateral information at their disposal. Years later, Register of Deeds personnel were equally helpful, namely, Ms. Dollie J. Summerour, successor to Mr. Spence, and Mrs. Joy W. Pritchard and Ms. Denise M. Weeks. Collectively, their invaluable assistance forms a cornerstone for this story. Special thanks are also extended the City’s Office of Planning and Community Development for assistance with early records and other information. Mr. John Kinsey - the first Director (and, incidentally, a black), and his successor, Mr. Victor Demetrius Sharpe, are appreciated as much for their graciousness as for their expertise; and likewise Mesdames Bernadette M. Stafford and Yvette W. Respess of that Office.

Presidents/Chancellors of Livingstone College (North Carolina) and North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University answered queries and provided such information as was available. The same is acknowledged for the Librarian of Livingstone College, Mrs.
Josephine Sherrill. Mr. Buford Rowland of the National Archives conveyed what he could find of Cale's sojourn in the Nation's capitol.

Appreciation is expressed to Miss Odessa A. Williams of the Elizabeth City State University Library, who made possible the acquisition of numerous invaluable items which became the *Elisha Overton Papers*, a collection in the University's Archives. A number of facts of Cale's life would have been unknown without availability of these documents and memorabilia. In fact, any study of the Elizabeth City-Pasquotank area, particularly as it relates to Negro citizens, may benefit from the fruits of Miss Williams' unselfishness. Similarly, the Reverend Dr. Harold Harvey Murrill '69 presented to the ECSU Archives in January 1994, a corpus of documents (named *Murrill Collection* by the Archives) which forms a rich and valuable source of early religious organizations, persons, and activities among blacks in the Albemarle Area. Mr. Murrill also provided valuable assistance with necrological identification in Gates and Hertford counties, as did Messrs. Bobby Lee McCullen and David Calvin Freeman '67, Elizabeth City businessmen, in reference to Oak Grove Cemeteries.

Finally, a new group of Student Assistants was gracious and efficient in "checking out" various points in local government and library resources. Misses Teonaka Daye, Tracy Jones, and Anjanette Murphy; Mrs. Johnna Owens Keane; and Mr. Kevin Spencer are especially recognized for their efforts. More recently, Miss Angelia R. Reid, with temporary sojourn as ECSU’s first Archives Assistant, willingly helped with many tidying matters.

After all the help the author received, anyone hereinbefore or hereinafter cited - as legalese seems to have it - must be absolved of any blame for literary indelicacies, "un-facts," or misinterpretations still remaining. For these defects, only the writer should be held
responsible. And for such merits as these pages may have, the author must say another "thank you" to all who assisted - and, certainly not least, to the memory of the interesting Mr. Cale himself.

L. R. B.

5/8/93
CHAPTER 1: WHO WAS HUGH?

To answer the question, "Who was Hugh," one might answer the question, "What is Hugh Cale's story?" Three paragraphs may summarize his career.

Hugh Cale was an American Negro born in northeastern North Carolina. His precise origin is something less than clear cut. He supposedly had a common school education of undetermined length with - to some viewers - rather undistinguished quality.

Despite this uncertain foundation, Cale: (1) could be called rather wealthy, using 1880s measuring rods for American Negroes; (2) was a magistrate in and treasurer of a southern town; (3) was twice a commissioner of a southern county; (4) was four times a southern state legislator; (5) was a member of the first trustee boards of two southern Negro colleges; (6) was three times a delegate to his political party's national conventions; and (7) initiated an institution of higher learning which could celebrate its Centennial in 1991, then in 1994 wind up with a portion of its campus included in the National Register of Historic Places.

Any man, but especially a Negro living in and during three-fourths of the 19th-century South, might merit a respectable epitaph based upon less effort and accomplishment. Nor is it reasonable to assume that these accomplishments reflect substandard methods of evaluation by those - white and non-white - who trusted Cale enough to elect or appoint him to the many positions of confidence which he held.

Hugh Cale seems to have been a man who seldom was satisfied with "less" in matters of growth. Therein, perhaps, lay his true strength; from that concept perhaps is derived his true worth.

Having sketched his career, we might explore further the question, "Who was Hugh?" Cale appears to have become a "Gentleman from Pasquotank" by adoption rather than nativity.
Shotwell and Atkinson, perhaps the first to print his biographical data, recorded in 1877 that Cale was born in Perquimans County, North Carolina, on November 27, 1838. J. S. Tomlinson repeated that information in 1879. In 1885, however, Tomlinson reported the month of Cale's birth as December, and omitted the day. Cale himself, when he took out a marriage license in 1896, gave no place of birth, said he was 51 (age 55, for his third marriage in 1905), and recorded his deceased parents as being John and Betsy. These latter two persons raise questions concerning their own origin and status as slaves or free(d).

Woodson in his 1830 surveys does not list anyone in North Carolina with the surname "Cale" (or "Kale," "Cail" or "Kail"). However, according to the 1850 Census of Yeopim District of Pequimans County, North Carolina, John and Elizabeth "Cail," mulattoes, occupied "Dwelling #127" with five children whose ages spanned from 23 years, downward to "Henry" - aged seven months, and "Henry H." - aged three months. None of these Henry's seem to be our man -

---

1 The late Thomas Settle Cooper of Elizabeth City said, however, that Cale was born, reared, and educated in Edenton, Chowan County, North Carolina.


4 See also, Appendix 1, pp. 443-445. John Cail's occupation appeared to be "miller," but the entry is nearly illegible.
leaving aside the indication of two brothers aged just four months apart. The only certainty thus far is that Hugh Cale's precise genesis, is not precise. In addition, the skin coloration attributed to Mr. Cale seldom lends itself to bright genealogical illumination in the first place.  

To go back to when he arrived on this earth, we are not helped by an 1870 census-taker who recorded Cale as a grocer who had been alive for 33 years. Ten years later, an 1880 enumerator reported Grocer Cale as age 40, the gentleman gaining only seven years in a decade and steadily growing younger.

For purpose of this treatise, 1835 is taken to be Cale's birthyear since his death certificate (1910) credits him with 75 years. The month and day of birth may be more debatable for the present. Apparently it was a Winter month. If one chooses to accept this season, November 27, as the month and day, will do quite well. For those of astrological bent however, December 27 may fit a little better: certain aspects of Mr. Cale's lifelong push for improvement resemble the

---

5 The Nation's vocabulary long ago adopted such definitive labels as "mulatto," "quadroon," "octoaroon," "mustee" (mestizo), etc., targeting results of copious interracial commingling - not excluding quite frequent white-Indian-Negro mixtures. While the present text does not use such tags in a disparaging sense, much literature and legislation of the times, did - bluntly or implied. Whitelaw Reid's description of some octoroon/quadroon New Orleans females, is an example: "neat and pretty as they looked, they were only niggers, and nigger Sunday-school teachers at that" (After the War: a Southern Tour. May 1, 1865, to May 1, 1866 [Cincinnati, New York: Moore Wilstach and Baldwin, 1866], p. 256). The terminology (excepting "nigger" and allied vernacular expressions of derision) was deemed helpful in forming legislative definitions with companion circumscriptions for non-whites. The terminology, with enriched variety via epithets, was also a key basis for "proper" day-to-day attitudes and behavior among the the populace - not to omit "upper class," not-so-dark persons of color in Richmond or Charleston or New Orleans who distanced themselves from "field niggers" and such. The problem arose because standards of practice set by those in power became anathema when implemented by lesser mortals. For example, some seventeenth-century New Englanders engaged in the cozy practice of bundling; one of its courts, furthermore, must consider a male's alleged siring of a piglet in the 1640s. Later, Cotton Mather would promulgate propriety with his nine Rules / for the Society of / Negros (1693). Eighteenth-century hospitality on more than one plantation included a "wench" for the evening, to cap festivities sometimes noteworthy for both their duration and impressive consumption ofspirits beverages. The tales of three centuries of miscegenation and its results would be quite titillating were it not that those clandestine and dangerous romps had much bearing (aside from truncating a labor force) on reactions ranging from shame-borne secretiveness; through rampant race prejudice and tangled litigation; to heinous cruelties and fatalities, especially given the fears of post-Civil War black freedom. The "cross-over's" true identity was top secret. The nation as a whole, though immensely more accommodating in many of its public expressions, still smolders with muted intensity over lingering discomfort from its special 'melting pot'. Jefferson-Hemings was 1999 news!
reputed traits of a Capricornian. And to conclude suppositions for this phase, the present writer thinks Cale was born free or was manumitted early on.

During his early years, people called our subject by the diminutive of his Christian name. It was spelled either "Hewy," or "Huey"; later, it became the more restrained "Hugh." One assumes this to be the case since the earliest available records give one or the other of the above variants in spelling, none of the documents of later vintage (seen thus far) has other than "Hugh".

What precepts John or Betsy Cale inculcated are items as hazy to view as Hugh's genesis. Fair guesses are that they implanted a desire for education; that acquiring sound economic bases was not lost upon the family; and that improving one's life status generally was a good idea.

In economic matters, Hugh Cale himself did well most of the time. In terms of education, he seemed to seek what little he could get even though not much was available. One story has it that his "schooling" was an uncertain process (this has the ring of truth) and that he obtained it in the little town of Plymouth, North Carolina. Tomlinson reports that "in getting an education he attended only the common schools." Whether or not Plymouth was the locale, doubtless there was someone at some time who could recollect that Hugh Cale "went to school to me," as some elder citizens of Pasquotank and vicinity have called the process.

In fact, Albert Sinclair Perkins (visiting Elizabeth City from the Bronx) asserted in 1964 that his grandmother, Huldah Ann Gordon Williams, taught Hugh Cale. Mrs. Williams, mature

---

in 1868 and credited by her grandson with a "heavy voice," is considered by some persons to have been the first Negro woman teacher in North Carolina - once operating at Roanoke Island, a part of North Carolina's "Outer Banks," and later in Perquimans County. Mr. Perkins related that Cale "always visited" Mrs. Williams in Elizabeth City and went to his former mentor "for information on education." Perkins also recalled hearing that, when Mr. Cale sometimes "became confused and didn't remember various dates, he'd call his old teacher, Huldah Gordon Williams Hathaway."

There is good probability that Mrs. Williams-Hathaway was among Cale's early "formal" teachers. Tomlinson reports that Mr. Cale "worked at Fort Hatteras and Roanoke Island during the [Civil] war." Also reported to be on Roanoke Island then, was Mrs. Williams-Hathaway, who received her own learning from the "Yankee school" there which was taught, Mr. Perkins related, by a certain Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Nixon reportedly from Sugar Hill, New Hampshire; also by a certain Mr. Parker, a Negro from Ohio. This chain, if actually the case, could also indicate a certain soundness in such learning as Cale was able to obtain. Moreover, the group of Northern "professors" who (not unlike 18th-century "musick professors") braved prejudice and sometimes bullets to teach southern freedmen, were long remembered by the former chattel.

---

7 Author's interview with Mr. Perkins, granted November 6, 1964, at Elizabeth City State University (then "College"). See also Appendix 1, "Huldah's Increase," pp. 450-453.

8 Tomlinson (1885), p. 39 (Cale on Outer Banks); Charles B. W. Gordon, Select Sermons, (Petersburg, VA: The Author, 1887; hereinafter referred to as Gordon, Sermons), p. 5 (Nixon's first name). Patricia C. Click, Letting in the Light: The Freedmen's Colony on Roanoke Island, 1862-1867 (Manteo, NC: 1981 Summer Humanities Project; hereinafter referred to as Click, Letting in the Light), cites ten teachers, seven schools for blacks on the Island, 1864-1867; four schools are named and Martha Cullen, "former slave," is apparently the only Negro cited (pp. 13, 35 n 52 and n 54, 36 n 59). Mrs. Williams-Hathaway, the Nixons and Parker, unnamed, perhaps did not appear in her sources. Amid educational and religious efforts, life was hard. About May-June 1865, Black soldiers (including a chaplain) and missionary teachers urgently petitioned Gen. O. O. Howard, Freedmen's Bureau Commissioner, to restore rations to Roanoke Island's estimated 3,500 freedmen (Ira Berlin, et al. [eds.], Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation 1861-1867..., Series II: The Black Military Experience [Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982], pp. 727-730; hereinafter referred to as Berlin, Black Military). Black Chaplain Henry M. Turner requested 500 spelling books for the Island's colored "Troops, who can read and write some" (ibid., p. 627).
For his activities during his early years, we may speculate that Cale journeyed from his Perquimans County environs to North Carolina’s Outer Banks. Next, we could suppose that, while working there, he attended one or more of these schools because apparently he could have taken advantage of the opportunity whether or not he was himself a "freedman" by virtue of federal legislation. Later, he may well have sought learning in Plymouth and/or elsewhere.

Citing Tomlinson again, we are told that Hugh in his early years was "very temperate in habits, he having taken his last drink of spirituous liquor in 1865, and he never smoked a cigar or pipe, and never chews tobacco." Whether the tippling transformation took place at Hatteras, Roanoke Island, or elsewhere, breaking habits did not keep Cale stationary. By 1867 if not before, he had arrived in Elizabeth City. There, on April 20 of that year, he paid the $3.00 fee for a license to marry a certain Mary Wilson.

Deputy Clerk G. D. White, signing the license for A. P. White, Clerk, let it be known that any "Registered Licensed Minister of the Gospel" was authorized "to solemnize the Rite of Matrimony" between "Hewey Cale and Mary Wilson ... Residents of this County" (Pasquotank). The Reverend John Williams certified that he performed the ceremony that same day, April 20.\(^9\)

\(^9\) Tomlinson (1879), p. 104.

\(^{10}\) From the MS certificate, Pasquotank County Register of Deeds (Elizabeth City). The typed General Index of Brides (p. 57) has "w" (white) and lists Cale as "Henry," possibly a mis-reading of writing in the manuscript, which appears actually to be "Hewy." During 1866-1868, many North Carolina Negroes registered themselves as having been, and wishing to continue as, man and wife. Situations varied, North and South, but many "marriages" of Negroes were not allowed to become civil facts until after the Civil War. For the Cales, obviously this would depend upon previous circumstances of bondage, but Cale’s absence from Pasquotank County - Account Book, Cohabitation of Negroes 1856-1867 (hereinafter referred to as Pasquotank Cohabitation Records) reinforces the author’s assumption that he was free - whatever the former Mary Wilson’s status. The Records themselves are listings in a mercantile account book, dating from 1856 (about half of the text matter), which also contains listings of black and white voters in the County’s several political subdivisions. The Division of Archives and History microfilm was used; the original - stated to be in Pasquotank County in Thornton W. Mitchell, Preliminary Guide to Records Relating to Blacks in the North Carolina State Archives (Archives Information Circular Number 17 [June 1980], p. 2; hereinafter referred to as Mitchell, Preliminary Guide to Blacks) - now resides in the State Archives. A copy of the microfilm is in the ECSU Archives.
"Hewey" had entered a new dimension. He was now head of a family. This family came to include besides Mrs. Cale, her mother, Louisa, and a son, John. Mrs. Mary Cale's birth year seems to be between 1848 and 1850. The lad was listed as age 12 in the 1870 Census and according to the same source, was a born North Carolinian.

Although we have some idea of the Hugh Cale Family during those early years, what of a physical description of the gentleman himself? When this was written, no photograph was found - locally or in the State Archives. State Archives personnel subsequently located two - a decade or so after text composition. Word pictures and other vignettes meanwhile gathered to describe Cale, are retained for their inherent value, coming as they did from several senior citizens of Elizabeth City and elsewhere, who provided their estimates and descriptions of the man.

The late Mrs. Katie S. (Griffen) Woodhouse, for example, said she remembered Mr. Cale well, and spoke favorably of him. Another example which existed long before that interview is Principal Peter W. Moore's listing of Cale's Road Street residence among local citizens considered to be prominent when the present Elizabeth City State University was a young normal school.12

A vivid word picture of Cale, both physically and as a personality, came from a retired educator, Mr. Thomas Settle Cooper13 of Elizabeth City. According to Professor Cooper's

---

11 Mrs. Mary (Wilson) Cale, according to data abstracted from the 1870 and 1880 Censuses, was an Alabamian as were her mother and unnamed grandparents. Listed as age 22 in the 1870 Census, she was credited with 30 years in the 1880 Census, which called her "Minny." Her mother, Louisa Wilson, was listed as age 57 in 1870, and as age 70 in 1880, the latter Census indicating that she did housework. No additional information was found concerning the son, John.

12 Undated loose sheet among Dr. Moore's official papers, Elizabeth City State University Archives. Charles Ingram's biography of Moore is DNBC, IV, pp. 305-306. On p. 305, J. H. "Turner" should read "Butler" and initial enrollment, 23 vice 60.

13 The T. S. Cooper Elementary School (in 1970, a high school), Sunbury, North Carolina, is named in his honor; he was its long-time principal. Mr. Cooper later indicated that Cale was a relative. Born September 23, 1876,
recollections in 1963, Cale was of somewhat diminutive physical stature, about 5 feet 6 inches, and weighing between 135-140 pounds. Three years later (1966), an Elizabeth City physician, Dr. James Edward Jones,\textsuperscript{14} assigned approximately the same dimensions: Cale was about 5 feet, 5 or 6 inches and weighed 140 to 145 pounds. Mr. Cooper said Cale was "quite a fair-skinned gentleman; you wouldn't know whether he was colored or white." In contrast, a local editor, ninety years earlier (1876), said Cale's color was "something between a full blown tulip and a bacon ham." Cooper recalled a "pleasant, sharp-cut face, very much of the Caucasian type," and a "prominent nose and forehead." "He had somewhat of a long face," Dr. Jones said and added, "with freckles around nose and cheek." Mrs. Etta Thompson of Elizabeth City remembered his face "all wrinkled."

On the matter of Cale's skin color, no person had disagreement. He "looked white," according to half a dozen or more elder citizens of Elizabeth City and according to others who commented. The characteristic even seemed to run in his household. One gentleman reported that, in his youth, he was interested in a young female member of Hugh's family - possibly Elizabeth Cale (see pp. 178-180). However, he was afraid to walk with her in the street.

\textsuperscript{14} Dr. Jones (Elizabeth City State Normal '15) was born August 14, 1895, to the late John and Annie Elizabeth (Willie) Jones. A high-ranking official in the Elks and Masons and staunch ECSU supporter, he practiced medicine for well over a half century. He died December 9, 1992 and was funeralized from the Mt. Lebanon A.M.E. Zion Church (Elizabeth City) on December 12. The Matrons Social, Literary and Art Club (Elizabeth City) dedicated their 73rd Annual Banquet to him (1983) and the ECSU General Alumni Association especially honored him in 1989. (Foregoing data from ECSU Archives.) Butchko, \textit{Shores}, p. 310 (index erroneously has p. 311), pictures the "Annie E. Jones House," built 1903. This later became her son's medical office. Butchko (\textit{loc. cit.}) cites Principal Jones as a "prominent black educator," gives her dates as 1884-1950, and notes the Annie E. Jones Elementary School (razed in the 1980s) being named in her honor. Dr. Jones' mother graduated from their alma mater in 1901. The Jones House - part of the "Shepard Street-South Road Street Historic District," is under consideration for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places, as of December 1992 (document in ECSU Archives).
"because she was so white" - in bold contrast to the gentleman - and thus posed a threat to his safety for such unheard of social contact - publicly, that is.

Almost everyone agreed that Cale was of short stature. In addition, he was credited with being "thin" and having "straight, black hair." The late Mrs. Pocahontas Smith Griffin, who graduated under Principal Moore in the High School Class of 1926, recalled Cale’s "pretty" black hair and that his shoes were "brightly shined" at all times. However, Dr. Jones, who graduated under Principal Moore in 1915, said Cale’s hair "did not meet the expectations of his color!"

"Mr. Cale often drove his horse and buggy around the County [Pasquotank] to give lectures," Mrs. Griffin said, and according to her, he gave "lots of them" in the County’s Newland Township. Cale was definitely a man of ideas, Mr. Cooper recollected, and able to "stand flatfooted before an audience and talk pretty well." That assessment may have been a little on the conservative side; Cale appears to have been a rather forceful speaker, judging from newspaper commentary. "He had a convincing smile, unforgettable tone of voice - sort of pathetic and convincing," Dr. Jones remembered.

So deeply had the man impressed her that Miss Isabella Hollowell15 could recall a speech by Cale, some 70 years after the event. She indicated in 1965 that, although she did not hear Cale speak while she was a student in the Normal School which became Elizabeth City State University, she did hear him in "some little hall in Elizabeth City." Miss Hollowell reminisced

15 Miss Hollowell indicated being in her 93rd year at the time of this writer’s interview in her Elizabeth City home and said she would be 94 on February 1, 1966. This member of the first entering class at Elizabeth City State University (January 1892) had a remarkably clear memory for names, dates, and places - especially considering that she left Elizabeth City for work and more education in Boston in 1899, and remained there for some sixty years. The Elizabeth City North Carolinian (April 6, 1898) cited her being among local teachers who ended "successful school terms in Mt. Hermon district last week." She established a loan fund at the University in 1962 and gave the school instructional equipment. On February 28, 1965, Miss Hollowell was honored by the institution when the school’s first main thoroughfare, "Hollowell Drive," was named for her. Students dedicated their 1966 Yearbook to her. Miss Hollowell died October 23, 1973, at age 101, the University inscribing a Memorial Resolution in her honor (document in the University Archives).
that Cale told his auditors he "left Elizabeth City with his clothes in a knapsack to go to work." He came back with a "little money" and, she said, "bought some of those old houses." She recalled that she saw Cale at some point during the three-month period she spent at Plymouth Normal School (North Carolina) and that, in Elizabeth City, "Mr. Cale was a highly respected man."

Like Mr. Cooper, Miss Hollowell said that Cale was a "very short, mulatto man" - as did Mrs. Blanche Burden of Elizabeth City, once a neighbor of Cale's and whose grandfather Hugh often visited. Miss Ethel V. Lane\textsuperscript{16} (once of Elizabeth City, later from New York) knew Cale as an "elderly man" who was "very, very quiet" and "liked by everybody." Miss Lane recalled that "as children [we] would run out and holler at him and ask him how he felt." She, like almost everyone else, reported that Mr. Cale "looked like a white man" and was short in stature. It can been seen that Cale was very much people-oriented.

Cale's prominence in political matters naturally helped undergird his being remembered. The late Mrs. Etta Hawkins Thompson (1898-1989) recalled in 1966 that Cale visited her family in Elizabeth City during her youth. Her father, the late A. L. Hawkins,\textsuperscript{17} would introduce the welcome former State Representative with kindly jest: "We have with us today the Honorable Senator Cale!" After Delegate Cale attended the Republican National Convention in 1896, Mr. Hawkins' daughter, the late Mrs. Annie Payton, enjoyed mimicking the Delegate, her sister (Mrs. Thompson), related. "I just come down from St. Louis to nominate the President," Mr. Cale drawled. Later, Mrs. Thompson attributed the original of her sister's recollection to a local minister's introducing guest speaker "Huey" Cale.\textsuperscript{18}

\textsuperscript{16} See Appendix 1, "Connections...", pp. ____.

\textsuperscript{17} See Appendix 1, "A. L. Hawkins and Antioch Presbyterian Church," pp. ____.

\textsuperscript{18} Typescript of an interview granted Dr. Evelyn A. Johnson, June 10, 1971, and used with her permission.
Mr. Haywood Martin Butt, '12 of Corona, New York and in his eighties during his 1977 visit for Homecoming festivities at ECSU, also recalled his sometime neighbor, Mr. Cale. Confirming existing descriptions of Cale (although he doubted that Cale died penniless and alone), Mr. Butt said Cale joked and "spoke with a drawl." One of the jokes had to do with Cale's legislative circumstances. He would come to Elizabeth City during recess of the House of Representatives, Mr. Butt said, and "claim he broke a House cuspidor; so Cale was tossed out of the House."19

Hugh Cale and Whitmel Lane were among the most prominent and affluent men in the community, in the view of Miss Hollowell and others, including Mr. Butt (who referred to to "Whit" Lane and "Bell" Hollowell). Both Cale and Lane, Miss Hollowell felt, had "somebody back of them." This "somebody" was not identified. Dr. James E. Jones, however, recollected that a certain "Leigh Sheep and Hugh Cale were friends. Sheep was a pioneer in schools."20

Miss Hollowell summed up Cale's character by saying, "Whatever he was, he made himself, by hard work." The Reverend Milton Moran Weston of Tarboro, North Carolina (an ECSU Senior Normal classman from Hyde County, 1893-1894)21 implied the same, early in 1966.

19 Interview granted the author, October 29, 1977. Mr. Butt and his brother, Nathan W. Butt, a poet, recalled many persons and events of the early days of their institution. Their father, Nathan M. Butt, among the first 23 entrants and member of the "Preparatory Class" (institution's Catalogue, 1892, p. 5), wrote a poem in 1924 entitled In Honor of State Normal School (copy in the University Archives). Albert Perkins said one of the Nathans was among Hulda Williams Hathaway's "students" and that a Nathan Butt slogan was, "Be what you are or take down your sign." Haywood Butt entered State Normal in 1904, qualified for Normal work in 1908, and graduated in 1912 (institution's respective Catalogues).

Just as with the preceding interviewees, conversing with him was enjoyable and memorable. Quiet dignity, alert minds, and appreciation of humor characterized all these senior citizens. It was with regret to learn that Haywood Butt died on February 25, 1989.

20 It is assumed that the reference is to S. L. Sheep. Meanwhile, the Elizabeth City Tar Heel (May 10, 1907) praised "Leigh Sheep" as a "popular young" merchant. M. Leigh Sheep later took a large advertisement to extol his clothing store (Tar Heel, July 30, 1909). S. L. Sheep was to become known for his Atlantic Collegiate Institute and other school matters. See also ante, p. ___

21 Father Weston died in Tarboro, October 10, 1966. Citation of his ECSU attendance is from its Catalogue, 1893-1894.
With alacrity did Father Weston, a nonagenarian, characterize Cale, saying he was "energetic and very helpful to others." Mr. Butt said Cale spoke to students "several times." The late Mr. James "Bud" King of Elizabeth City (retired Manhattan policeman), said in the mid-1960s that Cale was prone to accost a young man walking along a road, bid him sit with him at the roadside, and then try to teach a bit of whatever basic knowledge was lacking. This might be "figuring" or grammar rudiments or best, the pointed question, "What do you plan to do with yourself?" Mr. Cale thus joined others in methods similar to those of Socrates.

Haywood Butt (in 1973) also spoke of Cale’s educative influence and wrote:

I have a personal reason for being specially interested in the [Hugh Cale Memorial Scholarship] Fund and Program which honors the late Mr. Hugh Cale. Mr. Cale was a friend and neighbor for as long as I can remember. My family resided at what was then 613 South Road Street. Mr. Cale lived at 607. He seemed to take pleasure in recounting to me the history of the nation as it affected our people and other valuable information that perhaps I would never have received otherwise. Whatever I may be able to contribute to his memory would not equal the influence that he gave to my life.\(^{22}\)

Cale would "listen to people" and was "very easily approached - anxious to get information pertaining to his people," James E. Jones said and emphasized, "he was interested in people." Mrs. Etta Thompson recollected that Cale "always had some kind of homespun philosophy." He "wanted you to say it" and not "act foolish," if a person wished to speak to Cale, she recalled.\(^{23}\) Apparently he was also an outdoor type: Albert Perkins recalled that Cale "liked hunting and fishing."

Mrs. Jennie Helena Joyner, '00, '31 (the former Jennie Brockett-Butler), first secretary of the Elizabeth City State "Normal School" Alumni Association, was happy to remember Mr.

\(^{22}\) Letter of April 13, 1973 (ECSU Archives), from Mr. Butt to Jeff Elwood Smith '42, then Director of the Office of Admissions and Records at Elizabeth City State University and Chairman of the Hugh Cale Memorial Scholarship Fund. The quotation is used with Mr. Smith's permission.

\(^{23}\) Typescript of June 10, 1971 interview granted Dr. Johnson; used with her permission.
Cale on May 28, 1966, following an alumni banquet she had journeyed from Philadelphia to attend on that date. Cale "often spoke," she reported, "especially to the young men, and in Mt. Lebanon Church" (an Elizabeth City A. M. E. Zion institution now more than a century old). Mrs. Joyner recalled that Mr. Cale often told his auditors: "I hate to speak to you because I don’t have an education. You’ll think that you can get along without it, but you can’t." In Cale’s opinion, Mrs. Joyner said, he was not the one to be speaking to budding scholars: "I want you to get an education. If you hear my way of speaking too much, you’ll think you don’t need an education," the alumna quoted him.

Cale, it is reported, was fond of working with local societies, including the Order of Love and Charity, and the Good Samaritans (he was "wrapped up" with the latter). He is supposed to have taught "classes" informally in the Samaritans’ Hall, then located near the corner of the present Ehringhaus and McMorrine streets in Elizabeth City.24 According to Physician Jones, Hugh Cale was a "pioneer in the intellectual world in Elizabeth City and Pasquotank County."

In another citizen’s estimation, Cale in local civic matters among Negroes was once the "main cog in the wheel."

As Robert Oscar Frost of Camden County, North Carolina, who attended the Elizabeth City Normal School, 1900-1903 (institution’s Catalog), approached his 90th birthday in 1973, he had vivid memory of Mr. Cale. In Mr. Frost’s opinion, Cale was "a little yellow man, almost white" who was "mighty small and ... very sensible." Cale did "some mighty work," Mr. Frost said, adding, "I remember when the first fair was in Elizabeth City" and also recalling one of

---

24 Haywood Butt, in 1977, recalled the Hall being located in a building housing a succession of businesses (e.g., Sister’s Diner, at 1979; D and J Grocery, at 1992), located opposite the intersection of the present South Road Street and Roanoke Avenue. See Appendix 3 for brief description of Samaritans and their’s and Love and Charity’s North Carolina incorporations, respectively, pp. 474-476, 479-480.
Cale’s jokes on the economics of race relations: "He said the Negro was singing, ‘You can have all the world, give me Jesus, and the white man took him to his word.’" Frost credited Cale with "getting the [Elizabeth City] Normal School up" in 1891, and also remembered hearing "Mr. Hughie Cale" say that he (Cale) got a position for John Henry Manning Butler at A & T State University in 1894 after Mr. Butler left the Elizabeth City Normal School as Assistant to Principal Moore. Frost concluded that "Cale was a great politician" but was not sure of Cale’s A & T trusteeship.\(^{25}\)

It is not surprising that Hugh Cale was closely observed in his lifetime and long remembered after his departure. He suffers merely as do other notables in the history of Pasquotank County and northeastern North Carolina: little has been assembled into written history. Accordingly, we may pause to sketch three of the notables who were prominent during the earlier years of Cale’s ascent from relative obscurity, to North Carolina’s State House.

\(^{25}\) Taken from typed transcript of a taped interview (ECSU Archives) which Mr. Frost granted Dr. Evelyn Adelaide Johnson on January 25, 1973. Professor Emerita of Music Johnson - legendary at Elizabeth City State University with a building named for her - granted permission for the present writer to use these excerpts. Her *History of Elizabeth City State University - A Story of Survival*, 1st ed. (New York: Vantage Press, 1980), is hereinafter referred to as Johnson, *History*.

Mr. Frost was saluted by the Elizabeth City *Daily Advance*, January 17, 1974 (p. 9), the article (with a photo of him) entitled, "Frost Was First Black Currituck County [North Carolina] Teacher" (ECSU Archives). His reference to a Fair could have the one under Cale’s presidency, in 1895 (see ante, pp. --).
CHAPTER 2:

PREACHERS, TEACHERS, AND OTHER POLITICIANS

The advance information was rather alarming, somewhat ominous, and propelled Elizabeth City's Mayor William H. Clark and Commissioners William Shannon, George W. Bell, and Samuel Weisel into a June 22, 1867 call meeting (Commissioners Cornelius "Troublood" and Joseph Lawrence, absent):

We the Commissioners of the Town of Eliz City, having reason to believe that an unusual number of persons will be present in said City on the 4th day of July, 1867, do for the further preservation of order & tranquility on that day, enact the following ordinance.

Be it ordained by the Corporation of Eliz City, and it is hereby ordained by authority of the same,

That no Liquor of any kind will be permitted to be sold on the 4th day of July 1867. within the Corporate limits, from Sun rise to Sun sett under a penalty of fifty dollars, to be receivable by a warrant before the Mayor; One half of the fine to the informer (Town Constable excepted), the other to the use of the Corporation.

Adjourned.
Attest. - Wm Glover
Clerk of Corporation

With news of this action getting around - not to mention some other features of the anticipated "unusual number of persons," it is understandable that the Elizabeth City celebration of The Fourth by "Freedmen and Republicans of this section," on Thursday afternoon, July 4, 1867, took up nearly a half page in the Saturday, July 6 edition of Thomas B. Garner's less than three-months-old1 Elizabeth City Weekly Transcript. The newspaper noted that even though the

---

1 The July 6 edition was Volume 1, Number 12 - ordinarily placing the weekly's first issue at April 20, 1867. Publication changed from Saturdays to Wednesdays, it announced on Wednesday, July 24, 1867. The Transcript also announced (July 6, 1867) that it was "The Slave of no Party - The Tool of no Man"; that subscribers should pay $3.00 a year "in advance" for its news which, on July 13, included a one-third-page piece on "The Science of Kissing." Advertisements included those of A. L. Jones' livery stables and John Q. Etheridge's Road Street "Apothecary," which sold drugs and medicines as well as "Putty, &C., &C., &C." The Commissioners' Ordinance came from the microfilm of their unpaged Minute Book 1865-1867 (Elizabeth City's Office of Planning & Community Development; original in State Archives, Raleigh).
day's activities had "unusual manifestation and gusto," its "mass-meeting" produced "no disturbance [sic] of any kind whatever, a thing very remarkable in the history of so large and irregular assemblage."

Considering some other local events - not via Transcript news - the celebration could indeed be "very remarkable." Elizabeth City's Commissioners had enacted an ordinance against crowds on sidewalks, just sixteen months earlier (March 22, 1866), but that did not prevent such local "irregular assemblage" as Union men and Negroes being shot with relative impunity (May 1866) or absence of investigation following severe damage to an Elizabeth City black, "named Tubbs" (September 1867). The 1867 July Fourth celebration was a friendlier event which "passed off entirely satisfactory," in the Transcript's assessment, and was "to the lasting credit of the Freedmen."

The Transcript highlighted several speakers prominent in the celebration, some to become familiar in these pages. Elder L. W. "Boon" was one of these luminaries. "He announced himself ... as a whole sole Republican...," the Transcript reported. Boone "counseled charity and a thorough understanding of the interests of each other - sacrifices ought to be made for the

---

2 Alexander, Freedmen, pp. 52, 191 n 88.


5 "Elder" was the title "usually given to members of the clergy in the early years of the Missionary Baptist Church" (Harold Harvey Murrill [ECSU '69], A History of the Roanoke Missionary Baptist Association 1866-1886 [Master of Divinity thesis, Shaw Divinity School, 1979; hereinafter referred to as Murrill, Roanoke Association], p. 2).
welfare of both black and white." Such counsel may have fallen on a number of deaf ears. Lots of whites may well have felt they had sacrificed too much already - notably including loss of their human property. Some whites could recall the towering insult, just three years earlier in Spring 1863, of some fifty former human chattel doing night vigil in Elizabeth City as they guarded Union lines with enough fighting ability to make them "formidable." The loss of bondage however was foreordained, in Elder Boone's opinion: Emancipation was "framed by a higher power than man, and must be accepted as inevitable." This incendiary statement fortunately lit no reported local fires. In fact, the Transcript described Boone's speech as being "interspersed with a good deal of sense, humor and merry flings, at which no one could feel aggrieved."

Political celebrants could be discerned in addition to Preacher Boone. One such was a certain Thomas A. Sykes. The Transcript reported that he recited the Declaration of Independence "in a style reflecting great credit upon the reader." Another locally prominent person gracing "the stand" with Boone and Sykes was almost surely Jesse R. Brown ("almost surely" since although "Jesse" is clear, his surname was absent due to a mutilated edge of that page of the Transcript). Mr. Brown was among Elizabeth City's earliest black office-holders and would surface some two years later in connection with construction of a "normal school" in town, where a nominally black Brooklyn transplant from South Carolina, Thomas W. Cardozo, would hold forth. Messrs. Boone, Sykes, and Brown would come to note closely Teacher Cardozo's

---

4 Richard Reid, "Raising the African Brigade: Early Black Recruitment in Civil War North Carolina," North Carolina Historical Review, 52 (1993), p. 272. Pasquotank's 102 recruits represented both the second highest area source (Washington County was top with 126) and 10% of all recruits (1,012) from the 21 counties Reid listed as comprising northeastern North Carolina (op. cit., p. 298). Such phenomena as these recruiting, and later political, successes in Elizabeth City-Pasquotank County during the 1860s, might be expected to - but are not reported to have resulted in widespread terrorist retaliation, if Elizabeth City was a "bastion of slavery" - cited as such at p. 13 of Paul R. Griffin, Black Founders of Reconstruction Era Methodist Colleges: Daniel A. Payne, Joseph C. Price, and Isaac Lane, 1863-1890 (PhD dissertation, Emory University, 1993; hereinafter referred to as Griffin, Black Founders). Berlin, Black Military (p. 132), gives the number as "about 80" - likewise Jonathan W. Horstman, The African-American's Civil War... (MA thesis, Western Carolina University, 1994), p. 19,
political foray in 1870, as would a "black" grocer who got married in April 1867 and registered
to vote in 1868 - both events in Elizabeth City. The Grocer was Hugh Cale; his Registrar may
well have been Thomas Sykes since the July 31, 1867 Transcript announced that Sykes was a
member of Registration Boards for both Perquimans County ("Thomas Sikes") and Pasquotank
County ("T. A. Sykes").

Celebrating The Fourth was important if sometimes controversial: some thought it was
rightfully observed by whites, while Blacks more appropriately observed Emancipation Day
(January 1 - latterly designated "Jubilee Day"). Far more important than which "Independence"
Day which population observed, however, was the franchise right - one which was universal in
its promise and delivery of power; often advertised as self-government; perennially divisive as
to which "self" did the governing.

Registering to vote was therefore a primary focus. Non-registrants obviously could
not vote and with 1868 constitutional and legislative sessions imminent, voting for would-be
decision-makers was deemed critical. The Transcript adjured all to register: "We beg you not
to delay" (August 28); "go, if you have to walk or ride miles" (July 31, its italics). Several
to-be-familiar Pasquotank names discharged their duty - more accurately, newly-
acquired privilege - to become eligible voters, in addition to "Thos Sikes" in Mt. Hermon
District 7; for example, Ivey Roach in District 6; "Abraham" Morris, "Elijah" Overton,

---

7 Both a certain B. F. "Sikes," and Jesse "Sikes," were among "Tyrell" County Registrars, the former name
(as "Sykes") listed in the 1881 House of Representatives (John L. Cheyney, Jr. [ed.], North Carolina Government
1585-1974 A Narrative and Statistical History [Raleigh: North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State, 1975;
hereinafter referred to as Cheyney, Government], p. 461). Future State Representatives Augustus Robbins (a black)
served as a Registrar in Bertie County as did John R. Page (black) in Chowan County; and the Reverend Asbury
Reid (also black) was a Gates County Registrar. In Pasquotank, non-black Registrars included "M. B." (for Marshall
Bertrand) Culpepper (all citations, except Cheyney, from the July 31, 1867 Transcript).
Alfred Painin, Joshua Bowe, Dempsey Brothers, and Miles Davis - all black and all of Nixonton District.\footnote{Pasquotank County - Account Book, Cohabitation of Negroes 1856-1867 (hereinafter referred to as \textit{Pasquotank Cohabitation Records}). The document is unpagged and has three components: mercantile accounts (about half of the text matter), cohabitation records, registration lists. The present citation is from the Registration Section. A certain "Elijah Overton" of Pasquotank appears, Woodson, \textit{Free Negro}, p. 120.}

As keenly interested in the franchise as many of these new citizens were, still more had vital concerns on the domestic front. Specifically, hundreds wished either to enjoy marriage rites previously forbidden to them, or have their devised or self-made marriages legalized. The North Carolina General Assembly had made such actions possible on March 10, 1866.\footnote{Mitchell, \textit{Preliminary Guide to Blacks}, p. 2; Chapter ____., \textit{Session Laws} 1866, pp. _____.} It took some eleven pages - several bearing two columns of names - for Pasquotank's scribe to list "A Record of Freedmen who have applied for Certificates of Marriage according to an act of the Legislature passed in the Year 1866." Among the listees for August 12, 1866 (page 11) were the 31-year-old former Perquimans County slave, Thomas A. "Sikes,"\footnote{Sykes' age is from Leonard R. Ballou, \textit{New Man in the House - Thomas A. Sykes} (1979; hereinafter referred to as Ballou, \textit{New Man}), p. 3, and Elizabeth Balanoff, "Negro Legislators in the North Carolina General Assembly, July 1868 - February 1872," \textit{North Carolina Historical Review}, 44 (1972; hereinafter referred to as Balanoff, "Negro Legislators"), p. 29 n 3, which cites his slave status. His birthyear is given as 1835; the "presumption is that he moved from city [Nashville, Tennessee] and died at undetermined date" at some point from 1893 onward (Fran Schell, Tennessee State Library and Archives, to the present author, December 1979). Sykes is not in Book S of Pasquotank's Ms General Index to Marriages - Grooms From 1865, nor in Pasquotank's Cohabitation Records.} and Martha Johnston, thus duly ensconced in Book 1 of the County's \textit{Marriage Register} 1865-1885.

By the time of Mr. & Mrs. Sykes' marriage certificate, Elder Boone had already experienced considerable motion. A Northampton County (North Carolina) native - born to Lamb and Patsy Boone in 1827, he had become a brick mason; had moved to Hertford County "some years before the [Civil] war"; had married 18-year-old Charlottee (or Charlotte) A. Chavis
(ca. 1856); had opened a private school in Pleasant Plain Missionary Baptist Church (Hertford County); and had relocated with his family to Pasquotank County during the Civil War. In 1865, he moved from Pasquotank, first to Gates County (there 1860s-1870s), then back to Hertford (1870s) where he farmed. In 1866, Boone - who moved about quite a bit, helping with church-founding - travelled again, this time to Roanoke Island and Manteo's Haven Creek Missionary Baptist Church. There, he was ordained an Elder and became one of at least six founders of the Roanoke Missionary Baptist Association - now among the oldest continuing black organizations in North Carolina. Boone, in addition to being a co-founder, was elected the Association's first Moderator (president), and kept the title intermittently until his death in 1878.

11 Boone's parents and his wife's name, estimated age, and marriage date are from Philip D. Boone, et al. (eds.), The Boone Family: Reflecting the Past (Souvenir Booklet, Fourth Boone Family Reunion, 1982; Murrill Collection, ECSU Archives; hereinafter referred to as Boone Family), p. 4. Mrs. Boone was the daughter of Harry and Martha Chavis - they being "member[s] of the prominent Chavis family of North Carolina" (loc. cit.). This statement could imply that Mrs. Boone and her father were direct or collateral descendants of John Chavis (ca. 1763-1838), who received coverage in John Hope Franklin, The Free Negro in North Carolina 1790-1943 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1943; reissued [New York: Russell & Russell, 1969]; hereinafter referred to as Franklin, Free Negro), pp. 73, 106-107, 170-174, 189 n 108. Chavis' professional life is examined by Edgar W. Knight, "Notes on John Chavis," North Carolina Historical Review, 7 (1930), pp. 326-345; the only family reference is a Chavis quote, "me & my wife" (ibid., p. 336 n 43). Franklin, Free Negro (p. 258), rated Knight's article "[t]he best account of Chavis that has come to the attention of writer." Barbara M. Parramore's biography of Chavis is DNCE, 1, pp. 358-359.

12 "Association" is the name given an organized grouping of Baptist churches within a given swath of geography. "Conventions" are still larger groupings. An Association is cited for "Camden" formation, ca. 1868 - people walking "from as far as Gates, Beaufort, and Washington Counties to attend the first near-by association" ("A History of Mount Olive Baptist Church," p. 16 of Mount Olive Baptist Church 1865-1979 [Lewiston, NC: The Church, via National Printing Company, Greenville, NC]; hereinafter referred to as "Mount Olive History"). No further reference to this Camden Association had been found when the present text was written.

13 Sketch of Boone compiled from Murrill, Roanoke Association, pp. 32, 33, 34, 68, 70, and especially p. 69, containing the Association's 1879 Memorial for Boone - who died in Hertford County, September 18, 1878, leaving his widow and thirteen children. (Dates/titles for Association officers - unless otherwise attributed - are from "Historical Table, Roanoke Missionary Baptist Association," Minutes of the One Hundred Twenty-Sixth Annual Session ... 1992; hereinafter referred to as "Roanoke Historical Table.") Association co-founders with Boone included D. W. Early; "J. T." Reynolds (possibly the legislator); Assistant Clerk (= Assistant Secretary) "J. A." Fleming, serving as such, 1866-1868, and "Asberry" Reid. The late Reverend Dr. Rufus Irving Boone (former University Minister at ECSU) believed the earlier Boone to be "in the family" and recalled him being known more frequently by "Washington" than the name "Lemuel." The Reverend Charles B. W. Gordon is credited with writing a poem, in 1882, "dedicated to the memory of Rev. L. W. Boone" (referred to in William Henry Sherwood, Life of Charles B. W. Gordon... [Petersburg, VA: John B. Ege, 1885], p. 29; hereinafter cited as Sherwood, Life).
Having helped to found the Roanoke Association and quite probably a leading figure in its establishment, Boone joined nine ministers in forming an Educational and Missionary Convention of North Carolina (Goldsboro, 1867) which became the General Baptist State Convention. The 1867 State Convention resulted from "some misunderstanding between the National Baptist Convention and the Educational and Missionary Convention ... 'very much to the regret of the regular convention brothers'." By 1871, the State Convention was credited with 88 ministers serving churches from Asheville to "as far east as Edenton."  

Locally, Boone's efforts had resulted, by April 1866, in the First Baptist Church of Murfreesboro (Hertford County), with its building's expected completion in November of that year. Pastor Boone had advised the area's white Chowan Association that he looked to having twenty black churches representing 3,000 members by May 1867, at which point he would propose a black Association, then withdraw from the white group. He reached his Association goal a year early. Meanwhile, many local white Baptists gave their black Baptist brethren their blessings and considerable assistance.  

---


15 Alexander, Freedmen, pp. 70f; Bell, "Baptists," pp. 400f. Boone Family is the sole source thus far seen, which names the Murfreesboro church (p. 4). Boone is also credited (loc. cit.) with New Hope Baptist (Gates County), Mill Neck Baptist (Hertford County) and (ibid., p. 7) New Middle Swamp Baptist (Gates County) churches.
The Roanoke Association grew to embrace fourteen counties\textsuperscript{16} - an area from Halifax in the northwest to Dare (formed 1869-1870) in the east, to Tyrrell-Washington-Martin counties along the southern shores of Albemarle Sound. Traversing some 5,500 square miles of forest and much water in those days was both difficult, to put it mildly, and sometimes dangerous. Boone and kindred Baptist souls nonetheless sought religious inspiration for many widely scattered clumps of people. Like Boone, some of the kindred souls combined religion and politics, thus seeking to enhance the lives of constituents. For example, the Reverend Bryant Lee, a Bertie County Delegate to the 1868 Constitutional Convention,\textsuperscript{17} joined others in that County to organize the Mount Herman Baptist Church (located near Aulander) in 1884, because "[th]ose early pioneers had a vision that the gospel of Christ needed to be preached in the republican area."\textsuperscript{18} Although "republican area" referenced local geography, not the Party, it was apt designation nonetheless. In fact, Mr. Lee - once a slave in Bertie County but later an ordained and licensed minister - influenced a reported 60 of the estimated 90 gallery-sitting black members of the Republican Church, to begin the Mount Olive Baptist Church (four miles west of Lewiston, 1884).\textsuperscript{18}

\textsuperscript{16} Murrill, \textit{Roanoke Association}, p. 41.


\textsuperscript{18} Anonymous, \textit{History of the Mount Herman Baptist Church}, n.p., n.d, typescript (Murrill Collection, ECSU Archives), p. [1].
North Carolina) during November 1865. Lee "always had a quest for knowledge and freedom ... including religious freedom." Originally named "Roberson Meeting House" (1865-1868), its congregation "walked many miles" - some of them through "sand and mud," to "serve the God who brought them out of slavery."\textsuperscript{19}

Having travelled wearying distances - no longer surreptitiously - services, more often than not, were often outdoors in a wooded "grove" under a "brush shelter" (also "Bush Harbor" and "brush arbor"),\textsuperscript{20} the trees serving as both roofs and convenient hitching posts. The "shelters" often evolved into wooden edifices, followed by brick structures on the same or different sites. Meanwhile, the word "grove" - land often at some distance from the populace, to diminish sounds of worship - frequently became part of a church's official name (action not restricted to Baptists).

These congregations and their leaders manifested awesome energy - travelling to worship sites; erecting buildings; maintaining enthusiasm; trying to avoid and/or heal schisms; networking into associations representing notable distances, large numbers of the faithful, and generally restrained exercise of political processes to carry on the business of religion. It is therefore no surprise that people like Elder Boone,\textsuperscript{21} Constitutional Convention Delegate Bryant Lee, North

\textsuperscript{19} "Mount Olive History," pp. 15, 16; sketch of the minister-legislator, pp. 25f. Worshippers at Harrellsville's Mount Pleasant Missionary Baptist Church (organized ca. 1866-1870, in Hertford County) not only walked, or rode wagons and carts to services, "[s]ome came by boat" since the Church began in a "Bush Shelter at the Mount Pleasant Wharf" (Anonymous, The 120th Anniversary of Mt. Pleasant Missionary Baptist Church Harrellsville, N.C. 1869-1989 [Murrill Collection, ECSU Archives], p. 4).

\textsuperscript{20} A photograph of a "Bush Harbor" (arbor) may be seen in "Mount Olive History," p. 16. A modern commentator wrote that "being outside never stopped these people who wanted to have church. They believed that the church was in your heart" (Lorie A. Bond, The History of Indian Woods Baptist Church [near Windsor, Bertie County], n.p., n.d., typescript [Murrill Collection, ECSU Archives], p. 2). A brush arbor was genesis of freedmen's first church on Roanoke Island, ca. 1862 (see Click, Letting in the Light, p. 9).

\textsuperscript{21} It is not clear whether "Limuel" Boone, one of the ministers of Bertie County's St. Elmo Church, was Lemuel Washington or his son and twelfth child, Philip Lemuel (the latter born 1876 [Boone Family, p. 6]). "Limuel" is cited on p. [1] of Lawrence Carter, Jr., History of St. Elmo Baptist Church, n.p., n.d., typescript (Murrill Collection, ECSU Archives; herein after referred to as Carter, St. Elmo Church).
Carolina Representatives John Page and Augustus Robbins,22 Voting Registrar-minister-farmer Asbury Reid,23 and Joshua A. Fleming - minister, Roanoke Association co-founder/officer, and justice of the peace, were among the respected names of outstanding if non-publicized blacks in northeastern North Carolina’s educational, political, and religious histories.

Energy during church services was also no surprise - in fact, expected. Black Baptists were well-known as being much less reserved in worship than their Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, and Catholic cousins. A twentieth-century minister reminisced about "those great fervent services of singing and shouting and praying in those bygone days when men and women from miles and miles around would often walk to church with their shoes in their hands ...."24 At the 1933 death of a co-founder of the original Roanoke Association, the Reverend D. Wesley Early, the West Roanoke Association cited him as the "last of the great illustrious list of pioneer ministers" who had "few equals in evangelistic fervor and forceful delivery."25 Boone himself was credited with "a gift of oratory ... seldom excelled by men of the best opportunities."26 Of

22 Page served in the 1870-1872, and Robbins in the 1879 and 1881 Sessions of the North Carolina House of Representatives. Page was also a Delegate to the 1875 Constitutional Convention. Carter, St. Elmo Church (p. [1]), credits carpenter Robbins with buying the land for the Church in 1877 - twenty-plus years after its organization; says he and his wife, Lear, were born free - Mrs. Robbins being among the women who initiated the congregation; and cites the legislator’s local titles as "Honorable Robbins" (apparently from the legislator being "The Honorable") and "'Grandpa Robbins'."

23 See Appendix 1, "Connections...", pp. ___


26 Boone Family, p. 5. Boone was a Mason. His widow's last residence was the Cofield vicinity (Hertford County), near which a monument to Boone at their grave near Bluefoot Road, was unveiled via January 2, 1913 ceremonies (Boone Family, pp. 4, 8).
course, there were good people who quipped - as did the *North Carolinian* (March 15, 1893): "[i]f some men would get nearer to the Lord they wouldn't have to make so much noise in church."

Varying opinions on worship practices aside, such energy helps account for continuity of Associations and their branching. For Boone and colleagues' Roanoke Association, as it grew stronger, so did its pronouncements - for instance, its 1869 bashing of color caste and labelling discrimination "'excrucence'." 27

A heightened sense of security and attempts to better social conditions would be logical outgrowths of a "networking" vision. If there was strength in numbers, there was added strength in the numbers working together. Boone and colleagues won considerable success in such endeavors - especially considering that even though religion was the prime initial focus, a sense of community, promoting education, and undergirding the 'right' political process came to be almost as important. That there were some parishioners deeming politics rather than religion to be of prime importance, was a concern for greater pulpit efforts.

These were natural developments. Blacks had not forgotten healthy "Baptist opposition to social equality"; that "[a]lthough an act of government had given the slaves their freedom, Baptist Churches had not emancipated them." 28 Non-white Baptists looked for "self-determination commensurate with their new-found freedom" and early on, grasped the reality that the "burden of instructing and preaching to the freedmen fell upon individual

---

27 Bell, "Baptists," p. 399. Arthur DeMuro, *We Are Men* - *Black Reconstruction in North Carolina, 1865-1870* (unpublished MA thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1979), strongly emphasizes the importance of black ministers and uses Bishop James Walker Hood as a prime example. Boone is not mentioned although the Roanoke Association - which did not include Hood - is cited by DeMuro as being amenable in 1870 to white membership (p. 41).

28 Bell, "Baptists," p. 399.
churches."

The Sunday School was a school; church, union, Association, and Convention meetings substituted for comparative paucity of political involvement, and carried forward impetus found in North Carolina’s 1865 and 1866 Freedmen’s Conventions.

It was much more than verbal perfumery therefore, when the encomiums flowed in 1879, the year following Boone’s death. The Roanoke Association’s Memorial recorded that "[i]t is safe to say, that from his ordination till his death, no person in Eastern North Carolina exerted a wider and more lasting influence among his people than Elder Boone." But that was a summation for later on; Mr. Boone was still very active in the precincts - as he had been during the 1860s, and just as was his colleague in arms during the 1870s, Thomas Sykes.

The 1860s had been memorable years for Boone and Sykes. They had become a minister/moderator; expanded families and churches; become registered voters, with one of them a Registrar; and in narrower focus, won much visibility in what was quite possibly the first public celebration of July 4th by Pasquotank’s blacks. This visibility, coupled with rather

29 Bell, "Baptists," respectively, pp. 399, 393. Added insights are in Robert Hayne Rivers, The Relationship Between White and Negro Baptists in The Churches of North Carolina From 1830 to 1870 (unpublished MA thesis, Duke University, 1963). Serious concern for education resulted in formation of the Baptist Sunday School Convention of North Carolina - Raleigh, First Baptist Church, May 1873 (Williams and Watkins, Who's Who, p. 23). "Not only [the Negro’s] soul stood in need of freedom but his mind as well. The Sunday School Convention had to teach old men and women how to read as well as children" (loc. cit.). Also valuable for citations on Baptists and education, is Edna Greene Medford, The Transition From Slavery to Freedom in a Diversified Economy; Virginia’s Lower Peninsula, 1860-1900 (PhD dissertation, University of Maryland, 1987; hereinafter referred to as Medford, Transition) - chosen from voluminous literature on the subject because of area proximity, even to a "Virginia Conference" having included A. M. E. Zion Churches in Elizabeth City. Dr. Medford treats the topic, e.g., pp. 103-104, 165-171; notes churches’ influence on community social events and fraternal formation, pp. 171-172.

30 The Association’s Memorial appears in Appendix, p. . It is possible that the "L.A. Boone," who was an officer and co-incorporator of the United Order of Brothers and Sisters of Love and Charity (1877), was Elder Boone (Chapter 28, Private Laws, 1877, p. 650). Representative Hugh Cale introduced the legislation (see p. 104 of present text).

31 Earlier (1865) celebrations occurred in Beaufort County, Kinston, New Bern, and Raleigh (Alexander, Freedmen, pp. 16-17) while Fayetteville blocked having one, ca. 1866 (ibid., p. 52).
widespread high regard for both men, got Sykes into the 1868 North Carolina House of Representatives with return engagements, plus membership on the State Republican Executive Committee; and Boone to become a strong candidate for North Carolina's Senate and one of Shaw University's first Trustees. In supporting these men, Pasquotank's Republicans and other people elsewhere - white and black - chose wisely and well.

Yet another factor underlay Thomas Sykes' political ascendancy: presumably local blacks had elected him a delegate to the October 2-6, 1866 Freedmen's Convention in Raleigh. He succeeded Pasquotank's 1865 delegate, a certain Timothy Bowd, who had been joined by "Roanoke Island" delegates Richard Boyle and Joshua Fleming.

An 1865 background summary is relevant to Sykes' 1866 incumbency. According to Roberta Alexander, Elizabeth City was among places having 1865 mass meetings to elect delegates - the local meeting involving a "'respectable' number of blacks."

The Convention took place in Raleigh, September 29 - October 3, 1865. There, the Reverend Abraham H. Galloway of Craven County, a future State Senator, found it advisable to move "that delegates who were not able to obtain credentials from their constituents, on account of the interference

---


33 Convention of the Freedmen of North Carolina. Official Proceedings (author's photocopy from copy 2 in the North Carolina Collection, Davis Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill - its copy from New York Public Library's Arthur A. Schomburg Negro Collection); hereinafter referred to as Freedmen's Convention Proceedings 1865. Bowd, Boyles, and Fleming are p. 2. Other nearby county delegates (ibid., pp. 2f): Bertie - Joseph B. Hogwood, Thomas "Sprewell" (Spreull); Camden - "Bert Ferlie" (Ferbee?), "Paymer" Jenkins; Chowan - John Roberts, Aaron Johnson; Gates - Willis Haskins, Douglas Eagan, John Crover; Perquimans - Joseph Morris. Boyle's and Fleming's election perhaps had impetus from local church group(s) and/or a 15-person "Council" - the latter designated a failed self-government attempt (Click, Letting in the Light, p. 21).

14 Alexander, Freedmen, p. 17.
of the whites in some counties, be admitted. Prevailed.\textsuperscript{35} Among other actions on October 3, 1865, the Convention resolved itself into a "State Equal Rights League"; adopted a Constitution for it; and named Chowan's John Roberts to its Executive Committee.\textsuperscript{36}

Presumably, the same electoral process undergirded Sykes' gaining a place in the 1866 Convention - now a "League" Convention - but those details are still to be located. Although the group met again in Raleigh's now 142-year-old St. Paul's A M E Church, few of the 1865 delegates were present.\textsuperscript{37} Delegates who did attend included a bumper crop of 19 future state and federal legislators, including Representatives-to-be Sykes and John R. Page of Chowan, and future Congressmen John Adams Hyman and James Edward O'Hara.

Unlike Messrs. Bowd, Boyle, and Fleming in 1865, Delegate Sykes fortunately received specific citations. For example, during the first day's morning session (October 2), Sykes and future Representatives Richard Tucker (Craven county) and John Hendrick Williamson (Franklin County) "were invited [on motion] to address the Convention, which they did, each in his turn, making good and earnest appeals to the people to consider the object for which they were assembled, and further urging the members of the Convention faithfully to discharge their duty towards God, towards their fellow-man, and towards themselves."\textsuperscript{38} That afternoon, Mr. Sykes - but labelled "Jno." (for John) - became a member of the seven-man Business Committee. On


\textsuperscript{36} Ibid., pp. 15, 16-17 (text of Constitution), 22 (Roberts).

\textsuperscript{37} One area difference was Currituck and Hertford counties having representation in 1866 (both unrepresented in 1865), the former county by A. M. Ferebee, the latter by H. J. Brown and future Representative W. D. "Newsum" (Newsome); listed pp. 7, 6, Minutes of the Freedmen's Convention...1866 (Raleigh: Standard Book and Job office, 1866; author's photocopy from North Carolina Collection, Davis Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; hereinafter referred to as Freedmen's Convention Minutes 1866).

\textsuperscript{38} Freedmen's Convention Minutes 1866, p. 4. Williamson appears as "Williams" in the p. 6 delegates' list.
October 3 (morning), delegates received the Constitution of their new Freedmen's Educational Association of North Carolina; adopted it, October 4 (night session); named Sykes to its Board of Managers (October 5). 39 Meanwhile on the morning of October 5, the Business Committee — the Rev. George A. Rue (Craven), Chairman, J. T. Schenck (Mecklenberg), H. Locker (Wake), and "J." A. Sykes — presented an "Address of the Freedmen's Convention to the White and Colored citizens of North Carolina" which was adopted. An amendment by future legislator James H. Harris (Wake) was also adopted ("no taxation without representation"). 40 The day before, various delegates reported on conditions in their counties: "Mr. T. Sykes, of Pasquotank, in his address spoke in the highest terms of the whites in the county wherein he resides, and he firmly believes that it is their intention to assist the colored people in their onward march to education and intelligence." 41

39 Ibid., pp. 8, (Business Committee), 12 (Constitution and text), 29 (Managers). The Association was incorporated by the 1866-1867 Legislature (Alexander, "Black Education," p. 122).

40 Ibid., pp. 26-27. See Appendix — for text of the Address. Sykes correctly appears as "T." A. rather than "J." A., in the delegates' list (p. 6). Rue became Chairman in place of Dr. H. J. Brown (Hertford County), who was "called away [October 5], on account of his family being sick" (p. 23).

41 Ibid., pp. 21f. An "A" grade in race relations was also awarded Anson, Camden, Gates, and Guilford counties. An approximate "C" was given to Alamance, Bertie, Montgomery, Sampson, and Wilson counties. "F" grades went to the counties of Burke, Forsyth, Lenoir, and Richmond (ibid., pp. 16-18, 20-22). (Alexander, Freedmen, p. 90, references the positive reports.)

Alexander, Freedmen, has rather extended summaries of delegate composition and their collective decisions; vignettes of pre-convention meetings (pp. 17-21); the 1865 Convention itself (pp 21-31); and the 1866 Convention, with sketches of its predecessor activities (pp 81-92). Primary focus is the usual Raleigh-New Bern-Wilmington axis. Some statements/conclusions in these and other contexts - seemingly based upon statistical aggregations and views of modern "authorities" - appear to be less than tenable. In addition, the 1865 Convention was the "largest and most formal assemblage that blacks organized during this period" (ibid., p. 17), while the 1866 Convention was the "largest political gathering held by North Carolina blacks during Presidential Reconstruction" (ibid., p. 81). As a matter of fact the 1865 Official Proceedings named 106 Delegates from 28 counties ("at least thirty-four counties" Alexander, Freedmen, p. 17) plus "Edgecombe and Wilson," "James City," and "Roanoke Island." The 1866 Minutes named 115 delegates from 60 counties (p. 7) and but credited itself with 111 delegates from 82 counties (p. 31). Obviously delegate strength was very close both years (106 in 1865, versus 111 or 115 in 1866) while the scope of representation was immensely wider in 1866 (60 or 82 counties plus a Sub-League), contrasted with 1865 (28 counties plus 3 localities). These historic assemblages merit greater care in literature citing them and also some highlighting of the fact that their printed records have the same superior calibre in format and content, as the State's House and Senate Journals. Just think: there were highly literate blacks in those days!
Delegate Sykes doubtless meant no disparagement to Blacks in referencing their "march to ... intelligence." His race relations portrayal is a mite curious, however, if a different September 1865 summary thereof was correct. Bogue reported Elizabeth City conditions included whites telling Negroes they were not free and/or cheating them of their wages, not to mention forbidding "[r]eligious meetings ... unless under the direction of local preachers" countenanced by the "secessionist element." Since Delegate Sykes and conferees were closer to the situation than we are, perhaps the actual state of affairs was (a) in the eye of the beholder, and/or (b) at some point between Sykes' praise and reported events a year earlier.

Having returned to Pasquotank, Thomas Sykes continued his civic pursuits. As already mentioned, these included his registering to vote, being named a Registrar, and speaking on The Fourth. It is safe to assume that Sykes also paid close attention to any talks about his running for the Legislature.

Although details are missing for choosing Sykes for the State House and his winning election in April 1868, he did become Pasquotank's first member of the House of Representatives under the new 1868 Constitution in time to be sworn and seated at Noon, July

---

42 Bogue, *Violence*, p. 57. Still earlier, "rebel soldiers evacuating Elizabeth City [during the Civil War] set fire to the home of William Lister, a small local manufacturer, and shot him to death when he came to the window for air." Lister's offenses: being a Unionist; his "stubborn outspokenness against the Confederacy and naming his son after Abraham Lincoln" (Michael K. Honey, "The War Within the Confederacy [-] White Unionists of North Carolina," *Prologue*, 25th Anniversary Issue [1994], p. 63). Nancy Lister sought reparations in 1872 (ibid., p. 70 n 36).

43 Austin Marcus Drumm, *The Union League in the Carolinas* (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1955; hereinafter referred to as Drumm, *Union League*) cites Constitutional Convention elections for November 19 and 20, 1867 (p. 201); states the League "must be given considerable credit for aligning the Negro voters and thus making possible both the [Constitutional] convention and its work" (*loc. cit.*) and asserts further, "[d]ue again to the decisive influence of the Union League the Negro race was represented in the legislature of 1868" (p. 205). The September 4, 1867, Elizabeth City Weekly Transcript reported "about 1500 who have registered..." and that the "majority for the blacks is estimated at from 100 to 150." 

44 The mechanics of re-establishing a General Assembly had historic drama. Even the name of one chamber was new, although some members of the Constitutional Convention wanted to keep the old name, "House of Commons." A brief summary of some relevant provisions follows, abstracted from events of March 14 and 16, 1868, in Raleigh: a Representative had to be in the county one year before his election and be a qualified elector;
1, 1868 - an Extra Session. He was in the right place at the right time to participate - even if in a small way - in one of the Nation's more significant moments. During House proceedings beginning Twelve Noon, July 2, 1868, North Carolina's lower chamber as one of its earliest actions approved the 14th Amendment to the United States Constitution - as the House Journal put it, "the article known as the Howard Amendment." The vote was 82-19, Sykes in the affirmative. The Senate, during its session beginning 4 p.m. the same day, also approved that Amendment with a vote of 34-2 (changed to 35-2, July 3). North Carolina's legislative approval of the Amendment was directed to be "enrolled on parchment" then "forwarded by the Governor [William Woods Holden], to the President of the United States, to the President of the United States Senate, and the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives."45 One can imagine considerable pride in the heart of an exslave who recited the Declaration of Independence and registered voters just a year earlier.

Pasquotank's Representative received his first Committee appointment from Speaker Joseph W. Holden five days later. On July 7, Sykes became one of four House members of the seven-man Joint Committee on "removal of disabilities from citizens of North Carolina" - a significant legislative group, since the "disabilities" were political and directly affected former

the signed Constitution (signators including Charles C. Pool of Pasquotank) had to be approved by Congress and ratified by the voters; April 21, 22, 23, 1868, were the dates for ratification, which action was to be in accordance with Congressional legislation "known as the Reconstruction Laws," and 120 representatives plus seven members of Congress were to be elected; and finally, Raleigh's Capitol bell was to be rung while the Constitution was signed. On motion, these provisos were carried by the Convention, which included prominence of presence by President Calvin J. Cowles; Secretary T. A. Byrnes; at opposite philosophic poles, the Delegates Plato Durham and James W. Hood; and a statement on white and colored office-holding. (Abstracted from the one-volume Constitution of the State of North Carolina, Together with the Ordinances and Resolutions of the Constitutional Convention,... Jan. 14th, 1868, p. 11 [residence] and Convention Journal, pp. 474-475, 480, 484-485 [office-holding].)

45 Senate Journal (July, 1868), pp. 13-15 (text and deliberation). 16 (a certain Senator Wynne added his "aye" on July 3); House Journal (July, 1868), pp. 11-16 (Sykes' vote is p. 16), 18 (parchment direction). Cheyney, Government, lists Senator "Richard I. Wynne" of Wake County (p. 447); refers to note 10 (p. 553) which says "Wayne" died "in April, 1868." No person summoned "Wayne" is indexed (p. 1,550).
Confederates' office-holding. Sykes was next appointed to the eleven-man Committee on Privileges and Elections (July 9) and won a third appointment (July 15) as one of five House members of the Joint Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Representative Sykes' first bill (July 18) would provide for elections to the Forty-first Congress. It was "laid over," then sent to Privileges and Elections (July 21). Next was Sykes' resolution to pay a certain J. J. Sawyer, "who served as Engrossing Clerk before that officer had been elected." This, too, was "laid over."

Tuesday, July 21, Sykes introduced a resolution "instructing the Committee on Propositions and Grievances to enquire into and report upon the expediency of doing away with the present system of working on public bridges and highways. Adopted." This Committee later suggested postponing the matter until the Regular Session, to begin in November 1868.

On Saturday, August 15, Mr. Sykes introduced a bill to incorporate the Dismal Swamp Steam Transportation Company. The Bill went to the Committee on Internal Improvements and seems to have died there. Next, on Friday, August 21, Sykes introduced a bill favoring a certain Mrs. Sarah Mann of Pasquotank County. This legislation had better luck. It passed second and third House readings under suspension of rules; subsequently passed the Senate (a 25-2 vote on the third reading there); and was ratified.

Almost certainly having much interest for Privileges and Elections Committee member Sykes, was its investigation of a contested House seat for Wilson Carey, a Negro from Caswell County. Mr. Carey won. He had the privilege of serving in the Chamber, 1868-1870, 1874-1880, and 1889.47

46 Balanoff, "Negro Legislators," p. 32, discusses attitudes of the black solons (18 Representatives, three Senators) concerning the "disabilities."

47 Carey was also a member of the 1868 and 1875 Constitutional Conventions. He was elected to the State Senate for the 1870-1872 Session, but not seated.
Among many other legislative matters Sykes obviously viewed, considered, voted upon or heard about as a House member - such as legislators wearing arm bands for thirty days, memorializing the July 22 death of 16th District Senator Lorenzo D. Hall of Cumberland County; or adjourning on August 13, upon the death of Thaddeus Stevens48 - four others may be selected to round out his first term. In one instance, the North Carolina Senate pondered gallery divisions for accommodating white and Negro spectators. The decision was that white "ladies and gentlemen" would fill in on the President’s right; "col[.] ladies and gentlemen" on his left; and the "middle to any that choose to occupy it."49 Representative Sykes probably felt the Senate - including its three black members50 - did the best it could, given the times.

In another discussion area, Sykes as a legislator had a vote for United States Senator. The only known instance when such a luminary came from Pasquotank County, also provided an opportunity for Mr. Sykes to aid that candidate. The House vote for Senator John Pool (who served, 1869-1873) was 78-25, Mr. Sykes with the majority.51 The citizens back home doubtless were proud; but could Representative Sykes not have aided and kept his political health?

Campaign oratory was also deemed integral to political health. Sometimes, however, these and other discourses might not be salutary; the House therefore considered a Bill to "make

48 Cheyney, Government, pp. 447, 553 n 7 (Hall); House Journal (July, 1968), p. 90ff (Hall), 181 (Stevens).

49 Senate Journal (July, 1868), pp. 41f.

50 Senators Henry Eppes of Halifax County, a minister and brickmason, in office 1868-1874, 1879-1880, 1887; Abraham H. Galloway of New Hanover County, a Union soldier, minister, very influential, with but two years to live; John Hyman of Warren County, future Congressman.

51 House Journal (July, 1868), p. 52. Pasquotank people elected to either chamber of Congress are comparatively rare. Cheyney, Government, lists only six, including Pool: Delegates William Cumming (1785) and John Swann (1788) in the Continental Congress (pp. 659, 740 notes 28 and 43); U.S. Representatives William B. Shepard (1831-1837), Clinton L. Cobb (1869-1875), and Walter F. Pool - who died before he was seated for the 1883-1885 session (respectively, pp. 678, 679, 680, 693, 695, 697, 699, 744 n 106). (Senator Pool is ibid., pp. 691, 693, 695, 744 n 88.)
indictable language calculated to lead to a breach of the peace." The House tabled this idea on August 15 - the vote, 44-33, Sykes with the majority.52

The fourth example is when the 1867 Pasquotank/Perquimans Voting Registrar, now Representative Sykes, favored legislation to provide for registration of the electorate. This occurred on the last day, August 24, 1868.53

Much had been accomplished during the Session. On Monday, August 24, the 47th legislative day, the General Assembly adjourned to reconvene on the third Monday of November, 1868.54 Representative Sykes of Pasquotank would be present. More than that, he maintained confidence among the electorate sufficiently for Pasquotank’s voters to return him to office for the Sessions of 1869-1870 and 1870-1872 (the latter including impeachment of Governor Holden).

Mr. Sykes, at home, appears to have divided his time between domestic pursuits, Republican politics, and probably being an artisan. The latter supposition comes from an item in the Pasquotank Commissioner’s unpaged Minute Book I, which noted the Board’s accepting the October 22, 1868 resignation of a certain Alfred Lane as "Overseer of Road from T. Sykes’ Work-shop to Mrs. Cloak Miller[’s] old residence." The "Work-shop" could be construed as a place needed for the legislator’s livelihood. Four years later, other land-holding also interested

52 House Journal (July, 1868), pp. 184, 187, 188. The 1879 House, Representative Cale present, considered banning "spirits liquor at political speakings" (see present text, p. 112).

53 Ratification is at p. 262, Senate Journal portion and p. 218, House Journal portion of the one-volume record of the Legislature. After considerable amending, the Bill passed its second House reading, 79-2, August 7, Sykes in the affirmative. Third reading was passed August 10, no names listed. An Act to amend this legislation won House approval August 20, no names listed. (See House Journal, 1868, pp. 159, 160, 161, 165, 209.)

54 Overall source (not otherwise indicated) for Sykes’ July 1868 House activities is Ballou, New Man, pp. 2-8.
Sykes: he bought a quarter- to half-acre parcel of Elizabeth City land at a public auction held on February 9, 1872. For $200 and bonds covering the remainder of the $1,050 price, he acquired a lot at what is now the corner of South Road and Shepheard Streets, but he lost it at another auction held on December 2, 1878.55

By then, however, importance of the Elizabeth City lot may have diminished for Sykes. He had arrived in Nashville, Davidson County, Tennessee (thought to be by 1877, but not earlier than May 1874). There, he was involved in business; received political appointments; was a justice of the peace; was knee-deep in Davidson County’s 1880 political campaigns; and emerged in 1881 as a member of Tennessee’s House of Representatives.56

Thomas Sykes had courted the rather mesmerizing and elusive siren called Politics during the late 1860s, as did Elder Boone to some extent, and to an extensive extent, the increasingly better-known grocer and property-owner, Hugh Cale. Republicans made good choices in highlighting these men and would make other good selections. But, as sometimes happens, there would be occasions when second thoughts surfaced - when a man whose good works and fine sentiments would be victimized by his double standards regarding his operations. This was Thomas Whitmarsh Cardozo: teacher; writer of letters to editors - notably, the New National Era

55 Pasquotank Deed Book RR, pp. 115-116 (Sykes’ 1872 purchase); Book 7, pp. 65-65 (1878) purchase by John L. Hinton - also grantee on various other records covering impressive acreage. The surname “Tubbs” appeared in describing property boundaries. The “Hinton-Walson” House now at the site - possibly built by Hinton, ca. 1881, is included in a December 1992 nomination of the Shepard Street-South Road Street Historic District (Section 7, p. 24) to the National Register of Historic Places (copy of Registration Form - written and researched by Thomas Russell Butchko - in the ECSU Archives). The “Walson” of Hinton-Walson is sketched at p. 228 n.10 of the present text. The historic site appears to be auction-phone; notice appeared for a 1994 sale (Daily Advance, February 10, 1994).

56 Ballou, New Man, pp. 10, 11. Other than Mrs. Sykes, no further family information was located. A certain “Square Sikes” (Square?) appeared as a Licentiate in the Roanoke Association’s 1884 Minutes (p. 14). Sykes’ colleagues in Tennessee’s 1881 House included Mrs. Mollie Grizzard of Carroll County (non-black). Was she the Nation’s first female legislator?
(DC) and *North Carolinian* (Elizabeth City); politician. Teacher Cardozo did not aspire for the Legislature; he preferred becoming Pasquotank's sheriff - non-achievement of which more or less generated his moving to Mississippi.

Cardozo - Messrs. Boone, Sykes, and Cale's political acquaintance - was born in Charleston, South Carolina (December 19, 1838) to "Lydia Williams, a free woman of mixed ancestry, and Isaac Nunez Cardozo, member of a well-known Jewish family...."57 He had two brothers: Henry W. Cardozo, a minister and state senator, and Francis Lewis Cardozo58 - once South Carolina's Secretary of State among other achievements, and much extolled in the histories in contrast to Thomas' scant, negative historical attention when he is mentioned at all.

At about 1862, Thomas married teacher-musician Laura J. Williams of Brooklyn (1839-1923). To them were born Alvin (1863) and Francis J. (1865).59 They arrived in Elizabeth City during "early [S]pring" of 1869, after sojourns in Baltimore and Syracuse - Thomas bringing with him a locally unnoticed cloud, namely, an 1867 Brooklyn indictment alleging mail fraud.60 The cloud would rain on him in Mississippi but in Elizabeth City - for the time being - he enjoyed a fair amount of sunshine.

Thus far, no Elizabeth City dwelling place has turned up for the Cardozos; they may have rented their living quarters. But Mr. Cardozo was not home that much, anyhow. He could be


58 *The Papers of [the] Francis Lewis Cardozo Family* (8 folders, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; hereinafter referred to as *Cardozo Papers*) show that "Newton" was preferred to "Nunez"; that Isaac Cardozo's dates are 1792-1855; and that Lydia Williams died in Charleston, June 10, 1864. Henry's dates are 1831-1886; Francis, 1837-1903.

59 *Cardozo Papers*.

60 Brock, "Cardozo," pp. 189, 190 (sojourns, Elizabeth City arrival); p. 198 (indictment). In 1865, Thomas, in Charleston, had been haunted by his extra-marital affair in New York City (*ibid.*, p. 189).
found in various places promoting civic causes - especially the cause called Education. Except for his political defeat, Cardozo’s Pasquotank sojourn may have been among the most satisfying segments of his adult years - almost certainly one of the least troubling.61

Mr. Cardozo’s concerns had wider compass than intercepted mail, ladies, and letter-writing. In addition to his obvious love for instructing young people, he was among the thousands who railed against racial discrimination and spent much time dealing with matters of ‘racial uplift’. He could realize without saying so that a checkered ancestry like his and others similarly situated - Boone, Cale, Sykes, and Whitmel Lane, as examples - was no shield from racism. He sought to make his views clear: "We do not wish to force ourselves upon any one[,]" he wrote to the North Carolinian in September 1869. "All we ask is fair play in all public places and conveyances. And may God speed the day when we shall have it" (italics in original).

Cardozo appears to have had the not unreasonable opinion that a combination of education, civic-mindedness, business enterprise, and of course, success in political processes could result in improved circumstances for persons of color; that such combination might help reduce racial friction. Such concepts, however, could also lead to a ‘chosen few’ attitude - a not uncommon circumstance among blacks of varying conditions.

All the way from the antebellum (and earlier) "house nigger" versus "field nigger" syndrome, through many decades post-Emancipation, the phenomenon of "colored aristocracy" complicated - irritated - the sepia citizen’s lifestyle. An example was in Richmond, Virginia (ca.

61 Both Brock, "Cardozo," and the present author (Leonard R. Ballou, The "Other" Cardozo - A Second Look [unpublished typescript, 1987] - when he “discovered” Dr. Brock’s superb article, to his acute and richly deserved embarrassment; hereinafter referred to as Ballou, Cardozo) explore Cardozo’s widespread difficulties in Mississippi. Ballou, Cardozo, gives especial attention to education; viz.: Cardozo did creditable things as a state superintendent seeking educational advancement, given (a) prominence of antagonism to education - in part, reaction to a pitiable post-war economy; (b) Democrats’ truly mean pugilistics to get "their" government back; and (c) a still-evolving state system of public schools in the first place.
1800-1820) where an elderly and free member of its "aristocracy" was unsure if his church pew-mates would be proper social associates; so he "thought he was better off at home."62 Cardozo's June 23, 1865 letter to an American Missionary Association official in New York shows the same class-consciousness, but is mixed with indignation over discrimination from non-blacks. The-then Charleston schoolmaster wanted a church "for himself and his staff" since he refused to attend services in a local church whose "congregation was segregated into special pews"; nor would he worship with local black Episcopalians whose current priest-in-charge was a "known rebel." In Thomas Holt's opinion, Cardozo would not worship "with the lower classes of the Negro churches."63 Baptists Lemuel Boone, Joshua Fleming, Bryant Lee, A. M. E. Zionist Cale, and dozens of conferes of whatever denomination, would applaud the stance against segregation; but one can imagine their reaction to black-versus-black segregation/discrimination.

Such is a sketch of the Thomas Cardozo whose 124-pupil Elizabeth City school, conducted under auspices of the New York Freedmen's Union Commission, received such notice and provenance in the town's North Carolinian for July 8, 1869. The newspaper was brand new - its first issue, July 1. Schooling was a bit older; Elizabeth City was among northeastern North Carolina locales with "reportedly thriving" schools for blacks during 1865-1866, the


"New York branch" of the Union being the supporting agency "since 1865." But there were those who feared Elizabeth City's "flourishing school ... might close because of 'the bitter feeling against it'." 

This shows, in addition to race prejudice, that Thomas and Laura Cardozo were not the town's first teachers for its black population. They - Thomas, especially - have just become the more clearly seen among a small group almost totally in history's shadows.

The site for Cardozo's initial school operations is also in history's shadows. However, it is not unreasonable to speculate that the Pasquotank Commissioners' directive of March 3, 1869 (in their Minute Book 1), also might indicate where Mr. and Mrs. Cardozo began their Elizabeth City efforts: "Ordered that the 'red School House' near the Corporate limits of Elizabeth City also near the residence of Mr. A. B. Perse [sic; Persse], which is a public School House be loaned to the Colored people for School purposes until further ordered and they be allowed to take possession immediately."

---

64 Alexander, Freedmen, p. 165 ("thriving"); Brock, "Cardozo," p. 190 ("New York branch" supporting "since 1865").

65 Alexander, Freedmen, pp. 153f. In the opinion of 30-year-old PhD, Paul Skeels Peirce, "[t]he attitude of southerners toward negro [sic] education varied with the individual, the locality, and the circumstances. It found expression sometimes in violence and insult, sometimes in ridicule and disdain, sometimes in warm support ..., [and it] excited especial aversion to schools under federal control...." However, Peirce felt that "[a]long the coast [opposition] was usually tacit and suppressed. There teachers and schools for negroes [sic] were ignored" (The Freedmen's Bureau - A Chapter in The History of Reconstruction [State University of Iowa, 1904], p. 80). However, the Raleigh Sentinel (January 12, 1866) printed clear antipathy from "Caution" of Elizabeth City and, where Roanoke Island was concerned, Click doubted the efficacy of the curriculum there and cited teachers' paternalism as well as their and their students' enthusiasm (Click, Letting in the Light, respectively, pp. 20, 38 n 91; 21, 27).

66 Johnson, History, p. 2, cites a certain "Miss Lydia Warrick" who, during this period, "had commencement at Lincoln Institute for 'colored youth'." The late Rufus Early Clement, a former president of Atlanta University (now Clark Atlanta University) has another of the few references to Mr. and Mrs. Cardozo. He cites them in his dissertation as maintaining a school in Elizabeth City, "1868-1869," and gives his source as American Freedman III-6 (April 1869), p. 11 (A History of Negro Education in North Carolina 1865-1928 [PhD dissertation, Northeastern University, 1930], p. 61).
Cardozo's educational operations in Elizabeth City, from Spring 1869, halted at about midsummer of that year, because appropriate Freedmen's Union support ceased. The remedy was a fundraising trip. This was successful - the "North Shore branch" of the New York Union agreeing to keep Elizabeth City education afloat (for blacks, that is). An elated Cardozo dispatched a lengthy and informative letter to the North Carolinian's editor, Dr. Palemon John. It duly appeared in the August 12, 1869 edition (italics as in source).

Brooklyn, N.Y. Aug. 2, 1869

To the Editor of the North Carolinian:

It is quite a treat to receive the North Carolinian every week. I appreciate it as much as I do my Anti-Slavery Standard, Independent, Tribune, Harper's &c. I see that a "progressive teacher" in Pennsylvania wants to know if there is a good opening for him in Elizabeth City. I am sorry that you were not prepared to give him more encouragement. If there is no opening for the white children, there is a vast opening among the colored. The nearest colored school to Elizabeth City is in Hertford [Perquimans County, North Carolina], eighteen miles distant [to the southwest]. The next nearest is at Edenton thirty miles, and I believe that latter has been discontinued. Edenton [further southwest than Hertford], I understand, is a growing little village, pleasantly situated, and has a greater number of colored persons than we have in Elizabeth City.

He cannot find a better class of children to labor among than the colored children of the South. They are, as a general thing, apt, willing, industrious and obedient. The only fault I have found among my pupils is, that they were a little noisy; this is accounted for by their being deprived of school privileges regularly.

Now if he wish to engage in teaching colored children, I think he can succeed by applying to the Pennsylvania Branch of the Freedman's [sic] Union Commission 711 Sansom Street Philadelphia. Or if they are cramped for means - as most of the Freedman's [sic] societies are - he might get a few prominent individuals in his neighborhood to call a meeting, some one make a strong appeal in behalf of

67 Brock, "Cardozo," p. 190, who, without labelling Cardozo 'resourceful', nonetheless indicates it since he "took with him a letter of commendation" from no lesser light than U.S. Senator John Pool, "endorsed" by Governor Holden "and other state officials" (loc. cit.).

68 Brock, "Cardozo," p. 190.

69 Unless otherwise indicated, the remainder of the present narrative is derived from Ballou, Cardozo, pp. 2-14.
Freedman's [sic] schools, and some one to canvass one or two counties, and he must be a poor collector if he cannot get a thousand dollars paid in or subscribed in eight or ten months.

The society which I was under has discontinued its work directly, but, another branch has agreed to take our school; and if the citizens of Elizabeth City will furnish a suitable lot for a good building, I can have a Normal School established in our village, and a substantial building erected without any cost to our citizens. I have managed this by creating a local interest in central New York, in our work in the south. The citizens of any good Republican county in the North will gladly contribute towards sustaining three or four persons of their district who are qualified and willing to labor as teachers in the South. And I trust that all the teachers who came down will be as well pleased as we were and make up their minds to settle.

T. W. Cardozo[.]

The same August 12 North Carolinian gave emphasis to the "important proposition made in the communication of Prof. Cardozo.... By all means let a lot be selected and offered. Everything of this kind is of importance to our place." According to figures in its September 2, 1869 edition, Elizabeth City's school population totalled 297 whites (159 males, 138 females) and 261 blacks (123 males, 138 females) - the latter contingent purportedly served by "one colored school operating in Elizabeth City" in 1869.70

Significant progress could be reported via the October 14, 1869 North Carolinian (page three): "We have learned that the Trustees of the Colored Normal School have purchased a lot from Judge Brooks adjoining the lot of M. B. Culpepper, Esq.,71 on Hines street, 160 x 92 feet, for one hundred and twenty-five dollars, and a suitable building will be erected so soon as the

70 Year Book II, Pasquotank Historical Society, p. 78. The total school population is given as 2,710 (loc. cit.). The single school cited was quite probably Cardozo's.

plan and specifications are drawn." It would seem that Cardozo's efforts for Blacks having their
own school building were reaching success - with vital assistance from an education-conscious Pasquotank citizenry. The same edition of the North Carolinian (page two) reported on the trustees:

Public Meeting in Elizabeth City.

To the Editor of the North Carolinian

At a public meeting of the colored citizens of this place held in the colored church [i.e., Mt. Lebanon A. M. E. Zion] on Friday afternoon, 8th inst. [1869], to select a suitable place of the Normal school building which is to be erected through the efforts of T. W. Cardozo, and to appoint five persons as trustees to hold the property, the following persons were appointed as said body: Messrs. Whitman [sic; Whitem] Lane, T. W. Cardozo, Jesse R. Brown, Selim Sutton and Jacob Spellman.

The following resolution was introduced and unanimously adopted. Resolved, that the thanks of the colored people of this town be tendered to Mr. Underwood for his kind proffer of a lot near the town for the Normal school building, and our only reason for not accepting is on account of its distance from the residences of the majority of our colored citizens.

T. W. CARDOZO, chairman

Selim Sutton, Secretary.

Next was a deed executed January 11, 1870, which was at variance with the October 14 announcement of a $125 purchase from Judge Brooks. This 1870 deed indicated that $100.00 was paid George D. Pool, trustee for Thomas Gaskins (and also Pasquotank Commission Chairman), by Thomas W. "Cardoza," Jesse R. Brown, Selim Sutton, and Jacob "Spelman," collectively trustees of the colored normal school. (Curiously, Mr. Lane was not mentioned.) These men purchased land with broad liberal intent: "for permanent school purposes for Freedmen and children irrespective of color" (italics added). The site was a vacant lot in Elizabeth City's "Race Track." The boundary line began at the street running nearly at a right

---

72 Charles Griffin conducted North Carolina's first school - Pasquotank County, 1705-1708. It took another 157 years for Pasquotank's Blacks to have such opportunity - non-covertly.

73 See Appendix 1, "Connections..." pp. _____.
angle with Shepard Street in front of Palemon John, then thirty feet north from the northward course of Peter Pugh’s lot, 208 feet; next, parallel with the street running southward from John’s house, 208 feet; finally, 208 feet to the point of beginning. These prosaic descriptors were registered July 14, 1870 in Deed Record PP (pp. 217f), Office of Pasquotank’s Register of Deeds. The ground would gain a building; the building would gain both problems and historicity.

During construction and preceding the historicity, educational developments continued, and obviously were not confined to Elizabeth City precincts. On November 4, 1869, for example, the North Carolinian reported a convention of colored Methodists held in Edenton on October 23. The report indicated Cardozo’s speaking there, telling of "his mission, and of the progress of the school in Elizabeth City." More activity for Mr. Cardozo was reported in the same journal on December 2; he was on a committee to draft a constitution for a proposed local building and loan association. The same edition of the North Carolinian had news that Cardozo gained authority from General Oliver Otis Howard (1830-1909), first Commissioner of the Freedmen’s Bureau (May 1865), to let a contract for the proposed colored normal building. This advice was channeled through North Carolina’s State Superintendent of Public Instruction during 1868-1871, Samuel E. Ashley. The building was to be constructed at a cost not exceeding $800.00.

One might pause to highlight the obvious fact that Pasquotank’s educational momentum was not restricted to efforts by private citizens, their churches, and the Freedmen’s Bureau.74 Local officialdom added immensely, with the excellent sentiments of the county’s Board of Commissioners as an example (printed in the October 14 Carolinian, italics as in source):

74 The Bureau allegedly "served as the primary vehicle for the development of segregated social relations" and, intentionally or not, its operations contributed to "formalizing segregation in the South," according to Ira C. Colby, "the Freedmen’s Bureau: From Social Welfare to Segregation," Phylon, 46 (1985), pp. 220, 230. He shows North Carolina ranking 11th of eleven states for the Bureau’s 1860 per capita expenditures (ibid., p. 226).
Meeting of County Commissioners.

Elizabeth City, N.C., Oct., 9, 1869.

To the Editor of the North Carolinian:

The undersigned, Commissioners of Pasquotank County, feeling a deep interest in the proper education of the rising generation, and believing that the common school system now devised by law is cheaper, and is better calculated to effect so desirable a result than any heretofore adopted in our State:

*It is resolved*, that we will give our hearty support, and full influence, to all proper and honorable efforts which may be made by the authorities, both State and County, for the dissemination of education and knowledge among the masses of people, both white and colored. And we pledge ourselves to assist in every way in our power to secure for the youths of our County and State, such a good practical education, as will enable them to become useful citizens, and exemplary members of society.

*Resolved* further, that in our opinion the thanks of the community are due and by us are hereby tendered, to Frank Vaughan, Esq., County Examiner, for the able, faithful, and efficient means with which he has discharged the duties of his office.

Geo. D. Pool, Chairman,
C. W. Hollowell,
Wm. F. Sanders,
W. A. Price,
G. W. Bell.

Part of the impetus for this fine decision on instruction could have been the earlier *(i.e., 1868-1869)* efforts by the North Carolina General Assembly, on behalf of public school education. That possibility notwithstanding, the Commissioners had exercised statesmanship.

Schoolmaster Cardozo surfaced in local politics during December 1869, in addition to his splendid educational efforts thus far. The *North Carolinian* (December 16) reported that it was Mr. Cardozo who moved on Monday, the 13th, for re-nomination of incumbent Elizabeth City Mayor George W. Cobb. This action occurred during a Republican nominating convention. Editor Palemon John (same edition, page three) also encouraged Cardozo’s educational activities and applauded Black’s capacity to be educated. John wrote: “We are frequently asked the
question - will the negro [sic] learn? Can he avail himself to any advantage of the facilities for education if given the opportunity? If those who thus inquire could visit the colored school here under the charge of Prof. T. W. Cardozo, we think their skepticism on this subject would be removed. His school is full and his classes range from the spelling book on up to the classics. Think of that, oh copperheads of the North, negro [sic] boys and girls making rapid progress in Latin! It is astonishing to see the advance the pupils of this school are making."

Dr. John could be pardoned for some gaps, given his enthusiasm for the cause and the desired effect upon his readership. "Copperheads of the North" and others would not be generally aware, but perhaps John could have heard of his fellow Pennsylvanian, free black antebellum bandmaster/composer, Francis Johnson? Of course, such items as these were sparkling examples of the educational harvest; Pasquotank's school crop in 1869 merely had not yet become as greatly endowed, although two of Mr. Cardozo's known pupils, Wiley Lane\(^7\) and Rooks Turner, were well on the road to a degree of academic eminence.

A brighter sun continued beaming on educational efforts. Professor Cardozo and his wife won more praise in the *North Carolinian*, this time for examinations held at their school, May 13, 1870 - a Friday, incidentally. Attorney Cyrus Grandy, prominent local politico (and not Black), was the speaker. It must have been a proud occasion for everyone, including a certain "Miss Williams," assistant teacher to the Cardozos. The event received good coverage in the May 19, 1870 *North Carolinian*. The same issue advised that Cardozo was among speakers at a Republican meeting held in South Mills (Camden County) on Saturday, May 14. Cardozo next turned up in politics, aside from instances already cited, as a name on the regular Republican ticket: he was candidate for sheriff of Pasquotank. This proved to be his local undoing.

\(^7\) Lane and some of his family are sketched in Appendix 1, "Connections...," pp. ____
On August 4, 1870, voters awarded Aspirant-Sheriff Cardozo, Republican, the respectable total of 830 votes. Others of the electorate, however, gave John L. Wood, "Independent Republican," 930 votes. Would-be-Sheriff Cardozo lost his bid. Emphatic Republican, Editor John, issued an outraged blast. John’s topic was Cardozo’s supposed splintering of Republican vote-gathering - though one ponders how the text would have read if he had been victorious. Dr. John said he had no quarrel with those refusing to support the "Cardozo ticket," but he observed about 180 degrees otherwise in an August 11 North Carolinian editorial entitled "A LITTLE PLAIN TALK," which lambasted "Cardoza’s" stubbornness in running against ‘advice’ and allegedly costing votes for Republicans. It concluded (italics as in source):76

The true policy henceforth of the colored man is to shun the counsel of demagogues, white or black. Let him treat as an enemy every man who would engender a feeling tending to array race against race. Instead of talking or thinking about office he should study how best to ... sustain and strengthen and build up the party that conferred upon his race the boon of freedom and all its blessings. Mark! we do not say that the colored man has no right to share in the offices, but what will it avail him if by insisting on the right he gives both the offices and the Government over into the hands of his enemies? We make this "plain talk" for the benefit of the colored people of this county and District. May they ponder it well.

While the appropriate electorate pondered, the Republican journal provided a few aids to cogitation. The August 25, 1870 edition had a page-two editorial on "The Teacher." The September 1 edition featured a page-one item on earmarks of "Teachers who Err." Was the newspaper making a not-too-subtle point?

Gentler phrases started in the October 27, North Carolinian’s page-three announcement that the "Colored Normal School" re-opened - classes now held in "their new building" with the well-publicized Schoolmaster still in the chief tutor’s chair. Next, John reported on December 22, 1870 that, in company with County Examiner Frank Vaughan, the

76 Full text in Appendix 2, pp. 450-451.
editor visitd the local educational institutions-in-embryo, Cardozo’s included. In the latter, "Miss Lizzie Thompson (colored)" had the "Primary Colored School" with 29 pupils on the register; the "little folks are getting a good start." The "Higher Departments of the Colored School" had three grades, each in a separate part of the "new" school building. Cardozo had the highest grade (25 pupils); Miss S. L. Williams had one of the higher departments with 38 "well disciplined" students; and Mrs. Cardozo conducted the third "Department’s" 65 pupils, who maintained "quiet deportment and good order." The Carolinian said the school was "in the very best condition - the pupils are making good progress. There are five in the classics."

These were encouraging reports, but by then Cardozo seems to have had enough of Elizabeth City (and perhaps vice versa?). The Carolinian’s January 12, 1871 slightly less-than-graceful news item announced that "[o]n Thursday last [i.e., January 5] Mr. T. W. Cardozo, Teacher and Politician, left this place for Vicksburg, Miss., to take charge of a school in that city. As a teacher he was well qualified and was doing a good work, but as a politician he most effectually ‘played out’."77

Once again, there were sad times for Thomas Cardozo. He left New York in the wake of problems with ladies and the mail. He returned to his native Charleston in time to become the first Superintendent of Avery Normal Institute (April - August 1865) then under auspices of the American Missionary Association. The New York indiscretion, however, forced him from his post; the AMA learned about the dalliance and, viewing Thomas with disdain, installed his brother, Francis, as Superintendent.78 More bad news followed: Thomas "remained in the city

77 Foner, Freedom's Lawmakers, p. 40, has the interesting but somewhat untenable observation that Cardozo went to Mississippi since his "political ambitions" were "blocked by white Republicans in North Carolina" (italics added).

and opened a grocery business, but a fire destroyed it." Now, in January 1871, politics was added to the catalogue of indiscretion, alleged theft, dismissal in disgrace and fire which seemingly was propelling him from one green pasture to another.

Nonetheless, the Elizabeth City North Carolinian's conclusion that Schoolmaster/would-be-Sheriff Cardozo had "'played out'" was premature. In Mississippi, he continued teaching - as did Mrs. Cardozo, joined officialdom via Warren County's really rough-and-tumble politics; and was a newspaper editor and property-holder. He also became the second Superintendent of Public Education in the State's history (1873-1876). Ironically, that signal achievement came to be the final factor which propelled Thomas Cardozo into historical obscurity - possibly by humanitarian design of the history-writers. But such obscurity also hides his many good works as an educator plowing often bumpy academic fields - and Laura Cardozo's faithfulness.

And thus, some vignettes of preachers, teachers, and other politicians. However, since those "other politicians" included a certain Registered Voter Number 111 - waiting in the wings, so to speak - it is appropriate to return that citizen to center stage.


80 See Brock, "Cardozo," p. 191. He died in Newton, Massachusetts, April 13, 1881 (ibid., p. 204 n 89). From Mississippi, Cardozo's July 25, 1871 letter-to-the-editor extolled the man and lamented the 1871 death of Samuel J. May, whose friendship in Syracuse, New York he cherished and whose encouragement - including a fifty-dollar initial contribution - resulted in Cardozo collecting "enough to sustain four of us for one year" as North Carolina teachers, who included "the present wife of Governor Reeds, of Florida" (New National Era, August 3, 1871).
CHAPTER 3:

VOTER NO. 111, A NEWSPAPER, SOME ELECTIONS (1869-1870)

"Huey" Cale, as he was sometimes known in his earlier days, first meshed his political gears by becoming "black" registered voter Number 111, Elizabeth City Precinct, November 3, 1868.¹ This was the same day he made what was apparently the first of his many property transactions.

Having stepped into the political arena by becoming eligible to vote, he now stood at the threshold of a varied and lengthy career of public service which would match his primary interest in the public good. His elections and appointments would overcome a twenty-six-year opportunity for voters to forget old friends and become entranced with new heroes.

Undergirding Cale and colleagues' political ascent was the sharp boost given Pasquotank Republicanism by an outlet for non- or anti-"Democratic" views. This was achieved by a Pennsylvania physician, Dr. Palemon John, who came to Elizabeth City armed with newspaper experience and zeal for the Republican cause. He announced, "Equal Rights for All Men," or so the slogan appeared on page one of his fledgling (July 1, 1869) North Carolinian² ($2.00 per year, in advance) - with offices on the northeast corner of Main and Road streets. In equally

¹ MS Registry of Voters in / the / Elizabeth City Election Precinct / of the County of Pasquotank / North Carolina -- / November 3d 1868 In accordance with the acts of the General / Assembly entitle [sic] "An Act to provide for / the Registration of Voters", ratified August / 24th 1868, and an act to amend an act / entitled "An act to provide for the registration of Voters," ratified August 24, 1868; hereinafter referred to as Registry of Voters 1868. Other local black promontories also registering included Jesse Brown (#19), Jordan Close (#109), Joshua Fleming (#223), Whitmel Lane (#402), and Rooks Turner (#727).

² A Year Book of the Pasquotank Historical Society, II (1956-1957), 81f, says the newspaper was "backed by Northern capital" and that its "apparent main objective was to attract Northerners to settle and establish industry in the South." These factors were apparent in the newspaper's columns, but Republican politics in its various permutations - and just two years old in North Carolina - was perhaps the lifeblood of John's paper. Beyond this, the newspaper is the richest, most continuous source of contemporaneous information on local blacks, which the present writer has encountered. Dr. John was a product of Millville Seminary in Pennsylvania (North Carolinian, September 8, 1897).
concrete terms, came editorial castigation (August 19, 1869) of the Beaufort, North Carolina Intelligencer for allegedly intimidating Negroes who had the temerity to vote.

During November 1869, the North Carolinian editorialized on adoption of the 15th Amendment since Vermont had ratified it, and made noise about John Fisk and Jay Gould. Also, there was news of an A. M. E. (African Methodist Episcopal) conference in Edenton with Bishop J. J. Moore in the chair, and of the death of George Peabody. Notices appeared regularly that the local chapter of the Love and Charity Society (a Negro group) met on alternate Tuesday nights. There was a note that a local building and loan association had gotten into gear on the 19th; Thomas W. Cardozo was a participant. A long article on the progress of free schools in Pasquotank appeared in the November 25 edition. Also in 1869, the "North Carolinian Power Press" printed the Minutes of the Fourth Annual Session of the Roanoke Missionary Baptist Association..., Held with the Church at Philadelphia, Camden County, N.C., May 26-28, 1869.3

Editor John otherwise introduced himself to local citizenry and on more than one occasion thanked prominent persons for sundry favors - gifts of a "huge" melon or of grapes or sweet potatoes or a basket of "succulent" pears from Dr. Rufus K. Speed.4 That John would later inveigh against a donor or two for political reasons, was a consideration for the future. Meanwhile, he would not only brag about Elizabeth City's "Cornet Band ... of excellent musicians" - their Sun Beam Polka having rated a write-up on October 7, 1869, he would also allay possible uneasiness about espousing tenets of Mr. Lincoln's Party and methods of doing so.

---

3 Cited, Bell, "Baptists," p. 399 n 41. The elision represents Bell's careful notation that the Association was "Negro."

4 "Office over Green and Fearing's store, corner Road and Ehringhaus," a late-1869 advertisement announced.
With sweet oil and righteousness he had presented the political view of his newspaper in the July 8, 1869 edition: "... It is no part of our duty as a Republican to pander to the depraved and vitiated tastes too much encouraged by the press, nor shall we deal in scurrility, personal vituperation and abuse against those happening to disagree with us." The pronouncement had a reassuring ring to it. These sentiments, on the other hand, appeared less than a month before an election period. Democrats, and others, could afford to wait and see how things would go when the civic temperature rose a bit; to see if local journalism matched the vitriol of contemporary newspapers located in other Reconstruction battlegrounds like, for example, Vicksburg, Mississippi and Raleigh, North Carolina. In the interim, he advertised the "new and swift steamers" - the Elizabeth City and George Washington - which made tri-weekly trips to and from Norfolk, Virginia via the Dismal Swamp Canal, under auspices of the Dismal Swamp Steam Transportation Company.5

Dr. John thus bided his time - until a certain Thursday in 1869. That day, August 5, he announced the 1869 Republican ticket for Elizabeth City Township. The honorees: for justices of the peace, George W. Cobb, Jesse R. Brown (already a commissioner for Elizabeth City),

5 The 1868 House Journal recorded Representative Sykes having sought the firm's incorporation on August 15, but according to p. 96 of Alexander Crosby Brown's slender but rich volume, the incorporation was "1866-1867" (The Dismal Swamp Canal [n. p.: Norfolk County Historical Society of Chesapeake, Virginia, 1967]). Now aged 200, the Canal is the "oldest surviving artificial waterway in the United States" (Brown, op. cit., p. 19) with longstanding impact on Elizabeth City/Pasquotank's economy. The Dismal Swamp itself - condemned and extolled; some 700 square miles - was well-known to not only those visiting its Canal and Lake Drummond (named for the State's first Governor, 1663-1667, hung 1677 - but cf: Appendix, p. ___), but also to many hundreds of runaway slaves (ca. 1760s-1850s) who preferred even that fearsome wetlands abounding with reptiles, other dangers and Stygian nights, to continued bondage. Sykes would be well aware of those Swamp facts plus the fact of some earlier Canal traffic being propelled by pole-pushing blacks, laboriously treading the shores. The 31-ton steamer, George Washington, built 1865, is pictured (ibid., p. 94) bearing eleven Negro timber cutters vintage 1873, and described (ibid., p. 140). The packet Elizabeth City, built 1868 at about 35 tons, is also described (ibid., p. 139). The Canal's most recent adornment is its Welcome Center (Camden County), opened April 20, 1989; dedicated June 22; and by December 1994, hosting some two million tourists including about 10,000 via Canal transit. It is the State's only rest center available to both auto and boat traffic (documents in ECSU Archives; Elizabeth City Daily Advance, June 23, 1989).
Hugh Cale, Jabez Pritchett (= Pritchard), Arthur L. Jones (a livery stable operator), Joshua Fleming, and William Krauss. The nominee for Township Clerk was Benjamin Frank(lin?) Keaton; for constable, James S. Wilcox; for the school committee, William H. Doherty, Selim Sutton, and Whitmel Lane, contractor and otherwise prominent in town. That Mr. Cale got on the ticket with apparently just two years of Elizabeth City residency is of interest.

The Republican slate won handily. The candidates succeeded over such Elizabeth City notables as W. R. Burgess, R. F. Overman, Zenas Fearing (the elder), A. B. Persse, and an Episcopal priest, the Reverend J. W. Murphy. It could not be said that the Republicans won by default. Besides being imposing, the list of candidates included twenty-four people, not counting still others whose "scattering" and unattributed votes accounted for sixteen ballots. The election of "Thursday last, passed off quietly," the August 12 North Carolinian announced.

Editorializing was fine, but vote-counting was more practical. According to John's newspaper, the justices-elect polled as follows: Cobb - 210; Cale - 189; Jones - 193; Brown - 188; "Pritchett" - 190; Fleming - 192; Krauss - 195. No opponent scored more than 87 votes. The school committee did as well. The tallies: Doherty - 189 votes; Sutton - 186; "Whitman" Lane - 185. No opponent exceeded 95 votes. Out of all of it, Hugh Cale had won his first public office in this August 5, 1869 contest; he was nearly 34 years old.

The comparative tallies were no more than a rational man should expect, Dr. John's organ seemed to say. "... The Republican party is the party of progress, of justice, of right," readers were reminded by the September 9, 1869 North Carolinian (its italics). A week earlier, John had twitted opponents of Republican politics under the heading, "Disintegration of the Democratic Party."
While these pleasantries went on, State Representative Thomas Sykes went to Hertford (Perquimans County), to speak of other achievements, other aspirations. Hertford’s Negro school celebrated its anniversary. Sykes, speaker for the occasion, was reported by the September 9 *Carolinian*: "The Speech of Representative Sykes was well conceived and delivered in a spirited manner. He reviewed the past action of the Government and people with reference to the institution of Slavery - spoke in complimentary terms of the great anti-Slavery leaders of the North, referred to the present unfavorable condition of the colored race as regards education; and encouraged them by giving many instances of men of their race who with fair opportunities, had made high and honorable names for themselves." The *Carolinian’s* anonymous reporter concluded, "His speech throughout betrayed good sense, and much humor, and reflected credit upon its author."

A month earlier, Pasquotank’s county commissioners had done their duty, ordering certificates of election prepared for Magistrate-elect Cale and the other officials. Thus, upon this Commissioners’ order of August 7, 1869,⁶ and his subsequent qualifying for office at an unknown later date, Mr. Cale began nearly three decades of public service - much of it by virtue of election rather than appointment. Among models for standards of public service, Cale had some right at home. Thomas Sykes, among others, evidently merited praise received; Cale could hope his own career would win equal plaudits.

Public Servant Sykes, in fact, was still hard at work. As Pasquotank’s Representative, he was subsequently in Raleigh, introducing legislation which the *North Carolinian* reported to

---

⁶Commissioners’ MS Minute Book 1 (unpaged), date cited. Jesse R. Brown, well-known in Elizabeth City throughout the last quarter of the nineteenth century, had been granted a one-year liquor-selling license on December 19, 1868 (op. cit). Such license was illegal for free Negroes a decade earlier (Woodson, *Free Negro*, p. xxix). Mr. Sutton, of the School Committee, may be recalled as a trustee of the 1870 Normal School in Elizabeth City.
its readership. One bill to incorporate the Elizabeth City and Norfolk Railroad, was mentioned in the December 2, 1869 edition as being introduced by Sykes on November 23. The December 9 edition reported Mr. Sykes’ introducing bills to protect citizens in public conveyances and to incorporate the Mechanic’s Saving and Loan Association; meanwhile, he did battle for his railroad bill. Cale, noting such events and recognition, may have wondered when or if he might get a similar opportunity. The December 23, 1869 Carolinian, however, had a few curved sentences for Republican legislators who did not perform as Republicans. Mr. Sykes may or may not have been the target. Mr. Cale, potential aspirant, could note that journalistic pounding was the obverse of its praise.

As for local Republican journalism, to keep the times interesting (besides there being a Negro from Pasquotank in the Legislature), the December 16 Carolinian had "Petrel’s" series on "Past and Future Existence of Elizabeth City." This column perhaps disturbed readers much less than advice that local plantations were ill-cultivated (readers knew that already); that there was a move to subdivide this acreage; and that the newspaper thought well of such proposed action.

The December 23 edition of the Carolinian had assorted other items. An unusual one was a local lawyer obtaining a conviction with a three-year sentence for a white male’s assault with intent to rape – on a Negro woman. A certain Pasquotank editor acquired the Gaskins building (built 1858) for some $3,000, also a brick building near the Manufacturing, Loan & Trust Company (corner Main and Road Streets) for nearly $2,000, and a vacant lot on what was then known as Lawrence Street. In short, Palemon John bought property. Further, correspondence from Washington included a petition from the National Colored Laborers Convention. Still further, "good" singing and "excellent" music came from the
local A. M. E. Zion Sunday School program. Thus a sampling of the late-1869 milieu for Hugh Cale and other local citizens.

In the meantime, one assumes that Cale set about learning his own office and improving techniques. He cultivated his political skills particularly. There was, for instance, a call for a city convention of the Republican Party, to be held at the courthouse, Monday, December 13, 1869, 8:00 p.m. This nominating convention would field candidates for mayor and for five Elizabeth City commissioners - these for the ensuing year.

The convention met (Joseph Commander, M. D., chairman; Joseph B. Robinson, secretary) and appointed "H. Kale" as a member of the nine-man committee to nominate commissioners. Huey thus had a hand in the proceedings, although he was not nominated. The slate became: George W. Cobb, for another term as mayor; Commander, Silas Randall, Marshall Bertrand Culpepper, Jesse R. Brown (for another term), and H. B. Coleman, commissioners. Mayor Cobb's renomination was a "just tribute to a faithful officer," Dr. John's newspaper reported.7 The slate won. All personnel now had a chance to ratify voters' confidence.

Nominating Committeeman "Kale" may have risen a notch in Republican circles, but he seemed to seek other heights. On Tuesday, May 17, 1870, he advanced a little. The Pasquotank County Republican convention took place that day at the Elizabeth City courthouse with George D. Pool in the chair and Colonel Charles Guirkin (sometime business partner with Mr. Cobb, e.g., 1874) as secretary. The announced platform favored the Union, free speech, improving the University of North Carolina (with a resolution to establish a university for Negroes), peace,

---

7 North Carolinian, December 9 and 16, 1869. Mr. Culpepper subsequently declined his nomination and Captain Joseph B. Robinson (convention secretary) took his place (see, issue of December 23). Dr. Commander (1833-1880) is interred in Episcopal Cemetery.
good will, and other such blessings. The platform endorsed Ulysses S. Grant, North Carolina Governor William W. Holden, and First District Congressman Clinton L. Cobb. The convention then got down to other specifics, which included welcoming former political opponents into the fold.

Chairman Pool next appointed three delegates from each township, and five from Elizabeth City, to represent the county in the district (i.e., Congressional) convention. Delegates appointed from Elizabeth City were Editor Palemon John, Schoolmaster Thomas W. Cardozo, Attorney Cyrus W. Grandy, Jr., Elizabeth City Commissioner Arthur L. Jones, Pasquotank's State Representative Thomas A. Sykes, the chairman and secretary, and Justice of the Peace Hugh Cale.

Huey was gaining altitude. He could carry still another piece of knowledge with him when he went to Plymouth, North Carolina for the district convention scheduled for June 2, 1870. By then, Mr. Sykes had been renominated to the State Legislature (Sykes had attended the State convention in Raleigh, Wednesday, May 10, 1870, and served on the committee to examine credentials); Cardozo had been named for sheriff and Guirkin for register of deeds; and Cale himself had been nominated as a county commissioner.\(^8\) Messrs. Sykes, Cardozo, and Nelson Proctor were next to be found in South Mills to join Congressman Cobb in properly Republican speech-making during May 1870.

Nominee Cale probably listened even more closely now to the clangor of political jousting, also noting the ups and downs of combatants. He also would have noted the bold black

\(^8\) *North Carolinian*, May 19, 1870. The other nominees were George D. Pool, William J. Munden (a legislator-to-be), Henry Pool, and Emanuel Davis (a Negro). The slate was altered before election time, G. D. Pool and Cale being retained. "Manuil" Davis and Susan Davis ("Sousin," *Pasquotank Cohabitation Records*) appear in Pasquotank's *Marriage Register* (Book 1, p. 6, col. 1) for a May 12, 1866 Marriage Certificate.
type in the *North Carolinian’s* July 14, 1870 edition, which included Republican nominees for State Attorney General (Samuel F. Phillips), Congress (Clinton L. Cobb), and State Senators for North Carolina’s First District: Martin Van Buren Gilbert and Lemuel Washington Boone. Sykes, of course, was listed for the North Carolina House. In short, it was campaign time, 1870. What happened?

The July 14 *Carolinian* praised the "great" Republican party which "sprang into existence to save the Republic." Following such Republic-saving, it was "really amusing" seeing Democrats and "Keenery" together, to divide the Negro vote. "They are finding the task a very discouraging one," the *Carolinian* said (hoped). The Negro "seems to have a good memory," it continued. "He has not forgotten the Democratic record of antagonism to the negro [sic]."

Having jogged memories, the *Carolinian* told the Negro he "well understands that the friendship of the Republican party has been sincere and practical." Furthermore, "not only did the Republican party give the colored man his freedom, but in spite of the unremitting opposition of the Democracy, it gave him present political privileges as well." One favor deserving another, the *Carolinian* therefore advised that the Negro will "vote solidly with the Republicans. And he will be consistent in doing so."

More Republican back-patting was available in the July 14 *Carolinian*. After an appeal to school committeemen and the general public "to let us have good schools" (no racial overtones in this instance), John’s journal applauded personalities: "In the canvas now in progress Messrs. Boone and Sykes are making telling speeches and they are having a good effect. There is no question of their worthiness and ability to represent this District in the Senate and Commons [i.e., House of Representatives]. The color of their skin is the only charge preferred against
them. Otherwise it is confessed that they are men of eloquence, ability, information and a genuine love of country." The well-deserved praise was doubtless appreciated.

The *Carolinian* then spoke against Republican disunity, "personal grudges," and "factional fights." It also noted the Negro Odd Fellows' parade; that W. H. Weatherly had "just completed" a new and very detailed map of Elizabeth City (he was returned to office later in the year); that "Rose Dale" (Pasquotank County) had acquired a post office because of Congressman Cobb, along with a couple of new routes; and it praised a prestigious local social group, the Knights of Jericho. Mrs. Laboyteaux was selling millinery goods "at cost"; there was a subscription campaign to buy "Silver instruments" for the Elizabeth City Cornet Band; and various sentences for stealing had been imposed, including four months in the county jail for a "little colored girl" who stole money from Jordon Close. (Mr. Close was also a Negro.)

The July 6 temperature had averaged 76 degrees, the July 14 newspaper reported; the political temperature was a little higher. The July 28 edition asked voters to support Senatorial nominee Boone. The North Carolina Legislature would select a United States Senator, the journal pointed out; Mr. Boone would cast the right kind of vote. Also printed was a July 18, 1870 letter from a certain Buena Esperanza of Enfield, North Carolina, praising Sykes. John himself was a delegate to the Grand Lodge, I00F, meeting in Goldsboro. Anniversary exercises of the Republican Star Lodge of Odd Fellows took place July 20, the Reverend Mr. William H. Pitts and Nominee Sykes addressing them; and the heat was "somewhat oppressive." Perhaps some relief was available from the advertisements. Hamburger Brothers of Norfolk, Virginia sold Carolina Belle Scotch Snuff, Dabney chewing tobacco, and "segars."
On August 4, 1870, some echoes of July, 1869 editorial policy could be heard: "No matter how fierce its contests," the newspaper "never slanders its enemies, and no matter how warm its affections it never unduly flatters its friends." The Carolinian "aims to be a respectable paper for gentlemen and ladies...." It reported that the preceding evening (August 3), United States Senator John Pool and Messrs. C. L. Cobb and Grandy had addressed the A. M. E. Zion Church.

The August 11 issue reported numerous KKK atrocities occurring elsewhere and editorialized on these outrages and governmental suppressive action.9 Also to be found in the August 11 and 18,10 1870 editions were results of all the electioneering. Hugh Cale, justice of the peace, had won his bid for the board of county commissioners.

---

9 In vivid contrast to some other North Carolina counties - Alamance, Orange, Robeson and Greene as examples, Pasquotank County had dramatically lower incidence of Ku Klux Klan (and associates) virulence. Cale and other Pasquotank citizens of color therefore had a far better political atmosphere in which to operate. Even for North Carolina as a whole, Klan activity - as hideous as it was - did not match the extensiveness of atrocities to be found in, e.g., South Carolina or Mississippi, nor Louisiana - where 2000-plus people were killed or wounded in 1868 alone. Nonetheless, fourteen to eighteen North Carolina counties had sufficient Klan pustules to get the state included in a Congressional investigation (1871-1872), with Senator Pool of Pasquotank being a member of the Joint Select Committee which did so. (North Carolina constituted Volume II of the Committee's 13-volume Report to Congress, 1872.) These North Carolina Klan excreta included, but were hardly limited to, hanging a nine-year-old Black lad, whipping a crippled Confederate veteran, and beating to death a 74-year-old Black woman. Accounting for the comparatively low incidence of KKK actions in Pasquotank and vicinity is open to research. Pasquotank in the 1870s had just the right conditions to spawn as much Klan atrocity as could be found elsewhere. Some illustrations can be given. In the 1870s just as during ensuing decades, pronounced racism was far from absent - the Klan as late as the 1960s even having a distinctly non-hidden "headquarters" in Elizabeth City (which has disappeared along with, generally, overt racism). Further, no fewer than four Blacks were Pasquotank's Representatives in the General Assembly during roughly a quarter century. Two local Blacks ran for the State Senate, and a third - an "immigrant" - had been State Senator. In addition, quite a number of Blacks were elected or appointed to a variety of local offices during the same period. "Schooling" for Blacks had proceeded and proliferated from the 1870s onward. Republicanism, meanwhile, was a well-advertised commodity which continuously received energetic Democratic pummeling. Despite all these factors, Pasquotank appears to have escaped the extent of KKK torturing, murdering, and other species of intimidation to be found in other parts of the state. Finally, given Senator Pool's mid-1860s Negrophobic opinions, it is of interest that he was investigating the Klan and politely addressing A. M. E. Zionists. (His opinions are pp. 11, 22, of John Haley's Charles N. Hunter and Race Relations in North Carolina, James Sprunt Studies..., Vol. 60 [Chapel Hill and London, 1987]; hereinafter referred to as Haley, Hunter.)

10 The August 18, 1870 edition (p. 3) provided vote tallies by precinct for each candidate.
Although Republicans and others must still campaign for non-county-wide plums, Republican nominees, their opponents being either "Independent Republicans" or "Conservatives" but not both, had majorities for almost every office on the slate. The exceptions were Register of Deeds ("Independent Republican" M. B. Culpepper - 874, versus Republican Guirkin - 871) and Sheriff ("Independent Republican" John L. Wood - 930, versus Republican and Negro Cardozo - 830). Mr. Sykes beat Mr. F. M. Godfrey (Independent Republican) 891-831 and thus would return to the North Carolina House. M. V. B. Gilbert and L. W. Boone were clear as Pasquotank's First District senatorial choices (Gilbert - 921, Rufus K. Speed, Conservative - 811; Boone - 909, Skinner, a Conservative - 817). Mr. Cobb won for Congress over Independent Republican Timothy Morgan, 924-831. William G. Pool defeated Thomas J. Munden (Conservative), 886-851, for treasurer. Those races included close contests.

For the county commissioners, vote tallies were as follows: Pool vs. George W. Charles, 878-840; C. W. Hollowell vs. William B. Pritchard, 1,002-841; Cale vs. "Abm" (Abraham) Morris, 893-512, which appears to be a black-versus-black circumstance; Benjamin Johnston vs. Edmund Daily, 889-817; and Cyrus Grandy vs. William F. Saunders, 886-836. Labels for Pritchard, Morris, and Daily were "Independent Republicans"; Charles and Saunders were "Conservatives." Not every voter was certain who was which.

Palemon John huffed (August 11): "... no organized Democratic ticket"; the opposition was "Republicans, two or three moderate Conservatives and one colored man [his italics]...! It was not a fair test of strength ... [but] more ... a fight between men ... because of this the North Carolinian positively refused taking sides." (!)
John’s really strenuous huffing, of course, was reserved for one of the only two candidates defeated - the nominee for sheriff, Mr. Cardozo. Somehow, his journalistic brickbats seemed a little gratuitous: a loss by 100 votes (930-830) for a Negro seeking so sensitive a spot as sheriff, indicated that voters of both races had more confidence in the candidate than propaganda might lead one to expect. Then, too, there was that fine editorial concerning Negro candidates Sykes and Boone. One ponders the tone of editorializing, had Cardozo won.

It was also instructive that, of eight precincts, winning candidates won majorities most often in three precincts: Elizabeth City, Newland, and Pool’s Schoolhouse. Only Nixonton came anywhere near these three in providing majorities for winners. Several candidates arrived safely with just these four precincts; one winner carried only three of the eight voting districts. Of the five winners for county commissioner, four of them carried six of eight precincts and Mr. Grandy, five. Voters in Providence Precinct perhaps were unhappy with almost all winners since that electorate gave majorities to only three successful candidates (Messrs. Wood, Culpepper, and Hollowell) from a slate of twenty-six names.

For most of the electorate, perhaps, the 1870 campaign, local department, was about over. John’s August 25 journal had a few swats (Democrats’ "frantic appeals" to Negroes; politico-journalist Josiah Turner, Jr. of Raleigh environs - to be noted again in these pages - should not have been arrested since it "gives him a notoriety he has long courted");\footnote{Turner (1821-1901) had a deservedly notorious reputation. As Negrophobic editor of the Raleigh Sentinel, readers could count on incendiary journalism. North Carolina’s unfortunate Governor William Woods Holden (1818-1892) “found it impossible to satisfy Mr. Turner” (Memoirs... [Durham, North Carolina: Seeman Printery, 1911], p. 60); Senator John Pool’s Joint Select Committee took note of this race-baiter and inciter of violence (see also, 1871 praise of the Senator, Appendix 2, pp. 452-453); and his aid and comfort of the Klan was duly noted by Stephen E. Massengill in his superb “The Detectives of William W. Holden, 1869-1870,” North Carolina Historical Review, 62 (1985), [448] - 487, which includes former State Senator-become-Detective, John Walter Stephens (1834-1870) as well as the fact that another detective was the mulatto, Alexander Bryant of Wilmington (ca. 1838 - ?).} but a quieter tone
generally prevailed. Educator Rooks Turner provided a lengthy eulogy of the A. M. E. Zion Elder, Daniel White,¹² late a teacher in Hertford, Perquimans County; and the *North Carolinian* favored clearing out and properly opening Tiber and Poindexter Creeks up to Road Street. Congressman Cobb won with 4,964 votes versus 3,583, last go round, it was reported. References to creeks and to a new bridge a-building locally, perhaps triggered a political comment on "croaking Old Fogies."

As the political smoke cleared away, one of the winning candidates, like others, could view with greater clarity a portion of the chosen route he had traversed thus far, as well a bit of the distance ahead. He may or may not have spent much time philosophizing about it all. He most likely, however, agreed fully with a pronouncement in the August 25 *Carolinian*: "The weather is now delightful." Justice of the Peace Cale was now a county commissioner-elect. Voter No. 111 had reached an important milestone in his career.

---

¹² According to the *Carolinian*, the Reverend Mr. White's dates are August 21, 1840 - August 10, 1870.
CHAPTER 4: COMMISSIONER CALE, 1870-1872

On September 5, 1870, the "recently elected Board of County Commissioners consisting of George D. Pool, C[hristopher] W. Hollowell, Hugh Cale and Benjamin Johnston were present this day and duly qualified according to Law." So wrote the clerk to the Board, in its Minute Book 1.\footnote{Pasquotank's commissioners had met on July 16, 1868, "In pursuance of orders issued by Gen.'s Canby, Commandant of the Second Military District [entitled General Orders No. 120]" with George Pool as chairman (from Minute Book 1, square brackets in original). That date, tax collections were suspended "until further ordered" and, on August 22, the Finance Committee had mixed news to report. It said the Register of Deeds' office "since 1865 has been kept in good and proper order, that many of the Books during the war were mutilated, some being without Indexes [sic]." The County Clerk's office was in "deplorable" condition, the committee said, there being "jumbles" of papers. What the minutes did not reflect was, justified or not, a certain loathing for Canby on the part of some who were "reconstructed." Neither did the Committee cite the Confederate soldier, Arthur Jones, who put records in a barn and thus saved for the County irreplaceable documents. Arthur Jones (1820-1895) is honored via a historic marker in front of the present Courthouse. He is interred in the Episcopal Cemetery in Elizabeth City.} What the clerk obviously would not write was that Cale won his position with the second highest vote tally in a field of ten candidates.

Now, there was obligation for all winners to be conscientious commissioners. Attorney Cyrus Grandy thought so, too, and put in his appearance as the fifth commissioner, four days after the others had been sworn in.\footnote{This statement and the many which follow in recounting the Commissioners' activities, comes from the unpaged Minute Book 1. Footnotes to this source are therefore omitted, leaving just those citations of other sources, where appropriate.}

The new Board got its deliberations underway on Tuesday, September 6, when it elected Mr. Pool as chairman; decided its clerk and chairman must sign all orders for payments; considered taxes; and paid Joseph B. Robinson $14.00 for taking a census of school children in Elizabeth City Township as well as appointing him a school committee man for that Township.
Clerk Marshall Bertrand Culpepper in his beautiful handwriting also recorded that the "Several bonds of Superior Court Clerk, Sheriff, County Treasurer and Register of Deeds were this day exhibited to the Board of Commissioners and approved by them, George D. Pool, C. W. Hollowell, Hugh Cale and Benjamin Johnston being present and approving the same." These several officers were installed. On September 9, Cale, Grandy, and Pool approved a tax levy in Salem Township for school purposes. This concluded the month's work via meetings.

October 3, 4, and 7 were marked by sessions which considered poll taxes, relief for aged and infirm persons, coffin-making and grave-digging for two children, and suspending school tax collections "until further notice." Cale was present for all three meetings.

November, 1870 had only two meetings (7th and 14th). George W. Brothers resigned from the school commitee of "Township 2" (Simeon Rogerson was substituted) and the Board considered liquor licenses, the Poorhouse, coffins, taxes, jury lists, insolvents, fees, and justices of the peace. School taxes came in for discussion and "Kale" was one of three men allowed $5.00 for two days' and one night's service as judge for the election which had taken place August 4, 1870.3

December 5, Cale present, found the Board setting $5.00 and $3.00, respectively, as fees for coffins of adult and minor paupers. Besides taxes and liquor licenses, they also distributed the school funds received from the State for county purposes. The sum, at twenty-five cents per child, was parcelled out thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Township</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Salem Township</td>
<td>525</td>
<td>$131.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nixonton Township</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>125.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mt. Hermon Township</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>105.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 The fee is reported in the *North Carolinian* (October 12, 1871) as Commissioners' Order #451.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Township</th>
<th>Number of Children</th>
<th>Grant Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eliz. City Township</td>
<td>625</td>
<td>$156.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Providence Township</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>$56.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newland Township</td>
<td>415</td>
<td>$103.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For January 2, 1871, Cale and three other commissioners had the same agenda (infirm persons, coffins, taxes, etc.) and they also issued a "Pedlars" license. Palemon John, editor of the *North Carolinian*, was allowed $49.50, his printing bill. For still another transaction that day, we should retrace our steps.

On December 18, 1869, the former Board had met to choose a courthouse site but taking no definite action, the members adjourned. January 3, 1870, they approved $1,900, to buy property owned by Samuel Harrell, *et al.*, "on the Court House Square in Elizabeth City."

However, in the January 2, 1871 meeting, Cale and colleagues took a three-year lease on a courthouse, involving $500 rent being paid to J. M. Whedbee "on same terms as former lease."
The payment was for 1870; Whedbee was to receive a like amount for 1871, on January 1, 1872.

The significance of all this was that Civil War rampaging which destroyed the old Courthouse in 1862 caused the County’s visible and permanent headquarters to remain but a dream a decade later. Then, despite urging from the local press and the current commissioners, Pasquotank’s voters would defeat the courthouse proposal, 536-946, during an election in August, 1871.4 Another ten years had to elapse before civic vision in the form of a new courthouse, became brick reality. Meanwhile, the County’s business must proceed.

"Kale" and two colleagues met on January 7, 1871, to allow $10.00 to a woman supporting an orphan, and $15.00 to Dr. William G. Pool, for furnishing a stove to the Clerk’s

---

4 See the *North Carolinian*, August 10, 1871, page 3. The idea was defeated again (248-810) in 1874.
office. Cale was on hand, February 6, when bills were allowed, when Charles Guirkin was voted an amount not recorded (for indexing records "to this date"), and when commissioners levied school taxes in Salem, Mt. Hermon, Elizabeth City, and Providence townships since these subdivisions had not done so themselves. (The rate was 50 cents per $100 in all these townships except Elizabeth City, where it was 40 cents per $100.)

All commissioners were present March 6, when $70.00 was allowed for bringing a prisoner from Portsmouth (Virginia) to Elizabeth City, and $15.00 allocated to the Portsmouth jail for expenses connected with the unfortunate human. County bonds were outstanding, bills had to be paid, taxes considered, and Charles Meads appointed a school committeeman in Salem Township in place of Joseph Saunders, deceased. The Board ordered owners to remove their houses from Court House Square "immediately" and allowed "Kale" $30.00 "on services as commissioner."

March 13 and 21 involved paying $7.00 in fees for coffins made and for burying two children. Also considered were jury lists; authorizing Mrs. Kesiah Overman to take temporary charge of the county poorhouse; and allowing "Kale" $14.75 - his bill for servicing the Poorhouse.

Cyrus Grandy was temporary chairman, April 3, when Cale and colleagues dealt with the usual matters. Mr. Guirkin received nearly as much ($543.12) for indexing records as the County

---

5 If a desirable courthouse was not yet, beautification could be done. The North Carolinian (March 23, 1871), reported the commissioners "have planted Shade trees all around the Court House Square. A good move."

6 Cale’s salary (two installments as one) and expenses were listed in the North Carolinian (October 12, 1871), respectively, as Commissioners’ Orders #522 and #523, #537. (All County expenses were listed, of course, not just a singling out of Cale or any other particular person, although this kind of information could become grist for political and other purposes.)
had received earlier for school purposes. Isaac Harris was voted $17.00 for furnishing and planting trees in Court House Square; Mrs. Overman was appointed Poorhouse Keeper for three months (from March 20, 1871) at $150.00 per annum. "Kale" received $15.00 on his commissioner’s honorarium (listed in the local Republican newspaper on October 12, 1871, as Commissioners’ Order #539).

Seven days later, all commissioners examined the Sheriff’s tax accounts. They also amended the school tax in the several townships to 35 cents per $100, for the sake of uniformity. The clerk was authorized to buy a general index book and Mr. Grandy was appointed agent of the County to prosecute violators of criminal law.

May was a busy month with meetings on the 1st, 5th, and 16th. Among bills was one for $275.00, for standard weights and measures furnished the County. Assorted other matters included relief from poll taxes, road and militia duty, liquor licenses, hearing reports that all townships’ roads were "in a passable condition," and telling Elizabeth City officials that taxing the courthouse was illegal since that temporary headquarters enjoyed exemption therefrom. Cale, present at all these sessions, received $23.00 for his services as commissioner.\(^7\)

The June 5 meeting was routine. That of July 3 included voting $11.40 to Mr. "Kale" for cleaning the courthouse lot (Order #574, according to the *North Carolinian* for October 12, 1871)\(^8\) and authorizing its clerk to learn from the State Treasurer whether or not shipping could be included as income in personal property, therefore subject to tax; also, "whether Seamen are

---

\(^7\) The *North Carolinian* (June 1, 1871) noted that commissioners destroyed $35,000 of paid and cancelled county orders, "Monday."

\(^8\) Also appearing that date was Order #576, allowing $2.50 to Cale for listing taxes.
required to pay Poll Tax." July 5 involved voting $50.00 towards a bridge over Charles Creek and setting up machinery for Pasquotank citizens to make a decision. The question: whether they would accept a $5,000 tax per annum, over a three-year period, for building a courthouse.

Commissioner Cale was present for those three meetings but not for those of July 6 and 7. He did appear on August 4, when the Board suspended all schools "until further ordered." He was also present the next day (August 5) when election returns were recorded and certificates sent to Raleigh. On the 7th, he was on hand with Messrs. Grandy and Hollowell when names of winners of the recent election were ordered entered into the Minute Book. Mr. Cale may have smiled a little to know that re-elected Elizabeth City Magistrate "Kale" would appear on that list. However, the August 23 meeting, with Pool, Grandy, and Cale present, may have been for Mr. Cale just a bit anti-climatic, since the routine chore of allowing bills constituted almost the entire agenda.

A surgical matter claimed attention on September 4 (Cale absent) when $55.33 was voted Dr. J. N. Butt for amputating the leg of a Poorhouse inmate. Among other matters considered in Hugh’s absence was voting Mr. "Kale" $22.00 - the balance of his salary as commissioner to that date. Then, commissioners adjourned until Tuesday at 10 a.m. Cale was also absent at that time, when the main agenda item was consideration of the Finance Committee’s report, covering September, 1869 through September 1, 1870.

October 2, 1871 found all members present. "Kale" was voted $5.00 for some illegible service for the Poorhouse, and Pool and Grandy were made the Finance Committee for fiscal

---

9 He had been listed on the Republican ticket in the *North Carolinian* for July 27, 1871.
1870, ending September 1, 1871. The commissioners also decided that schools should commence between October 2 and December 10; that none should be in session more than two months; that no teacher would be paid more than $25.00 monthly from the public funds.

Among items for the sessions of November 6 and 19, and December 4, 8, and 13, were: election of Dr. D. T. Krebs as surgeon for the Poorhouse (to January, 1973); issuing various licenses; appointments to school committees; and allowing $4.00 to Cale for hauling posts and lumber for the courthouse lot. Drawing a jury list and making public a certain road following the river bank (apparently the Pasquotank River), were other matters. The clerk, for the final two December meetings, merely indicated a "Quorum present." but not who. It is not certain, therefore, whether Mr. Cale attended all five sessions; he was present November 6 and 19, and December 4.

A new year did not necessarily bring new agenda items. The Board met five times during January and February, 1872 (January 1 and 16; February 5, 7, 19) with Cale present for each session. Taxes, licenses, a bridge, the Poorhouse, courthouse lots, and bills occupied the commissioners’ attention. Whitmel Lane received $16.50, for furnishing wood to a school house and Cale, $16.00 salary.

March 4 and 11 and April 1, had similar agenda. Lane received $18.00 rent for a school room (covering January-March); the sheriff was ordered to lay out a "cartway" twenty feet wide in Mt. Hermon Township (there had been discussion among citizens concerned); and Cale was reimbursed for sundry expenditures ($98.43 - supplying the Poorhouse, February and March; $10.00 - honorarium; $3.85 - hauling timber). May 6, 12, 20, 21, 22, were similar in content (Cale: $62.10 - Poorhouse supplies; $20.00 - listing taxes)
except that the last three meetings were spent revising the tax lists. Cale was present each time except May 22.

The June 3, 1872 Board meeting was highlighted by unanimously electing Cader Perry the County's surveyor and by setting countywide tax rates: 66 2/3 cents per $100 for the County; 16 2/3 cents for the Poorhouse; 85 cents per "Poll" for school purposes. Two sessions were held in July (1 and 15). Besides allowing "Kale" $7.00 salary, a menu item for Poorhouse residents was considered: the Board authorized purchasing 3,000 herrings at $5.00 per thousand.

More consideration for the Poorhouse, as well as the County (July 1), was the order that "Hugh Cale be appointed to have the Back Steps, Well and Windows repaired at the Poorhouse and to repair and make good the road leading to Nobbs [sic; Knobb's] Creek, and present his bill at the next regular meeting of this Board." On July 15, the Board paid Cale $7.31 for provisioning the Poorhouse, and Whitmel Lane, $12.75 for "work &c" on it.

Earlier (July 1), the Board appointed registrars and inspectors for the coming election of August 1. Whitmel Lane was appointed an inspector for Elizabeth City. Cale had been present for all these sessions and quite probably had some responsibility for Lane's appointment. Meanwhile, Commissioner Cale's term was drawing to its conclusion.

August, 1872 brought four meetings. Clerk Culpepper did not list those present on August 3, but Cale was on hand August 5, absent August 29, and present August 30 - his last session for the term. Activities during these sessions included comparing votes in order to "proclaim" the election results; handling bills as usual; hearing the Finance Committee's report; paying Whitmel Lane $3.00 for his services on election day (he got an additional $1.50 as poll
inspector for "revising the Registration list on Saturday before election"); and paying Cale $28.00 salary to September, 1872.

Of interest in the Finance Committee's report on County funds (the Committee consisting of Chairman Pool and Commissioner Grandy) was its statement that $15,213.68 constituted the balancing figure as of September 1, 1871. Messrs. Pool and Grandy were allowed $100.00 each for their services. Mr. Cale was allowed $36.85, his Poorhouse bill for August. And, with giving a citizen relief from his poll tax, followed by appointing D. T. Krebs as physician to the Poorhouse, Hugh Cale was for a time done with helping to superintend the business of his county in the role of a Commissioner.

He and his colleagues - then and during ensuing decades - had busy times as they discharged the responsibilities of being a county commissioner. Were they privy to a crystal ball, they probably would be astounded at late-20-Century burgeoning of staff and "departments" to handle much of what they basically decided upon themselves. Aside from population growth and resultant different stresses, perhaps the early commissioners would attribute such modern developments to "progress." They would, wouldn't they?

---

10 A certain David T. Krebs purchased considerable land in 1872 (Deed Book QQ, p. 409, Office of Pasquotank Register of Deeds). This may well have been the physician. The oft-cited Poorhouse - which has been razed - once stood on the corner of the present Hoffler Street and Parkview Drive (Southern Avenue), across the street from ECSU. Enlarged, it became an apartment building owned by the black religious sect, House of Prayer for All People (ca. 1957), then headed by nationally-known "Daddy" Grace. An interesting account, which highlights the still-standing jail for females, is in the Daily Advance (July 13, 1986) and a brief reference appears, ibid., November 10, 1989. Both have photos of the jail; neither had Poorhouse photos.
CHAPTER 5: "SQUIRE" CALE

Hugh Cale and money were no strangers to each other. As county commissioner, he
helped guide Pasquotank’s finances. As a private citizen, his industry combined with some
acumen, also kept him in touch.

"By good behavior he has succeeded in accumulating more property than most men of
his race," wrote J. S. Tomlinson.\(^1\) The "good behavior" was fine and helpful, but money honestly
earned did not harm property acquisition.

Cale’s grocery or general store (probably in operation by 1867 whether or not at the same
site throughout his proprietorship) apparently flourished.\(^2\) He also seemed to do odd jobs - such
as lot-cleaning, hauling posts and lumber, fixing a road. In addition, "Hewey" had begun
collecting fees for various public services, as we have seen, and was granted a succession of
vendor’s licenses. These activities, added to store-keeping, helped swell the coffers.

Some activities - like being granted a retail liquor license, January 3, 1870 (good until
April of that year) - may not have been deemed a real service in all quarters. The license had
its lucrative lure just the same, and Cale won another on April 4, 1870. Next, Hewey was
honored with an appointment on June 8, 1870, as a poll-keeper. This was for an election to be
held in August of that year. By August 1, Pasquotank’s county commissioners had assigned Cale
the job of aiding in "listing taxables," for which service he received $8.00.

\(^1\) Tomlinson (1885), 39.

\(^2\) Frenise A. Logan, The Negro in North Carolina 1876-1894 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina
Press, 1964; hereinafter referred to as Logan, Negro), reports that nearly three-fourths of Negro businesses during
the period were groceries, liquor stores, barrooms and saloons, and blacksmith shops (p. 113). At October 20, 1870,
the Elizabeth City North Carolinian reported twenty groceries in town.
On January 2, 1871, Cale was granted still another liquor license, this one for a year and payable quarterly. An index to the values accruing from such consideration was Sheriff John L. Wood’s report to the county commissioners on April 2, 1871, concerning a list of licenses issued and monies collected because of them, up to April 1 of that year. Hugh "Kale" had paid only $1.40 for a merchandizing license, but $10.00 for his liquor license. It is therefore no surprise that Mr. Cale accepted still another one-year approval to sell spirituous beverages, this license being granted on April 7, 1873. He was one of fifteen persons thus considered, provided they as a group would veer from others’ practices and "strictly comply with the requirements of the law and behave themselves in all respects with propriety."

Besides selling strong drink and staples, and collecting fees (one of the latter, $26.25, was allowed him by the Elizabeth City Commissioners in July, 1871 for "labor on the streets" and another of $14.25 on August 14, for "hauling on the streets"), it probably was property which bolstered the home treasury most. There are close to a hundred deed transactions for Cale among Pasquotank’s records. Yet, his comfort index after all the years of buying, selling, and putting up collateral was less than comfortable at the turn of the present century.

3 Pasquotank County Commissioners, Minute Book 1, dates cited.

4 From Item CR 75.324, Pasquotank / Miscellaneous Papers / 1870-1889, North Carolina Division of Archives and History; hereinafter referred to as Pasquotank Miscellaneous Papers. By February 5, 1872, Elizabeth City’s Commissioners had established a tax rate schedule for merchants, the levy ranging from $5.00 for $100-$500, to $100 on $50,000 to $75,000 (North Carolinian, February 15, p. 2).

5 Pasquotank County Commissioners, Minute Book 2, pp. 14-15.

6 North Carolinian, July 13, 1871, p. 3; August 24, 1871, p. 3. Other fees for public services included the following allowed by the Elizabeth City Commissioners on the dates cited: $14.38 - "hauling on streets" (November 6, 1871), $11.25 - same service (December 4, 1871); cf., ibid., November 16, 1871, p. 3, and December 7, 1871, p. 2. On February 3, 1873, the county commissioners desired Cale to furnish provisions for the Poorhouse for the month of February; he was paid $43.70 on March 3 (North Carolinian, February 5, 1873, p. 2; March 12, 1873, p. 2).
Things were different, however, in the late 1860s, when Hugh Cale had begun to find it profitable to ‘cast down his bucket’ at home - Landlord and Tenant Act notwithstanding. Stated otherwise, from that period onward, Cale found no reason to join the estimated 50,000 or so Negroes from North Carolina who emigrated, especially in 1889 as well as earlier and subsequently, much to the disgust of one of the local newspapers among many other entities.7

Cale’s property transactions got into motion on November 3, 1868. This was the date of a deed between a gentleman "of color" and Hugh "Kale" which certified that Cale would become full owner of the gentleman’s house and lot if he did not repay $120 which Cale loaned him, by May 3, 1869. Still another transaction included Cale’s becoming trustee of some 50 acres which were used by the owners to secure money borrowed from "Kale." There was another, similar, transaction in 1876. In 1880, Cale bought a parallelogram for $240, and in 1883, he purchased two-and-a-quarter acres for $200. Forty dollars got him a quarter acre in 1884, and he loaned money to a couple (with land security) in December of that year. In 1885, he loaned $500 to still another couple, favoring them with a second loan ($400) in 1888. And so it went.

His payment of $3.56 back taxes allowed him to pick up a lot thus encumbered in 1896. More interesting security came with the deal whereby 2,000 corn hills, growing cotton, were added to "two beds and steads" as collateral for twelve dollars ("#12") loaned by Cale. The transaction blossomed in late 1882.8

Although several loans by Cale have been mentioned already, noting other such instances reveals interesting tidbits relating to financial assistance from the Squire. One manuscript of

7 See Appendix 2, “Colored Emigration Meeting (1889) and Emigration Notes,” pp. .

8 The 1882 loan is Pasquotank Miscellaneous Papers; also to be found in Book 6, p. 16, of Chattel Mortgages, Pasquotank (courtesy, Museum of the Albemarle, Elizabeth City).
"Chattle" mortgages shows him as temporary "owner" of an impressive quantity of corn and cotton. Like the 1882 transaction, these staples - 28,000 cotton hills and 100,000 in corn - were pledged on June 19, 1879 by another farmer whom Cale loaned $19.30. On April 10, 1879, still another gentleman pledged his entire wheat crop (excepting rental interest) and "1 black mule"; this secured $30.00 loaned by Cale. More cotton and corn was security for an April, 1880 loan of $25.00, as was still another loan in May of that year, the latter for $18.00 borrowed from "Hewey" Cale.

In July, 1884, Cale assisted a minister-farmer-singing master who pledged a cotton crop growing "on my own land containing 25,000 corn hills." In August, 3,000 "corn hills in cotton" secured a loan of ten dollars to another gentleman. In August, 1885, still another planter put up both 10,000 of the same crop plus a bay mare "this day [the 10th] bought of said Cale," for a thirty-five dollar loan. A loan of $196 at 6% interest on August 4, 1885, secured to Cale four cows, two yearlings, a bull, household and kitchen furniture, and "all the netts this day sold to me by said Cale called the Greaves Netts." Eighty bales of hay secured a $70.00, December 1885 loan by Cale. Three yoke of oxen handled a $67.50 loan in February, 1887. More cotton and corn plus a "Sorrel horse this day bought of said cale" [sic] secured a February 25, 1889 loan of $60.00, just as a sorrel mule and more cotton and corn "to be planted and grown upon my land in Newland Township" clinched thirty dollars' assistance in March, 1889. These examples of collateral also reveal notable variety in Cale’s merchandizing efforts, since besides land and liquor, his resources included nets and horses. (For 1886-1887, the Squire held License #15 from the County, covering his business of "General Mdse.")
Besides cotton, corn, wheat, hay, cattle, horses, mules, "netts," and household effects, Squire Cale also acquired temporary interest in "Elisha Overton & Co," an undertaking business. This decision between the two prominent townsmen occurred in February 1886. (At 1899, incidentally, Mr. Overton's establishment was one of very few Negro firms seen among county licenses for conducting 'trades or professions'. Political restructuring perhaps had its effects.) In 1888 and 1889, Cale served as agent for two ladies, one of them having become a licensed "Restaurant Keeper" at April 1886, and also as Trustee for the Good Samaritans and their Hall. Lastly, if the foregoing assortment of collateral was not wide-ranging enough to suit the Squire's reminiscences, he could recall "1 Estey organ bought of Wm McNeal value thirty five [sic] dollars" which secured Cale's May 20, 1885 loan of eight dollars to a gentleman. Music hath charms, even in business deals.

Tax valuations helped portray the Squire; e.g., $1,015 in 1887; a value of $550 in 1892; listing of $850 in 1896. It can be seen, however, that by the mid-1890s he was having much less fortunate circumstances.

Cale's land dealings continued as late as January 5, 1910, when he became trustee and party of the second part in a three-party property deal which secured a $75.00 loan between

---

9 Pasquotank License Book, courtesy of the Museum of the Albemarle.

10 Unless otherwise attributed, these transactions were taken from Chattel Morgages, Pasquotank, respectively, Book 3, pp. 55, 238, 244, 286f; Book 7, pp. 275, 275-276, 511, 509, 568; Book 8, p. 302; Book 9, pp. 30f, 67; Book 14, p. 85; Book 7, p. 543 (all, courtesy of the Museum of the Albemarle, Elizabeth City).

11 Abstracted from Minute Book 4, Corporation of Elizabeth City, pp. 3, 67, 69, 114, 198, 258, 344, 408, 665, 666. Robert C. Kenzer (Kenzer to the author, June 14, 1994) provided additional valuations: 1875 - property value worth $2,540 (which included two horses); 1881 - value worth $2,815; 1885 - value worth $2,750 (only one horse, this time); 1891 - worth only $815; 1895 - worth just $585, including $10 in firearms.
parties of the first and third parts. But the final deed transaction (August 30, 1910) represented a financial nadir in that Cale then lost property posthumously.\textsuperscript{12}

The assorted property exchanges reveal that much of Mr. Cale's land was bounded roughly by the present Cale, South Road, and Shepard streets, and by "Pear Trees" (Peartree) Road, all in Elizabeth City. One parcel in the northern part of town, bought at auction by Cale in 1896 for the tax encumbrance, was disposed of the same day (September 19); thus, his holdings lay primarily within or near what was the southeast portion of Elizabeth City. (As a reference point, some of this land was in or near an area known to the deed records, as it is now to many residents, as the Race "Tract" or "Track.")

One’s interest is sparked by various references in these aged land records. In one instance, Mary Cale used property transferred to her by Mr. Cale in 1885, as the basis for a $100 loan in 1886 from Miss "Boggo" Laboyteaux, daughter of a then well-known Elizabeth City milliner.\textsuperscript{13} In another example, a boundary line for some of Cale's land was a lot belonging to "J. H. Butler" (1903). One takes this person to be John Henry Manning Butler, the second person ever to teach at the present Elizabeth City State University (1892-1893), actually reported

\textsuperscript{12} Advertisement of the parcel appeared, e.g., Elizabeth City \textit{Tar Heel}, July 30, 1910, p. 2 ("Valuable Property"). Contrast is further highlighted by Cale's 1887 tax valuation of $1,140 ($125 of it as agent for his wife). For perspective, Palemon John was then $4,875; Elisha Overton, $1,088 (data from Elizabeth City Board of Aldermen's \textit{Minute Book [5]}, pp. 3 [Cale], 6 [John], 9 [Overton].) The mid-1880s also found some $1,700 of Cale's lots and rentals advertised in the Elizabeth City \textit{Falcon} for a December 6, 1886 Sheriff's sale, in accordance with judgement against the Squire in the case of \textit{Thomas Meads Treasurer of Pasquotank County vs. John T. Price, Sheriff of Pasquotank County, Hugh Cale et al.} 1886 (a thick folder in \textit{Civil Actions concerning Sheriff of Pasquotank County 1886}, Division of Archives and History).

\textsuperscript{13} The \textit{North Carolinian} (June 25, 1873, among other issues) had an advertisement by Mrs. Sarah "Laboyteaux," a milliner located on the southwest corner of the town's Road and Main Streets. The \textit{Year Book} of the Pasquotank Historical Society, II, 131, 291, has a brief sketch of the milliner, mentions her two daughters ("Miss Boggs and Miss Jennie"), and cites her son-in-law being chairman of the Pasquotank Board of Commissioners for "several terms." Therein the surname is spelled "Laboyteaux." The family was not brand-new in the environs. William "Laboyteaux" (thus spelled) was in the District 5 tax list for 1855 - an interesting inventory which, in 1858, paired pianos and pistols. The 1886 conveyance (\textit{Deed Book 7}, p. 682) became a loss for Mrs. Cale on January 4, 1897 (\textit{Deed Book 17}, p. 555).
in the *North Carolinian* as the school’s first head, and the institution’s campus having a men’s residence hall named for him. Still another item shows Cale’s enterprise undiminished in his sixties. In 1903, he proposed being a home-builder for a gentleman and his wife in consideration of $400. Further, from this bit of information and the county commissioners’ order of 1872 for repair work (see above, page 37), it could appear that carpentry or a species of contracting was not missing from Cale’s arsenal of skills, unless he acquired such jobs and farmed out the labor or had some partnership.

Cale also became involved in something of international matters, in a way of speaking. On January 29 1881, he received power of attorney from a certain Andrew Cartwright. Mr. Cartwright, a then well-known A. M. E. Zion minister, owned 1.4 acres on the "Main Body Road" (now Roanoke Avenue in Elizabeth City), but his address at the time was Brewerville, Montserrado County, Republic of Liberia.14 Cale disposed of the acreage in the Reverend Mr. Cartwright’s behalf on July 2 of that year.

And finally, one can say that, figuratively as well as literally, Cale was never too far way from educational pursuits, even in matters of land-holding. Thrice (1883, 1884, 1885) does a "Colored Free School House" lot appear in describing boundaries of his property.

It would be correct to assume - considering everything thus far reported about the man - that by the mid-1880’s, Hugh Cale had become a well-known personality and not just in the Elizabeth City area. But although financial élan did not hurt, the chief means by which he had achieved some prominence was through politics.

14 The historically significant clergyman and his wife are sketched in Appendix 1, pp. 502-503.
"Squire" Cale was not averse to winning a few other titles. One assumes property and prosperity plus politics and personality helped him achieve his goals. For Squire Cale, the local Republican party was also a fertile ground for improvement. The local Party did not disagree; not too often.

---

15 It was the author's pleasure to learn after entitling this Chapter, "Squire Cale," that Mr. T. S. Cooper used the title and indicated that the Gentleman from Pasquotank was sometimes called such by local persons.

16 In the opinion of Hanes Walton, Jr., Black Republicans: The Politics of the Black and Tans (Metuchen, N J: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1975, hereinafter referred to as Walton, Republicans), the "fertile ground" of those times could be described thus: "...[T]he roots of Black Republicanism were laid in the Republican party's promotion of humanitarian policies before 1870. Whether the policies were the result of expediency or ideological commitment, they nevertheless aided the suppressed and nearly captive Black community" (p. 25). Walton also notes the "recognition, political appointments and general courtesy that Republican party leaders extended to influential members of the Black community" (ibid., p. 22). It is important to note, however, that there were "party leaders" in various localities who were Blacks themselves.
CHAPTER 6: REPUBLICAN LADDER-CLIMBING (1871-1874)

Newly-elected members of the Board of Pasquotank Commissioners met for their first session on September 3, 1872. C. W. Smith was chairman. T. S. Wilcox, Abraham Morris (who lost his previous bid), Edmund ("Edmond") Daily, and Emanuel Davis were the other members. This could have meant the arresting circumstance of three blacks and two whites constituting the Board.

On September 7, they told their clerk, John T. Price (Register of Deeds), to order former Commissioner Cale to appear before them on the first Monday in October. Why? To "show cause why he Issued an order on the County for Martha Overtons Coffin." They also ordered that proceedings of future meetings be published in Dr. Palemon John’s *North Carolinian*.

Nothing was said about Mr. Cale and the coffin in the Minutes for that first Monday meeting (October 7), but Mr. R. Madrin’s coffin bill was allowed at that time (previously it had been deferred). Clerk Price merely recorded Cale as the twelfth of thirty-six jurymen selected for the December term of court, this list for the second week including "William Morris (col.)." Perhaps the new Board cancelled its grumble about Mr. Cale.¹

Cale was still involved in county and town matters although as of September 1872, no longer a county commissioner. However, since 1871 was an election year, appropriate visibility would be desirable. Representative Sykes was also visible, aside from some House Democrats proposing him with seemingly suspect motives, as the State’s Assistant Superintendent of Public Instruction.²

---

¹ Attendance was a problem even if Cale’s was not. Among the last decisions in *Minute Book 1* (December 2, 1872) was the Board agreeing to a $5.00 fine for a member’s absence from a regular meeting. Cale as a commissioner had a good attendance record; not all commissioners matched it.

One 1871 political feature was vociferation concerning a proposed "anti-convention convention." Assorted noises came from Republicans decrying other politicians. The latter would alter the State's constitution via a special convention, so that more power resided where Democrats thought it rightfully belonged - with them. Elections for 1871, of course, added to both convention and "anti-convention" fever.

Following a June 29, 1871 notice that the local Pitts Chapel A. M. E. Zion Church was dedicated June 18th, the Reverend Mr. Pitts himself conducting ceremonies, the same June 29 Carolinian exhorted voters: "The time is near at hand for the nomination of candidates for Township officers. Let no man - white or black - aspire for position who is not qualified. Let our Republican friends be guarded in this particular. The charge has been made that too many ignorant and totally unqualified persons have been nominated and elected. And this has not been confined to color. Let a course be pursued this time that will no longer make this charge a truthful one." As for the proposed convention itself, the June 29 Carolinian labelled the idea "UNCONSTITUTIONAL and REVOLUTIONARY" (its italics).

Cale, apparently staying close to local Republican moguls, was named one of fifteen men comprising a county nominating committee, to choose a candidate to the anti-convention convention. This was during a Saturday, July 1, 1871 meeting, to convene at the Elizabeth City courthouse, 10:30 a.m., and reported in the July 6 Carolinian. The committee's report naming Attorney Cyrus Grandy was "received with cheers and unanimously adopted." (Both

---

3 The North Carolinian reported in some detail: First Lesson was II Chronicles, 6:18-33; Second Lesson, Hebrews 10: 19-26; sermon text from II Chronicles, chapter not cited but "8th verse" was (several eighth verses were appropriate thoughts for both the occasion and local political struggles; the early chapters relate to Solomon building a temple); and Psalm 122 was read after the sermon, followed by a collection of $25.25.
Committeeman Cale and Nominee Grandy were then county commissioners.) Mr. Grandy accepted his nomination with a "neat speech."

The July 6 edition also revealed Mr. Sykes, "Esq.," in action; his motion that the convention chairman appoint seven people to comprise Pasquotank's Republican Executive Committee for the ensuing year, was carried. During the afternoon session (still July 1, to begin at 3 p.m.), Sykes, John, and J. H. Shaw presented speeches. Following band music (the Cornet Band?) and "three rousing cheers for the cause," conventioneers adjourned at 6 p.m. The July 6 Carolinian also reported that Sykes became chairman of the county Republican Executive Committee, an infrequent honor for a Negro, with Messrs. William Morris and Guirkin being Executive Committeemen. As a foil to political reporting, the edition of July 6 advised that, for $186.00, Messrs. Griffin and Pritchard acquired via auction the "old Market House on Water street" (the building to be removed in sixty days); and that ladies of the "Colored Methodist Church" raised $150.00 during their Fair on July 4. "They deserve great credit for their efforts."

Chairman Sykes and his Republican Executive Committee duly formed a roster of precinct canvassers, the July 13, 1871 Carolinian reported. Not averse to the light touch, that issue also advised, "Men of note - musicians." The July 29 edition reported some local Negro men forming a Working Men's Real Estate & Building Association - holding meetings in the local "colored academy." Dr. John had addressed them upon invitation.

Chairman Sykes next surfaced in the July 27, 1871 Carolinian as a nominee for magistrate (Elizabeth City Township). Colleagues on this same ticket (formulated July 24) were the local stalwarts, Messrs. George W. Cobb, Jabez Pritchard, Charles W. Smith, William Krauss, B. F. Keaton, and Cale. "Whitman" (Whitmel) Lane, Arthur L. Jones, and
Colonel Charles Guirkin were among candidates for school committeemen. Dr. Joseph
Commander sought the clerkship; J. H. Miskell, the constable’s post.

For Mr. Cale, this would be his second term as magistrate - if he won. Thus, tension for
him was undoubtedly heightened. For Mr. Sykes, it would be a telling defeat if a man who made
it to the State House could not win a magistrate’s race for a single township.

The wait was worth it. Cale won his bid with 288 votes against 148 for T. D. Pendleton.
Sykes won with 243 votes and Lane, for school committee, with 244. His Honor, Mayor Cobb,
came through with 265 votes. Other Republicans also did some winning: "CONVENTION
DEFEATED !! / 10,000-12,000 MAJORITY / PASQUOTANK COUNTY / OK" (italics as in text).
"Every thing [sic] is Lovely and the GOOSE HANGS HIGH’; etc., etc. The August 10, 1871
North Carolinian seemed to be rather pleased with developments. 4

Secure in another term as magistrate as well as being a first-term county commissioner
while all this occurred, Cale was ready for other events. One such was the local Negro Odd
Fellows celebrating their second anniversary, Tuesday, September 12, 1871, with a parade,
address, and supper, according to the September 14 Carolinian (an event previously announced
in its August 31 edition). "Every thing [sic] passed off in the best order," the newspaper
reported. Another event, perhaps of greater significance, was the Carolinian’s August 31, 1871
announcement that Elizabeth City would have a Democratic newspaper "at last’; such journal,

4 Also pleased was "Pasquotank," whose August 3, 1871 letter to the Washington, D. C. newspaper, The
New National Era (printed in its Thursday, August 10 edition), opined that the "colored voters have acquitted
themselves nobly by voting on the side of liberty and equal justice." (The full text may be found in Appendix 2,
p. 452-453.) The "New" part of the Washington newspaper’s name distinguished it from the older National Era,
edited by Abolitionist editor Daniel Reaves Goodloe. Robert Cruden, The Negro in Reconstruction (Englewood
mentioning the role of The New National Era as an offshoot of the National Labor Union.
however, would be more renascence than innovation. October 2, 1871 brought still another event: "The colored men of this county held a meeting in their Normal School building in this City on Monday evening to select delegates to the Edenton Convention which is held to day. They selected Charles Fearing, Elbert Price, Hugh Cale and Thos. A. Sykes." Mr. Cale was losing no altitude; Mr. Sykes held his own.

Later, like other citizens, Cale could commiserate with Chicagoans who suffered fire. "Not a Bank, Hotel, Express office, Newspaper or Railroad Depot left," the October 19 Carolinian reported, adding on October 26 that Elizabeth City people helped the Illinois sufferers. On the home front, Attorney Grandy spoke in a "Grand Reception to Senator [John] Pool," the November 9 (1871) Carolinian reported. It noted also that Sykes spoke in Wilmington, North Carolina before a "large meeting" on an unspecified occasion; and that Mr. Speaker Thomas J. Jarvis, who visited John, was a fine fellow even if his politics were "about as bad as they can be." To lighten the situation, the Elizabeth City "Benevolent Minstrel Troupe" would perform on November 14.

With the December 21, 1871 Carolinian came news that John, Sykes, Pool, and Cobb would address the Plymouth, North Carolina Emancipation Proclamation celebration. Sykes, the paper said (January 11, 1872), was received with "shouts of applause."

---

5 North Carolinian, October 5, 1871, p. 2. The delegate selected at Edenton would attend a "National Colored Convention," Columbia, South Carolina, October 18. John's newspaper reported the "national" convention's object was "said to be 'to demand a more practical understanding and mutual cooperation, to the end that a more thorough Union of effort, action and organization may exist among the Colored people of the Southern States'" (ibid., September 28, 1871, p. 3). Representative Sykes was named delegate to the South Carolina meeting - "a good selection, he being one of the most prominent as well as talented representatives of his race in Eastern Carolina" (ibid., October 12 1871, p. 3). Congressman Robert Brown Elliott (1842-1884), a Negro from Columbia, South Carolina (born in Boston; 1859 graduate of Eton; died in New Orleans), was a scheduled main speaker; J. T. Walls (later an A. M. E. Zion bishop) was a committeeeman for selecting an address there (ibid., October 26, 1871, p. 2; November 2, 1871, p. 2).
Speech-making abroad had its merits but perhaps more so, advice to the home folks. Dr. John thought it wise to present a few curved sentences to readers, on January 18, 1872: "The colored people are not all fools nor can they be led by the nose by every demagogue who wants to use them. They are watching the course and forming their own conclusions as to the motives of over demonstrative aspirants for office. It is not the man making the loudest profession who always proves the best friend." Presumably, hints to the wise were sufficient or duly noted. In the same issue, John welcomed "his genial and pleasant friend." Editor Richard Benbow Creecy of the Economist-to-be. Presumably, the wise duly noted this event, too.

Such overtures were interesting while life went on. Citizens Cale and Sykes had been among grand jurors for the term of Judge George Washington Brooks' United States Circuit Court, opening Monday, October 16, 1871. Justice of the Peace Cale officiated for the marriage of Annie Messenger and Lancaster Brothers (Negroes) on February 8, 1872. In the meantime, politics, politics, politics.

Mr. Cale appeared at the Elizabeth City courthouse on Saturday afternoon, March 30, 1872. The Pasquotank County Republican Convention was in session. Attorney Grandy, on motion, nominated twenty-seven men as delegates to the State Convention to be held in Raleigh, April 17. Cale, Representative Sykes, and Joshua Fleming were among the Negroes nominated, along with other local notables like Samuel J. Halstead and George D. Pool. Grandy had

---

6 Butchko, Shores, indicates John printing the Economist "from 1872 until ca. 1902" (p. 248). Sharply contrasting political viewpoints and editorial styles would make this a striking arrangement, to say the least.

7 See the North Carolinian, respectively, October 19, 1871, p. 3; February 22 (p. 3, Brothers), and April 4 (p. 2, convention), 1872.
returned a favor. As a result, Cale was now to taste Republican and other politics on the state level. He would have additional opportunities in the not-too-distant future.

Along with such exhilarating possibilities, other public items had interest - for instance, Cale’s being on the nominating committee for the Republican city convention held Tuesday afternoon, April 9, 1872, in Elizabeth City’s courthouse. ("The colored people of this City and County know that we are their friend; that we never deceive them ...," the April 11, 1872 Carolinian hinted to appropriate readers.)

Next came a development to increase the pulse rate. Nixonton Township of Pasquotank County convened its own Republican convention at Brothers’ School House, Saturday, May 11, 1872. Of much interest to Republican Cale was Number 7 of resolutions unanimously adopted: "That we recommend the nomination of John L. Wood for Sheriff, John T. Price for Register of Deeds and Hugh Cale for Representative in the Legislature." Then-Commissioner Cale undoubtedly felt pride upon this first nomination to the State House. Perhaps he showed it: "Able speeches were made by S[amuel] J. Halstead, William J. Munden, Hugh Cale and others." Cale probably chose words carefully during that speech; Mr. Munden was Mt. Hermon Township’s nominee for the Lower House.  

---

8 For Cale’s nomination, see the Carolinian, May 16, 1872; for that of Munden, ibid., May 9, 1872. The latter made a "stirring" speech. The May 16 issue reported that Francis M. Godfrey would be the nominee for Salem Township (a result of the Township’s meeting of May 11). John’s journal (May 9, 1872) described other phases of politics, charging voting irregularities in the local congressional contest: the electorate "kept from polls by threats and intimidation"; the courthouse door "opened by force; the voting ... began ... an hour and a half before the legal time ..."; "Sailors and watermen by numbers - strangers to us and our citizens, were brought up and registered, and the lame and the halt as well as the sick were carried in and voted." Its judgement: "Victories thus obtained sometimes prove disasters." Such festivities, one hundred years later, would probably qualify as at least a dozen Class A and Class C "Election-Law Violations," charted on pp. 30-31 of Popular Government (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill - Institute of Government, Vol. 54, No. 2, Fall 1988). The toll for such offenses could reach 18 or more years as an involuntary State guest; but those were different times - Reconstruction times.
Before voting sentiment on nominations could be known, however, it was necessary to fix up the slate for First District nominees; only the county situation was now determined. Editor John reported (May 23) that the county convention (May 18) was "not as orderly as they should have been nor as harmonious as they would have been had wise counsel prevailed." Readers may not have agreed upon the identity of the properly learned counselor. The newspaper continued: "An attempt was made to pass a resolution *instructing* [its italics] the delegates to the Plymouth convention.... We must have peace and harmony in the Republican party of Pasquotank county." Democrats, reading that, probably enjoyed smiles and palm-rubbing. In the same issue, John thanked Sykes for proceedings of the Southern States Convention of Colored Men, and for a copy of the "Report of the Fraud Commission" (referring to the defunct Freedmen's Bureau?).

Republican hopefuls journeyed to Plymouth for their May 23 convention. When they had adjourned, Hugh Cale emerged with a bit more publicity. The Committee on Permanent Organization of the Convention named him, Attorney Willis M. Bagley of Hertford (Perquimans County), and two others as convention secretaries. John M. Foote, the secretary signing the report as printed in the *Carolinian*, recorded the Convention's extending a vote of thanks to the presiding officer and secretaries for the "prompt and impartial manner in which they severally discharged their duty." The Republican organ for June 13 printed the proceedings, apparently unedited; some grammar and spelling was interesting. Nonetheless, readers received the message, including information that Sykes also emerged as one of the first-ever Black delegates to a national Republican convention - scheduled for Philadelphia and
to begin on June 5, 1872. Otherwise, the printed report included a convention grump about gerrymandering of North Carolina's congressional and senatorial districts. Meanwhile, the June 20, 1872 Carolinian duly noted the local Negro Odd Fellows celebrating their anniversary, with a parade and supper at "Clark's Hall," and that former North Carolina state senatorial candidate Lemuel W. Boone addressed Bertie County (North Carolina) Republicans, who nominated a certain D. L. Cale for county commissioner.

In some quarters, however, the chief concern now was a certain legislative bid. This presented the possibility of another Negro succeeding Sykes as Pasquotank's representative in the North Carolina General Assembly. That possibility quite likely created concern among some of the electorate. Whatever his reasons, Sykes would appear not to have sought to succeed himself (might the Congress have been on his mind - or the fact that Tennessee beckoned?). Hugh Cale did seek the State House. The Carolinian for July 3, 1872, had news for him. According to the journal, Pasquotank's legislative hopefuls received the following votes on June 29, 1872: Francis M. Godfrey, 4,979; Hugh Cale, 1,797; William J. Munden, 1,776.10

---

9 The June 20, 1872 North Carolinian had copious news of the Philadelphia convention, including words from a certain William H. Gray of Arkansas (a Negro), who helped nominate Grant. "Liberal Republicans" had met in Cincinnati already (May 1) and nominated Horace Greeley - also the Democratic candidate emerging from their July 9 convention in Baltimore. Republican Republicans produced their oratorio in Philadelphia's Academy of Music, where one aria extolled the Party's "glorious history" and another the wisdom of renominating President Grant "without demur, without debate, and without dissent." Having made North Carolina's Judge Thomas Settle permanent chairman, the convention's June 6th renomination of Grant produced a chorus of "wildest enthusiasm" with "hats and handkerchiefs" a-flutter - all to the tune of Hail to the Chief. Delegate Sykes would have all this to remember, as well as convention endorsement of "[c]omplete liberty, and exact equality" for "all civil, political and public rights" (Platform plank 2) and performing an "imperative duty" when Congress and Grant completed "measures for the suppression of violent and treasonable organizations in certain lately rebellious regions, and for the protection of the ballot-box" (plank 12). (Foregoing from Frank Champion, esq., Campaign Hand Book and Citizen's Manual... [Hartford, CT: F. C. Bliss & Company, 1872], pp. 193, 224, 211, 212, 213, 215.)

10 The July 3, 1872 Carolinian (p. 3) explained the large vote tallies: the county executive committee had decided that each township would cast its vote on the basis of federal census returns, therefore Salem with a Republican vote of 181 would cast 1,324 votes; Nixonton with 290, was allowed 1,755; Mt. Hermon, 137 = 1,184;
Mr. Cale would not go Raleigh this time. There was some consolation, however. He, along with Mr. Sykes and six others, won berths on the executive committee for Pasquotank’s Republicans - Sykes having served earlier as chairman. Thus considered, and also considering Cale’s second-place showing (though slim) in a three-man field during his own first legislative bid, perhaps he did not fare too badly.

The Republican Executive Committee had its work already blueprinted for it. Not merely for filling ether with oratory or columns with printing ink, had Palemon John stressed party unity. At the convention, earlier, Mr. Sykes perhaps advisedly gave a "short address counseling prudence and harmony." There were, after all, the Democrats.

More politicking came with Wednesday, July 31, 1872. Republicans sought to stir up enthusiasm with a mass meeting on "Academy Green." The event lasted most of the day and featured a dinner, band music, and speeches. The speeches ranged from a twenty-minute item by Editor John, to an "overwhelming and unanswerable" and three-hour-long oration by United States Senator John Pool. This windstorm was aside from four other speeches. Hugh Cale, one of two vice presidents elected for the meeting (John was chairman; C. C. Pool, the other vice president), probably went home that evening with his ears ringing.\footnote{Details from the \textit{North Carolinian}, August 7, 1872, p. 2.}

Fortunately the County and Elizabeth City had quieter moments. The county commissioners appointed Cale a poll inspector for Elizabeth City Township (on October 7, 1872) for the coming election in Elizabeth City on November 5.\footnote{\textit{North Carolinian}, October 9, 1872, p. 2. On November 18, he received \$6.00 for his service (\textit{ibid.}, November 20, 1872, p. 3).} Receiving \$35.31 for "furnishing Elizabeth City, 239 = 2,807; Providence, 23 = 520; and "New Land" with 155 would cast 1,481 votes. The August 7 edition reported Godfrey’s winning 1,120 actual votes versus 589 cast for his opponent, John M. Hinton.
Poor House for Dec. [18]72" (county commissioners' order of January 6, 1873) had its merits; one's coffers were replenished. The commissioners' approval of Cale's furnishing Poorhouse provisions for February, 1873, also helped. Being one of two justices of the peace to investigate the case of a child found dead (1873) was a sad phase of one's public office.\textsuperscript{13} Much pleasanter was the Republican nominating convention for Elizabeth City, held in the courthouse on Friday, April 19, 1873; a mayor and city commissioners were selected for voters' consideration.

This 1873 meeting was called to order by State Senator Cyrus W. Grandy, Jr. Dr. John and Whitmel Lane were named to the executive committee and Lancaster Brothers nominated to be a city commissioner. Cale's name was not mentioned in the convention report as printed in the \textit{North Carolinian} for April 23. The newspaper did report that another meeting occurred the Monday following the first one (April 21) and in it, Attorney Grandy had been nominated for mayor. What was this? Dr. John claimed it was a meeting of "bolters and irrepressibles" and commented on "our late Republican friend Grandy" (his italics).

First the editor philosophized: "Men are to be pitied when attacked with that incurable disease 'office on the brain.' It killed poor old [Horace] Greeley."\textsuperscript{14} Next, on May 14, the editor

\textsuperscript{13} Respectively, Commissioners \textit{Minute Book 2}, pp. 2, 16 (the former reported in the \textit{North Carolinian}, January 8, 1873, p. 2); \textit{North Carolinian}, February 5, 1873, p. 2. Cale received $5.00 for his investigative services (Order of April 7, 1873 - although the March 12, 1873 \textit{North Carolinian} reported it as allowed March 3). Cale's December 1872 Poor House "furnishings" included such delicacies as "$100 lb. Blue fish" ($5.75), "2 Galls. Molasses" ($8.00), "4 bus. [bushels] Meal" ($3.60), and "$50 lb. Pork" ($6.25). "Matches" were $.25 (manuscript provisions list, office of Pasquotank Register of Deeds).

\textsuperscript{14} Out in California, the San Francisco \textit{Elevator} (a Negro publication) had been afraid that North Carolina would go for Mr. Greeley. It would "mourn for the consequences to the late bondsman and the colored American at large, should the government again fall into the hands of the Democratic party; and that is really what Liberal Republicanism means" (edition for Saturday, August 3, 1872). Editor (New York \textit{Tribune}), founding editor (\textit{New Yorker}), anti-slavery and vegetarian advocate Greeley (1811-1872) received widespread and rather undeserved pummeling as a presidential nominee; his being among Republican Party originators was a factor. Vicious campaign press and the death of his wife reportedly contributed to his demise.