Superintendent John C. Scarborough. Boasting an enrollment of 102, Cheatham reported (at page 176) that his scholars had "greatly benefited by lectures delivered by the following gentlemen...," who included "Hon. Hugh Cale, Elizabeth City." Cale's apt topic: "The Opportunity for an Education Afforded by the State Normal Schools."

Back in Elizabeth City, Cale continued serving as a committeeman for School District 14, Colored, from 1885 to 1891. If one may consider him to be a dedicated public servant, education in the County, particularly for Negroes, was a fine focus for such an attitude and warranted continued great effort on the part of all those connected with it. Although many people worked diligently, the situation still left something to be desired - from official levels downward to the beginning pupil. With the majority of Negroes in the United States reported illiterate in the decade, 1880-1890, even if attempting to do better - and aside from American Negro degree-holders from the 1820s, including doctors of philosophy from the 1870s - this was hardly the time for duality and juggling in educational precept and practice. More especially would these gyrations be deplorable with a slight decline in the percentage of school-age Negroes, in school, during the same decade. But, so it was. Cale and people like him had problems on their hands locally as did the nation as a whole.

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8 Excepting Negro degree-holders, abstracted from Progress of the Education of Negroes, 1870-1950 (Montgomery, AL: American Teachers Association, January, 1954), pp. 14, 15, 17. Additional insights on educational problems and progress of the times are in Frenise A. Logan, "The Legal Status of Public School Education for Negroes in North Carolina, 1877-1894," North Carolina Historical Review, 32 (1955), pp. [346]-357. The superb study by Tokyo native Ken Chujo, is also rewarding. Specific examples relevant to the present text are citations of ECSU (pp. 95, 173, 189, 191); Bertie Academy, Roanoke Institute, Waters Institute (p. 107 - Roanoke Institute also p. 186); Plymouth Normal and Principal Crosby (p. 173); and black Baptists' sponsorship (e.g., pp. 76-77, 107f) - all in his The Black Struggle for Education in North Carolina, 1877-1900 (PhD dissertation, Duke University, 1988). Medford, Transition, e.g., pp. 104-109, 174-183, provides valuable insights regarding companion activities in the neighboring Virginia peninsula during that period.

9 Little emoluments helped keep up spirits as problems were tackled. Pasquotank's Board of Education allowed Board-member Cale's bill of $4.00 for two days' service between June 5 and September 4, 1882 (authorized December 11).
A local example is the meeting of the Board of Education on September 7, 1885, when, having appointed Cale, Jordan Close, and A. A. Small as committeemen for District 14 with two-year terms, it then ordered the county superintendent to call in the colored committees (there were mostly two committees per school district), "and in case, no two members of any committee were able to read and write to take the place of those unable to do so." These men were not, but some education committeemen of various districts were, illiterate.

This sort of backdrop, not to mention racism throughout all of it, makes it regrettable that local educational progress among blacks experienced detours - some of them appearing to occur because of blacks themselves. On the other hand, late-1880s "institutes" for colored teachers in the area represented perseverance despite problems. However, these events were not viewed with consistent enthusiasm by majority local officialdom. In fact, an item of June 30, 1888, indicated that perhaps the Negroes had too much education already: "Board met this day in called meeting. Messrs. Baker and Perry present. On motion of Mr. Perry\textsuperscript{10} the proposition to vote $100. - for a County Institute for Colored teachers was put to a vote and lost by a tie vote." In this matter, Elizabeth City's 1887-1888 ordinances were perhaps more advanced than Pasquotank's educational practices. The City's speed limit was six miles per hour (violations, $5.00 and costs); no railroad cars, steam engines or hand cars could on stop on any street longer than ten minutes ($10.00 and costs); males of any age caught being too loud on corners in front of churches during the Sabbath, would be fined $5.00.\textsuperscript{11}

\textsuperscript{10} County commissioners and magistrates in joint session on June 6, 1887, had elected J.D. Perry (16 votes), N. R. Parker (14 votes), and George Baker (13 votes) as the Board of Education (\textit{Minute Book} 3 p. 338).

\textsuperscript{11} MS \textit{Minute Book} 4, pp. 19, 21, 25, Corporation of Elizabeth City.
If progress in education was slower than municipal training in safety and courtesy to others, Cale and all others equally concerned nonetheless kept up efforts to make improvements. For examples: "April 13, 1889 On motion Secretary was ordered to notify the school Committees in Districts 15 & 16 - 14 Colored to be present at next meeting and to make reports on condition of affairs pertaining to new Houses, whereas, the colored teachers had an Institute last term for which $100.- were appropriated with the understanding that the same be deducted from their share of apportionment therefore it is ordered that fifteen Dollars is hereby apportioned to each White school District and ten Dollars to each Colored district out of the general school fund now in hand." This shows that the Board's June 1888 decision was later reversed and "Institute" funding granted.12 One sometimes gained a little.

One also learned that participants in the 1888 "Colored Teachers Institute" were pleased enough to have a celebration. The North Carolinian for September 12, 1888, reported the event, which took place September 7 (the microfilm version was illegible in spots): "The Colored Normal Institute closed its two weeks session on Friday evening. The exercises embraced essays and singing ... [illegible], and especially [good] were those [essays] read by Mrs. J[essie] R. Brown, Mr. W. R. Riddick, Miss Fannie N. B. Lane [daughter of Whitmel and Mary] and Mr. Albert Winslow. The singing by the class were very fine [sic], and the duet by Mr. [John H. M.] Butler and Miss Lane, and the solo by the former could not be excelled. At the close, short addresses were made by Hon. C. C. Pool, Dr. P. John, Rev. P. W. Melick, J. P. Overman esq, Rev. S. F. Dickson, Rev. Dr. Manley, Prof. S. L. Sheep and Mr. Hugh Cale. All expressed deep

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12 Quite likely, the appropriation was despite opposition. The Elizabeth City Falcon (Frank E. Vaughan, editor and proprietor) had registered a "Protest" against having a "Colored Teachers Institute" in its Friday, August 24, 1888 edition. The columnist felt that since Negroes already had a normal school in Plymouth, why spend $100 of Pasquotank tax dollars (most of which was presumed to come from white citizens' pockets) for a Negro teachers institute in Elizabeth City. (Chapter 24 of the present text has other details concerning Mr. Turner.)
interest in the work of the Institute and much gratification at the results accomplished. We do not know when we spent a couple of hours so pleasantly or more profitably." It was also pointed out that of the $100.00 cost, "not a cent [came] from the white"; rather, twenty Negro schools in the County had been assessed five dollars each. Assumed to be more palatable was the "reception at Mrs. J. R. Brown's," that night.

Less invigorating but perhaps equally interesting was the situation a year later when Black citizens and Black officialdom seemed to disagree on the definition of "progress." The April 13, 1889 Minutes of the county board of education recorded that a "petition from several Colored citizens of District No. 14, Colored, was read said petition asking for a new school house in the first ward of Elizabeth City. Petition was laid over until next meeting with instructions to secretary to notify parties interested to be present at that time." May 14, 1889: "Petition from Colored citizens of 1st ward of Elizabeth City read and discussed and hearing given to several colored citizens present. It was resolved that in the opinion of this Board it would be better to enlarge present House than to build a new one as desired by petitioners. Ordered that Committee of Dist. 14 Colored be requested to make an estimate cost of enlarging the present house sufficiently to accommodate the district and report at next meeting of this Board." June 3, 1889: "Committee of District No. 14 Colored reported through Jordan Close member of School Committee from that district protesting against the building of a new House in said District and instead thereof asking an enlargement of the present House, etc. - The Committee felt that it was advisable and for the best interests of the Colored race of said District that the present House shall be enlarged for the accommodation of 5 or 6 schools, rather than incur the expense for building a new house at a very much greater cost. Board adjourned to meet on June 15th to
consider plans for accommodating children in Dist. no. 14 Colored...." It would appear that education was moving, but where Mr. Close and his constituency were concerned, in different directions.

By 1891, Hugh Cale was among many local citizens who had seen first-hand many educational needs, but he had the advantage of seeing and dealing with those needs from quite a few perspectives. His local and official connections, aside from being commissioner, included the district committeeman appointments for two-year terms (besides that one of 1881) beginning September 7, 1885, __ _______, 1887, and October 1, 1889. He also had memories of statewide situations through his legislative experiences, and thus had a feel for educational problems all the way from consumer to supervisor status. If he wished to read about the situation, in addition to recalling first-hand experiences, he could turn to reports of Pasquotank's Superintendent, which helped to indicate countenanced disparities; for example, that salaries and numbers of Negro teachers examined and approved were equally small in contrast to white teachers. But Hugh Cale's experiences with educational problems and progress were enlarged by a new dimension.

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13 MS Minutes of the Board of Education, Pasquotank County (Office of the Superintendent), pp. 4, 30, 43, 49, 9, 22, 58, respectively. Ibid, p. 78, shows that the School Committee, following that of Cale's incumbency, and appointed September 7, 1891, consisted of Jesse Brown, John Simpson, and Jordan Close.

22 Pasquotank Board of Education Minutes, pp. 9, 15, gave teacher approvals for 1885 and 1886; page 15 had comparative salaries for 1886:

"Colored Teachers Examined and Approved"

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Average monthly salary: white teachers, $28.12 1/2 (male), $28.33 1/3 (female); colored teachers, $29.16 2/3 (male), $26.87 1/2 (female).
which was different from being intermittent pupil, school committeeman, county board of education member, and legislator. An example of this variety was the Zion Wesley Institute choosing "Hon. Hugh Cale Elizabeth City, N. C." to be a member of its first and 22-man Board of Trustees. His term began with the 1882-1883 school year. (It may be recalled that the Institute had been incorporated during the 1879 General Assembly; see above, p. 166.)

Cale with justification could feel honored. The Board had six bishops, ten ministers, and five "Esq.," representing ten states and the District of Columbia. Cale was the only trustee then designated "Hon.," if that was some comfort. Bishop James Walker Hood of Fayetteville was president of the Board; the Reverend C. R. Harris of Salisbury, secretary and treasurer.

The second (third?) Board, ensconced at the school year 1886-1887 according to printed histories of the school, relieved Cale of his lonely eminence as "Hon." Now it was a 23-man Board with five bishops, eleven ministers, five "Esq.," and two "Hon." - Cale being one of the latter. If enlarged, the representation was compressed since there were now nine states and District of Columbia. Even so, the geography was far-ranging - from Alabama to California to Rhode Island.15

Meanwhile the "Institute" became Livingstone College, its precepts including non-usage of tobacco (which fitted Cale's reported views), and its Board perambulatory: "Mr. Hugh Cale,

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15 Summary of Board composition abstracted from William Jacob Walls, The Romance of a College (New York: Vantage Press, 1963), pp. 503, 526. Walls, p. 502, equals page 21 of W(illiam) F(rank) Fonvielle (Livingstone, '94) in Fonvielle's Reminiscences of College Days (Goldsboro, NC: The Author, 1903, printed by Edwards & Broughton, Raleigh, 1904). It is the present writer's opinion that Fonvielle's references to "Cale Streggles" (pp. 43, 107-111) merely represent satirical fiction highlighting a type of student who is no stranger to any school. The school itself could not provide details concerning Cale's trusteeship. The late President Samuel E. Duncan, on August 11, 1966, answering the author's query of July 13, indicated that Mrs. Josephine P. Sherrill, Head Librarian, was attempting to give assistance; Dr. Duncan was "not certain whether we have much on individual trustees of the period ... mentioned." Mrs. Sherrill kindly reported on August 17: "I regret that the only information we have been able to find ... is that [Cale] was a member of the first Trustee Board of Livingstone College. There are no minutes or other documents available that might provide further information."
one of the trustees of Livingstone College, attended a meeting of the Board held at Philadelphia on Friday" - meaning April 17, 1891. So advised the Elizabeth City North Carolinian (April 22, 1891, p. 3). There was no harm in a non-stationary board. So was the school's president, Elizabeth City native Joseph Charles Price, who appeared in England seeking funds for the institution.

Newspaper announcements and commentary concerning either President Price or Trustee Cale were not restricted to those by the local press. The Raleigh News & Observer told readers on March 12, 1891 about another Negro school. This one was to be an industrial institution and had been created just a few months earlier by the same 1891 Legislature of which Cale became a member. Before the school got a home, it got a board of trustees. Hugh Cale, standing for the First District of North Carolina, was named to the Board for a two-year term and thus joined the first direct governing body of the present North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University - better known as "A & T." By coincidence or perhaps because he represented the

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16 Price (1854-1893) has received considerable attention. For instance, his is one of three careers explored in Griffin, Founders; and he is the subject of Paul Yandle's excellent article, "Joseph Charles Price and His 'Peculiar Work', North Carolina Historical Review, 70 (1993), pp. [40]-56, [130]-152. The Elizabeth City Economist-Falcon (January 26, 1892) labelled "Mr. I. S." Price a "puzzler" on the race question but a "staggerer" to those saying the "sons of Ham are incapable of finer developments of humanity." He was a "big man intellectually and physically," Editor Creecy said; he was a "distinguished colored orator" with "few superiors on the platform," Editor Palémon John wrote earlier (North Carolinian, October 3, 1888). Bishop Alexander Walters termed Price "that matchless orator of the race" whose "wonderful speech" turning the political tide at the 1888 General Conference of the A. M. E. Zion Church ("Newbern"), was "the finest I have ever heard him make" (Alexander Walters, My Life and Work [New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1917; hereinafter referred to as Walters, My Life], pp. 141, 142). "Lessons of the Life of Dr. J. C. Price" was the topic of the "brainy, cultured and eloquent" John Campbell Dancy (Sr.), Collector of Customs (Wilmington), who addressed the Elizabeth City State Normal's Commencement, Thursday, May 25, 1899 (North Carolinian, June 1, 1899). Concerning Dancy himself, Carolinian Editor and State Normal Trustee Chairman John said (same edition) he had met Dancy "in the seventies" and "had the colored people generally heeded his [Dancy's] advice things would have been very different in this State." Penn, Afro Press, has a warm account of Dancy (pp. 197-200; photo, p. 199), born a slave (1857) in Tarboro. A. M. E. Zion Star of Zion editor Dancy died in 1920.

17 Among other newspapers citing the election was the Daily State Chronicle (Greensboro, March 13, 1891, p. 2). Some glimpses of Cale as a trustee of A & T are in Chapters I, XVII, XIX, and XX of the present text (passim); a fuller account appears not to be possible since "old records" of the University "were destroyed by fire in 1936" (letter from President, subsequently Chancellor, Lewis C. Dowdy to the author, July 19, 1966). Dr. Dowdy termed Cale, "one of the founders of this Institution" (ibid.). Cale's gaining this trusteeship is detailed in Chapter XVIII of the present text.
First District, Cale's name was the first one listed by the News & Observer in its announcement. He deserved the perhaps inadvertent honor.

Matters such as these could make one proud of the present and hopeful for the future. However, much earlier than 1891 and somewhere during Cale's official involvements in educational matters at home and abroad, his attention had been drawn again to potentially more exciting affairs. These could positively affect a wider population segment than civic efforts restricted to the status of local schoolhouses or reporting the headcount of school-age youngsters in order to compute appropriations. Perhaps that "courtesy" single vote in 1880 lingered in Cale's memory; or, perhaps he felt that the time was propitious and/or necessary for a possible re-affirmation of political strength. It was quite possible, of course, that Hugh Cale in the mid-1880s just simply missed the motions, counter-motions, debates, flowery oratory, and generally higher altitude of the State Legislature.

Whatever the reasons, the Gentleman from Pasquotank did something about his yen. He checked his political antennae, doffed his educational hat, and ran for the 1885 General Assembly.
CHAPTER 14: HOUSE WORK, 1885

Former State Representative Cale almost missed the General Assembly of 1885. The election was Tuesday, November 4, 1884. Cale, Francis M. Godfrey (erstwhile colleague on the Board of County Commissioners and former House member, 1872-1874), and Rooks Turner were contenders.

Turner was highly regarded. The "Institutes" run by this Howard University graduate among his other educational efforts, are long in contemporary local memory though relatively short-lived in actuality, because of the altruism, civic interest and concern which they reflected in the man. Despite all of it, Mr. Turner polled only 163 votes of 2,091 cast. His largest support came not from Elizabeth City proper but from the Newland precinct. There, he defeated Cale (86-75); but he also lost to Godfrey in that precinct (126-86). The 1884 contest was thus primarily between Democrat Godfrey and Republican Cale.

If some looked for Turner's candidacy to seriously fragment Cale's support, there was a degree of success but perhaps not to the extent which may have been desired. Voting was splintered, however, and the tally was very close. Cale won by only 58 votes (993 versus 935 for Mr. Godfrey) and carried only half of the precincts. He polled 47.4% of the ballots which was the lowest percentage for him, as a county-wide candidate, in a twenty-two-year span of electioneering.

The Republican North Carolinian perhaps crowed a little less loudly over the victory; the Democratic organ, less cordial to Negroes, louder. Each camp recognized the trend of Negro

1 See also Chapter 24 of the present text.
office-holding becoming a thing of the past; each made noises appropriate to its convictions and/or protestations. In fairness, however, it was interesting that one Pasquotank Democratic organ was conspicuously less Negrophobic than could be found elsewhere. The *Falcon* (e.g., April 17, 1884 and December 12, 1884) had almost no Negro-baiting. The paper plugged its candidates and twitted Republicans, but little of the local campaign of 1884 resembled either Pasquotank's 1876 or 1898 Democratic vitriol or the 1884 howling elsewhere.² All this was in contrast to the *Economist's* sly remarks earlier (November 2, 1880) about "republicans of the African persuasion."

Presuming that the election was uncontested (or unsuccessfully so), and regardless of vote margins, Cale had won. He and 103 other representatives-elect presented themselves in the State Capitol at Noon, January 7, 1885, to be sworn in. For Mr. Cale, it was his third term and fourth session as Representative from Pasquotank. Alfred M. Scales was Governor. Zebulon Baird Vance again won the House for United States Senator - and not that Vance needed it, with no help from Representative Cale (90-18, with Tyre York as Vance's opponent).³

As a member of the House, Mr. Cale continued his record of good attendance, including the evening sessions. Though not so listed in the index to the *House Journal*, he took a leave

² The *Falcon* was content with an April 7, 1884 boost for "Prof. Simone's" string band (harp, violin, flute) making "rattling good music" at Nags Head. Otherwise, it editorialized rather decorously and printed letters to the editor in behalf of various candidates, particularly William M. Bond (of Edenton) as Democratic state senator for the 1885 Session. It was reasonably sympathetic to former Governor Holden's proposal to write a history of North Carolina, covering 1860-1865 (e.g., its edition of December 12, 1884, p. 2).

³ The election is at page 86 of the *House Journal* (1885). York was a Senator from the 43rd District in the 1876-1877 Legislature, his home being Trap Hill (Wikes County). Five years later, the *North Carolinian* would announce on page two of its March 5, 1890 issue, that "Dr. Tyre York" was "reported dying at his home" and recall his Republican senatorial candidacy of 1884.
of absence on Monday, February 9, "for to-morrow, including to-day" and another for Friday, the 27th. Otherwise he was present and voting.4

He introduced legislation. None of it became law. Yet, the 1885 Session was perhaps the most active one for him; he stands forth more clearly in his own right and in support of what apparently were his contentions. Also, he won more committee places in this Session. Perhaps some seniority and/or longevity was not harmful. Speaker Thomas M. Holt of Haw River seemed to have paid scant attention to Cale’s joining fifteen other men in not voting for him, but instead for George M. Bulla (of Lexington), when the House was organizing. Mr. Holt won 89 votes.

Holt named Cale to the 15-man and powerful Corporations Committee on January 10, even listing the Gentleman from Pasquotank in 14th instead of 15th place. This was his second time on that Committee (the first, in the 1879 Assembly). The following Monday (January 12), Cale was named to the seven-man Committee on Fish Interests. The next day, he became a member of the Committee on Penal Institutions (18 members). If Negroes in North Carolina needed a friend on any legislative committee, surely it was that one for Penal Institutions. Cale’s fourth and final committee appointment came on Monday, February 2, when Mr. Speaker Holt added him to the Committee on the Insane Asylum. Cale had fared rather well in his assignments.5

As Corporations Committee member, Representative Cale dealt with the usual wide gamut of proposed legislation. This ranged from a petition of Negro citizens in Greene County to

4 House Journal, 1885, pp. 261, 491.
incorporate the "Benevolent and Burial Society of Scuffletown," to the expected many requests or bills to incorporate towns, amend charters, and so forth.  

Among other matters, HB 1 would reduce the cost of obtaining a marriage license. Cale was against an amendment to the Bill (74-38); it passed second reading as amended; and he then voted "aye" on its third reading (92-19). On HB 31, requiring judges of superior court to open proceedings at 11:00 a.m., he was against tabling the Bill (12-101). He favored (86-23) an amendment adding three counties in reference to HB 3, repealing a bird law (Section 2,834 of the Code); he objected to tabling the Bill (48-47). He, like everyone else present and voting, favored SB 76, HB 135, establishing a graded school in Edenton (on second and third reading, 99 and 91, respectively, "aye"). He was in the minority in objecting to tabling an amendment to an Act providing for certain tax collections (79-20).

He viewed the parade of other proposals. Citizens of Wake, Harnett, and Chatham counties wanted a Jarvis County established. SR 172 endorsed the administration of former Governor Jarvis and recommended him for a cabinet position (111-0). There was a petition that a certain Mr. James W. Crow become a justice of the peace in Madison County. Another petition (via Representative Samuel McD. Tate of Morganton) desired establishment of an Iron County. HB 294, to establish Richland County, was tabled; HB 519, to establish Scotland County, was "laid over" since the introducer thereof was absent.  

HB 116 would deny sales of pistols and other deadly weapons. Cale objected (47-53) both to tabling it and to an amendment (perhaps introduced with tongue in check) that the Bill not become effective until January 1,

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6 *Ibid.*, pp. 113f. Among other unanimous House tallies, Cale's votes are recorded for incorporating Yadkinville and Oxendineville (Robeson County) - respectively, 89 and 80 for incorporating; and for re-chartering Kinston (Lenoir County) and Grover (Cleveland County) - respectively, 80 and 79, none dissenting (*ibid.*, pp. 146, 147, 148).

7 *House Journal*, 1885, respectively, pp. 44, 55, 63, 236, 72, 95, 99, 129, 201, 281, 354.
1900. Representative Charles M. Busbee of Raleigh introduced legislation "to encourage and promote the industrial development of the colored people of the State." That went to the Finance Committee. Biddle University (the present Johnson C. Smith University) desired its charter amended; the House passed the measure and sent it to the Senate. HB 440, prohibiting liquor-selling within two miles of "Black Jack Free-Will Baptist church in Pitt county," was tabled. Zion Wesley "Institute" (the present Livingstone College) desired incorporation; it was, after weathering some cross-fire. Cale favored the entire slate of trustees for the University of North Carolina and also nominees for the Board of Agriculture. However, he was less happy with some other prospective incumbents.

These particular nominations resulted from the report of the committee for election of justices of the peace. A Committee member was future United States Senator, Jeter C. Pritchard. Sixty-four Representatives favored the report, five did not. Cale was one of the five. Representative J. R. Henderson of Wilkesboro amended the slate with a different listing for Wilkes County. A grand total of four legislators voted for Henderson's slate; Cale was one of them. Guesswork about his motives for objecting may not tell us much; the tally, however, showed him still independent in spirit. In fact, because of the election machinery, by voting for Henderson's list, Cale in effect did not vote for the Pasquotank nominees. Meanwhile, two other representatives voted for "white men only" among the Committee's nominations.

The race issue really was what the thing was all about. Manuscripts of the legislature-nominating sheets and such - in the State Division of Archives and History (Raleigh) fill tactful

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8 *House Journal,* 1885, pp. 137, 226, 353, 622, 654. The school's 1879 incorporation is above (p. 166). 1885 data are in Appendix 3, pp. 492-496.

9 *Ibid.,* pp. 679, 714. Nominees for Pasquotank, confirmed, were: Harry T. Greenleaf (Elizabeth City; sometime Processioner), W. J. Williams (Newland), Seth N. Morgan (Providence), William H. Reid (Nixonton), Mark
interstices in the House Journal. Citizens of Mr. Henderson's Wilkes County desired via their written requests "no negroes or republicans" as JP's; the desire, fed into the legislative maw, was adopted. Assorted Democratic county committees added their pleas. Some Alexander County "Citersons" were polite, their spelling innovative. Addressing the "honerable Journel Assemble of North Caroliner...," they requested appointment by that "honerable boddy" of a certain person to be an acting justice of the peace. Durhamites, however, were crudely specific: "No Rads and no Nigs" (Radicals and Niggers).

The 1885 Session had other noisy spots. One Representative found it necessary to protest a House vote. The issue led to physical assertion of principles; the legislator said in his protest that he "received a blinding blow in the face, which had kept me supine ever since."10

Another noisy matter was HB 209, substituting for House Bills 52 and 53. This measure proposed relief (pensions) for disabled confederate soldiers. It had also arisen in the 1876-1877 Assembly. House officers had to close the doors "to prevent words from the hall to avoid the act of voting." This was January 23. A week later (Friday, January 30), the Bill was again before the House. "Mr. Cale moves to amend by including all colored men who had received like injury in the Confederate service." The House adopted Cale's amendment. Representative (later, Judge) Thomas B. Womack of Pittsboro (Chatham County) thereupon moved for reconsideration of the vote by which Representative Cale's amendment was adopted. That prevailed. Mr. Womack then moved to amend Mr. Cale's amendment: "That all colored persons serving in the Confederate army or navy as servants of any citizens of this State who were

S. Gregory (Mt. Hermon), and Stephen B. Wilson (Salem). All justices would fill vacancies of officers whose terms expired in August, 1885. (See House Journal, 1885, pp. 702, 751; Senate Journal, 1885, pp. 689-690.)

10 House Journal, 1885, pp. 786-787.
soldiers in the confederate or other public works of the confederate government who, while so engaged, have lost a limb, or have a limb which is paralyzed and useless by reason of a wound received in said service, shall be entitled to all the privileges, and subject to all the limitations of this act." That was adopted.

Cale was with the majority in objecting to an amendment to Section 1 of the same Bill, which would add "or an eye" (44-51); and again with the majority in passing the Bill's second reading (86-13). More argument - six pages of it - developed on February 3. Twice more, Cale was with the majority - against striking Section 13 from the bill (15-74) and for passing the third reading (75-14). He and others had given previous notice that they would explain their votes and so, on that Tuesday, Representative Cale did so (the Journal omitted the remarks). The next day, various Representatives switched or added their votes on the measure. The Bill went to the Senate (HB 209, SB 359). There, the legislators banged it around and sent their version back to the House. That body refused concurrence with various features and a conference committee resulted. On Saturday, March 7, the Committee reported. The House accepted the report (62-13), Cale voting no. It was not difficult to see why: as ratified on March 11, the Act for the "relief of certain soldiers of the late war between the States" made no specific mention of the Negro contingent.\footnote{House Journal, 1885, pp. 109-112, 170 (Cale)-171, 174, 175, 207-213, 687. See also, Public Laws, 1885, Chapter 214 (pp. 394-398).}

A more erect legislative posture came with adoption of a State Flag. As happened elsewhere, this legislation was also publicized in Elizabeth City (\emph{e.g.}, the \textit{Falcon}, Friday, \ldots)
February 27, 1885, p. 3). A story of this symbol has been written thus details need not be recounted here. Mr. Cale and his colleagues must have been suffused with pride for this, the handiwork of the 1885 General Assembly.

Other matters were less idealistic but still important to sponsors or constituency. Some of these items engendered still other contests. As expected, vote tallies were sometimes close.

On tabling a substitute bill for amending a section of the Code, it was 33-56, Cale voting no; on adopting the substitute, it was 52-34, Cale voting yes. On a Senate measure related to livestock roaming about Halifax and Warren counties, he voted no (49-19). On incorporating the Cabarrus & Stanly Railroad Company, he voted "aye" for the second reading (43-25). On HB 618, "to promote the efficiency of the normal schools," he voted yes on the third reading (33-46) as he did (41-32) for the final House reading of HB 909, to establish a normal school at Washington (Beaufort County).

The ubiquitous matter of the Western North Carolina Railroad again provoked discussion. The legislation (HB 642) proposed completion to the town of Murphy. At issue were convict labor and bonds, through amendment after amendment. Thrice Cale voted "no" on various modifications (50-51, 50-45, 43-50). He favored tabling a motion to reconsider the vote for third reading (38-52). Twice the Speaker had to break tie votes.

On a stock law related to Johnston County, again the voting was close. Cale was against the Bill (HB 989) on second and third readings (42-52, 36-37). He was also against amending

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the charter for the town of Washington (42-22) as he was regarding a Senate measure relating to livestock at large in Beaver Island Township of Stokes County (19-45). He supported a Senate bill amending Chapter 419 of the 1883 Laws and thereby affecting appropriation for the Insane Asylum; but the majority did not (33-47).13

It was evident that Representative Cale cared less about consistent voting with the majority or his Party - more about expressing his convictions. This could put him in a political limbo but interestingly enough that stock suffered no great discernible damage for such voting.

Three other examples help demonstrate his non-stereotyped voting habits. HB 360 would amend the common school law. The Committee of the Whole House argued the Bill at length; the measure then passed its second reading, 79-5, Cale with the majority. A Senate bill to make possession of "burglarious tools" indictable, was tabled by the House, 73-11, Cale with the minority. Another Senate measure, to make it indictable to seduce women "under promise of marriage," won its third House reading, 73-10, Cale with the minority.14 What was almost predictable was Representative Cale's relative unconcern with hewing to majority opinion. Anyone was free to assess the merits of his attitudes.

Legislation introduced by Mr. Cale also could show a certain tenacity - or it could be construed as satisfying his constituency. On Thursday, January 22, he sent forward his bill to allow sometime Pasquotank Sheriff "T[homas] J. Munden" to collect arrears of taxes. It went to the Finance Committee. On Saturday the 24th, HB 236, already introduced by another


14 *Ibid.*, pp. 475, 574, 576. Cale's assent to the revised school bill is of interest considering the determined if futile opposition to it (on the grounds of possible racial discrimination and possible waste of money) led by State Senator (later Congressman) George H. White, a Negro.
legislator for the "relief" of sheriffs and tax collectors generally, received a favorable committee report. This being the case, it was no surprise that Cale's Bill died in committee; at least, that appears to have been its fate since nothing more was found recorded about it.

Quite interesting then was Cale's bill introduced February 17, to allow W. W. Graves to collect arrears of taxes in Elizabeth City. This, too, went to the Finance Committee which reported it unfavorably on Wednesday, February 18, via Burke County Representative Samuel McD. Tate of Morganton. Still more interesting was Cale's HB 617, for Mr. Graves, passing its "several readings" on Thursday evening (February 19) with an order for engrossment and transmission to the Senate. Reported correctly engrossed on February 21, HB 617 arrived in the Senate that day, went to its Finance Committee and gained that group's recommendation that it "do not pass" (on February 28). So ended the saga of Cale's second Bill.\footnote{House Journal, 1885, pp. 97, 114, 361, 373, 408, 433; cognate Senate Journal, pp. 372, 474. January 20, Senator James Parker (Gates County) introduced SB 146, also to let "T. F. Murden" (sic), "late sheriff of Pasquotank county," collect "arrears of taxes." It went to the Committee on Propositions and Grievances which recommended its passage on January 22. Senator William M. Bond (Edenton) moved to table it (February 2) and it was so. (Senate Journal, 1885, pp. 63, 77, 153.) Bond was a Superior Court judge from 1914 until his death in 1928 (Cheyney, Government, pp. 575, 592 n 130).}

On Saturday, January 31, Cale met head-on SB 173, HB 271, to amend Elizabeth City's charter. The Bill had been introduced by Wilson Senator Henry G. Connor (7th District). Cale had a skirmish with it on second reading. First, he moved to amend by "striking out the one dollar extra tax whenever it occurs." Rejected. Next, he moved to amend by not having the legislation become effective until January 1, 1886. Rejected. Thirdly, he moved to amend so that the "corporate limits shall stand as the old charter." Rejected. House benignity on local matters was not now in operation. Members passed the second reading, 58-10, Cale in the minority. Monday, February 2, he assaulted the Bill on its third reading, moving to postpone
further consideration. Rejected. SB 173, HB 271 passed its third reading, 59-15, a tiny increase in "yes" votes and also a net gain of four votes sharing Representative Cale's views. That was perhaps small comfort. The Bill was enrolled for ratification and became Chapter 15 of the Private Laws.\(^16\) The Gentleman from Pasquotank had not had one of his best days. Or had he?

Nothing daunted, Representative Cale presented a petition from Pasquotank citizens "in regard to the State Guard." This was Monday, February 16. The matter went to the Committee on Military Affairs and apparently stayed there.

Twenty-three days later, Wednesday, March 11, 1885, at about 11:55 a.m., Mr. Speaker Holt bade the House Representatives a florid goodbye.\(^17\) Representative Cale went east to Pasquotank.

\(^16\) *House Journal*, 1885, pp. 184, 185, 196; cognate *Senate Journal*, p. 79. The Elizabeth City *Falcon* printed the Act's text, April 3, 1885. Senator Connor became 1899 Speaker of the North Carolina House, a Justice of the State Supreme Court, and served as a U.S. District judge until his death in 1924 (Cheyney, *Government*, pp. 477, 478, 479, 573, 574, 583 n 32, 588 n 42, 589 n 67, 751, 576 n 38; Index reference of p. 469 is an error).

\(^17\) *House Journal*, 1885, pp. 342, 798-799. In contrast to the 1870-1872 Legislature with 22 black members plus those of 1868-1869 and 1869-1870 (21 each) and 1883 (with 20), the 1885 General Assembly had just nine black members (*Ballou, North Carolina's Black Legislators*). In addition to Cale and White, there were Representatives Morris N. Corbett (Caswell County), H. B. Eaton (Vance), John E. Hussey (Craven), B. W. Thorpe (Edgecombe), and R. C. Ward (Warren). There were two black Senators: Jacob H. Montgomery of Warren County (19th District) and Robert S. Taylor of Edgecombe County (5th District). Representative Turner R. Speller (1853-1930) of Bertie County, who served in the 1883 and 1887 Houses, was reported elected to the 1885 House, but declined to serve. Mr. Speller, a Republican, completed coursework at Raleigh's St. Augustine's College (1877), taught school for eight years at Bertie Academy, then became a farmer. His wife was Rebecca (?); they had one child (telephone interviews with his great-great-grandson, Dr. Benjamin Franklin Speller, Jr. of Durham, May 1993).
CHAPTER 15: OF PUBLIC SPIRIT AND 1888

State House matters offered variety. Events at home during the 1880s were equally obliging but with narrower influence. As examples, Pasquotank's Board of Education (December 1, 1879 and January 5, 1880) ordered appointment of a District 5 committee to "select, lay off and mark out" an acre for "benefit of col. race as school house site" - owner to be paid $10.00.

Instruction in criminal justice came from the court system. A Negro male went to the penitentiary. His offense: stealing a "bunch of fish." The sentence: thirteen years.

There were also efforts to facilitate propagation of the Gospel. The Mt. Lebanon Church was busy erecting a "neat new" parsonage with members sponsoring an excursion to Norfolk on behalf of the project and netting some $123.00. A. M. E. Zion Bishop James Walker Hood was in and out of Elizabeth City making "able" addresses, as was the hometown gentleman now president of Livingstone College, Joseph Charles Price.

Mr. Cale had civic involvement in almost as much variety. Records of Pasquotank's commissioners authorizing that he be paid for this and that, tell something of his public activities in the early 1880's - that is, those activities not heretofore mentioned. He was a witness during the 1882 Fall Term of Pasquotank's Superior Court (paid the munificent sum of fourteen cents in January 1881). He was one of three suretors on a $500 bond - presented in February 1883 by James S. Wilcox, who was appointed by the County to the post of auctioneer.

Cale was named a juror for the term of Superior Court starting the third Monday in March, 1883 (allowed $2.05 for this service, April 7, 1884). He still furnished the Poorhouse (allowed $11.00 in September for wood) and in October 1883, he received an allowance of 55 cents for having been a witness in Superior Court. Also in October 1883, Cale was appointed a poll inspector in Elizabeth City. Citizens on November 20 would elect a successor to fill the
vacancy in Congress "caused by the death of W. F. Pool." The following month, Cale got a tax relief via an order which also implied something of his financial status at the time: "Ordered, that the no. of town lots listed by Hugh Cale be reduced to 6 lots, and the value of the same reduced to $1,250.00, and an order [sic] issue to him of three & 69/100 dollars for error in tax list, the same being owned and listed" by another gentleman.

In December, Cale was allowed his $3.00 (@ $1.00 a day) for "Poll Keeper" services during the aforementioned November election. More significant was the Board's creation of a commission "to investigate the Registration Books and determine as far as possible the number of qualified voters in Pasquotank County on the 18th day of September 1876, with power to Subpoena and examine witnesses as they may deem advisable." The issue had nothing to do with elections of persons but concerned a subscription voted upon at the time, related to the Norfolk and Southern Railroad. The County was now in contest with the company and thus that particular railroad issue was still surfacing. Cale was a witness before the ad hoc commission and, of course, in February, 1884 was allowed $2.50 for 2 1/2 days of such service.

For a coming election of Elizabeth City's mayor and commissioners, Cale was appointed a poll keeper on March 3, 1884 with a small honorarium allowed and on December 1, he turned up again as a bond suretor. George W. Cobb had been elected county treasurer for a two-year term. Mr. Cobb presented a bond for the general county fund, backed by five persons including

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1 MS Commissioners' Minute Book 3, respectively, pp. 82, 84, 88, 171, 124, 133. U. S. Representative-elect Walter Freshwater Pool died August 25, 1883. He was to serve in the 48th Congress (1883-1885). Thomas G. Skinner, a Democrat from Perquimans County, succeeded Democrat Pool (Cheyney, Government, pp. 699, 744 notes 106 and 107). Mr. Pool's resting place is cited (p. 217) by Wilma Cartwright Spence (comp.), Tombstones and Epitaphs of Northeastern North Carolina (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1973); hereinafter referred to as Spence, Tombstones.

2 Minute Book 3, p. 138, Minute of November 5, 1883.

3 Minute Book 3, pp. 143, 147, 155, Minutes of December 3, 1883 and February 4, 1884.
Messrs. Cale and Guirkin, and still another bond (Cale not a suretor) for the school fund. Chairman Francis M. Godfrey and Commissioners John H. Perry and W. T.? J.? Williams voted to approve both bonds; Commissioners C. H. Robinson and J. M. Weeks, did not. Later on, Mr. Cale and Mr. Weeks would be in direct contest.

On August 3, 1885, Cale was once again named a juror. On December 7 he once again appeared as a suretor on a bond for County Treasurer Cobb - except that this time he was one of seven men backing that official. Cale was allowed a small "Bill of cash" for service during the Spring Term of Superior Court (1886). By November 1, 1886, he had been a member of a special coroner’s jury and was awarded a small honorarium. With arrival of December 6, 1886, Cale had another and different title: "Hugh Cale T. S. C. [Township Constable] tendered his official Bond as T. S. C. with the following sureties T. P. Wilcox, C. Guirkin, Jeremiah Sawyer, which was accepted all voting in the affirmative" (punctuation as in original). The same Commissioners’ Minute also recorded that Cale once again had been named a poll inspector. This was for an election to be held Thursday, January 6, 1887. After this, Cale’s name became scarce in the Commissioners’ minutes. He was drawn as a juror for the June Term, 1887 (Minute of May 2, 1887, at p. 327) and showed no more until August 5, 1889 (p. 426) when again he was named a juror; this time for the September Term of Superior Court.

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4 Ibid., pp. 164, 175, 214.

5 Ibid., pp. 244, 259, 274, 298.

6 Minute Book 3, pp. 303, 304. He was elected for a two-year term, for Elizabeth City Township. His suretors undergirded his $500 bond (Official Bond Book, pp. 18-19, Pasquotank Register of Deeds’ office). "All" the commissioners equalled Chairman Godfrey, and Messrs. C. H. Robinson, D. B. Bradford, and B. F. Bray, who later resigned. Mr. Williams, the fifth commissioner, was not present or did not vote at the time. At p. 312 of the Minutes, Cale shows as a poll inspector’s fee beneficiary for the January "special" election.
Change was in the air. Some of it was noticeable through regrettable absences of local, and national, personalities. In the last years of the decade, more than a few who were active politically in the 1870s were now reported in obituary columns. These persons included national figures like New York Senator Roscoe Conkling, and local citizens like John Dance - the Republican newspaper stating that Mr. Dance, whose death was reported as May 1, 1888, was "one of the leading colored men of [Salem] township." Still other changes could be observed. The commissioners of Elizabeth City became more Democratic than Republican (three to two, and such ratios). Three Negroes in Plymouth, North Carolina were lynched by being shot to death. Many persons probably recalled the riot there, seven years earlier. Thus far, Elizabeth City had been spared such manifestations or they were little reported.

Pleasanter hometown news included the marriage of historian Stephen B. Weeks, widely known for his scholarly productions, to Mary, daughter of the Reverend Joseph Martin. In another sphere, a "new Colored Missionary Baptist church, called 'The Corner Stone Baptist Church' has been organized here." The *North Carolinian* reported this on March 28, 1888. Meanwhile, Cale was not on the periphery of things; where service for the County seemed to slacken, City matters occupied his public endeavors for a while.

Elizabeth City's governing board, on April 2, 1888, appointed Cale as one of two poll inspectors for the Fourth Ward (Evan Pritchard was the second Inspector). Voters concerned

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7 *North Carolinian*, July 14, 1886, p. 3; June 22 (p. 3), July 27 (p. 3), 1887; April 5 (p. 4), May 9 (p. 3), June 20 (p. 3), 1888. A State historic marker honoring Weeks is on US 17 South, near the Pasquotank-Perquimans County line. The Church was a bit earlier than 1888, since a document in Corner Stone's Archives Room indicates "prayer Meetings" during 1887-1889 on Cale Street, in what became Odd Fellows Hall (Butchko, *Shores*, p. ). describes the Hall). The Church was formally "organized" in 1889 under Elder Zion Hall Berry, whose resting place, curiously enough, is beneath the boiler room of New Sawyers Creek Baptist Church in Camden County (document, photo, Archives Room).
would gather at the "Cold [Colored] School House" on May 7. The city fathers met on May 9 to examine election results and authorized that poll inspectors be paid, at $2.00 each. Pritchard's sum was authorized; Cale's was not, a certain W. H. Lyons apparently having been substituted. At the same meeting of May 9, 1888, however, he was present in spirit on quite another matter:

To the Honorable Board of Commissioners
of Elizabeth City

We the undersigned businessmen and tax payers of said Town, hereby petition your Honorable Body to purchase for the protection of the property of said Town from fire, One Fire Engine, with Sufficient hose to make the same available for the purpose named. This March 16th 1888.

Hugh Cale was one of 112 signators to this petition. The city fathers appointed a fire commissioner, levied a fire tax, and eventually purchased the engine, later dubbed "Inez." Also, May 9, Emanuel Davis (4th Ward) was declared re-elected to the City Commission.  

Two years before this event, still another civic matter had interested Mr. Cale. Perhaps the legalese utilized retains the flavor better:

Know all men by these presents that whereas the colored people are desirous to purchase a lot of land, for the purpose of a colored cemetery for the sole use of the colored people of Pasquotank county and have selected the persons hereinafter named to purchase and hold for them a lot of land for said purposes, Now therefore we C. W. Grandy and Florence L. Grandy ... [etc.].

What Cale's longtime political colleague, and Mrs. Grandy, did on May 15, 1886 was to convey the land (for $140) to an interdenominational group of local leaders: William C. Butler, Cale,  

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8 The poll inspector appointment is at p. 40, substitution of fee payment at p. 46, and Davis' re-election at p. 44, Minute Book 4, Corporation of Elizabeth City. The petition is ibid., p. 45; appointment of a commissioner, p. 46. The town, then 5,000 strong, celebrated its new fire engine shortly thereafter (see North Carolinian, May 2, 1888, p. 3). Such local promontories as J. B. Flora Sr, P. W. "Mellick," S. L. Sheep, Palemon John, W. C. Butler, E. F. Lamb, M. B. Culpepper, Elisha Overton, Frank Vaughan, and J. W. Albertson Jr., were among petition signers. After service with and display at the Fire Department over a period of time, the water-pumper "Inez" - direct descendant of the 1888 petition - went to a concrete pedestal in front of the Museum of the Albemarle in 1967 (since removed to other location), complete with a commemorative news item and photograph in the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, July 12, 1967.
A. A. Small, Joshua A. Fleming, Robert Bowe,9 Lancaster Brothers, and Charles McDonald. This Negro burial ground - Oak Grove Cemetery - would be located on the road "leading from Elizabeth City to Pool Town known as Peartree Road."10 Mr. Cale would rest in this land 24 years later. In the interim he was, as usual, quite busy; for instance, other matters of finance came to the forefront in 1885 and 1886.

There was a difference of opinion between Cale (then a Representative) and the Corporation of Elizabeth City. The matter was decided in Cale's favor (1885) with over $100 involved. The following year, Mr. Cale was on the losing side of another financial argument, this one embracing some $650.00.11 What was the saying about 'city hall'?

9 Mr. Bowe died February 1, 1909, aged 80 (Book A, p. 45, Pasquotank Record of Deaths).

10 See Deed Record 7, p. 633, Office of the Register of Deeds, Pasquotank County. Boundary lines included land of the Grandy's, that of Samuel Haley, and the road. The deed was examined on May 15 by Judge John P. Overman and registered May 21 by T. P. Wilcox, Register of Deeds. Local citizens show awareness of an "Oak Grove" Cemetery occupying a small portion of the "New Oak Grove" Cemetery, also located on Peartree Road, south of the 1886 area, and containing tombstones from 1891. The same thoroughfare also had a Quaker Cemetery for Blacks - a not surprising development - located next to Hollywood Cemetery and long since in disrepair. "Negro Membership in the Society of Friends," Journal of Negro History, 21 (1936), p. 156, shows under the heading, Black Friends in Pasquotank 1758, that "meetings" were to be set up at "New Begun Creek" and "Simon's Creek." North Carolina Quakers were among the largest slaveowners in the state - owning, freeing, and emigrating former chattel to free soil (ibid.) By the 1890s, local Black businesses had begun serving deceased Blacks and their families - Elisha Overton perhaps the pioneer. Stacy Julius Walson (1893-1956 - an Iredell County native) was next, with his Walson Funeral Home - established 1916 and thus being the town's oldest surviving Black funeral business. Walson once owned a small portion of the abovementioned "New Oak Grove" Cemetery. The historic former residence of Judge George W. Brooks became headquarters for the business when Mr. Walson's firm moved there (occupied 1961-1969 by Davis Funeral Home, also a Black business) from its original South Road Street location. It was continued at that site by Dr. William Henry Jones, Jr. (1913-1982), a 1935 alumnus of ECSU and 1937 Shaw University graduate, late Principal of the-then P. W. Moore High School and ECSU Trustee (1981-1982). Dr. Jones' successor as head of the firm is David Calvin Freeman, ECSU '66, a former principal and, like Dr. Jones, an ECSU Trustee (from 1991). Mssrs. Walson, Jones, and Freeman were recalled with warmth via a July 26, 1992 Elizabeth City Daily Advance feature honoring the firm's 75th Anniversary (documents in ECSU Archives). Butchko, Shores, has the typographical error, "S," for Brooks' middle initial (pp. 86, 302) and erroneous Index reference to p. 269, which is actually pp. 260f. The Brooks-Walson building (as "Brooks") is part of the "Shepard Street-South Road Street Historic District," nomination for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places, achieved in 1994 (documents in the ECSU Archives).

11 Based upon records in the Office of the Clerk of Superior Court, Pasquotank County.
All was not dollars and cents, of course; there were letters to be written. Cale’s letter of August 24, 1886, to George T. Wassom, a secretary of the Colored Industrial Association of North Carolina, answered Wassom’s correspondence which Cale received "a few days ago." Cale continued (orthography as in original):

I was glade to hear from you conserning of the fair. I will do all I can for it, and glade to know that you are doeing so much for the cause. As soon as I find out what can be done I will let you know in time. Nothin more at present I will write you a gain soon. Your re [your] Brother

Hugh Cale

Nearly a decade later, Cale would himself solicit aid for a hometown fair.

One might pause to summarize Cale’s overall involvements. These same 1880s perhaps represented the summation of a rather distinct phase of his life.

By 1888, Hugh Cale had officiated at ballot-castings, been treasurer of Elizabeth City, had "hauled" on its streets, and argued about finances. He had bought and sold property, borrowed and loaned money, paid for merchandizing and liquor licenses, and served as a justice of the peace.

He was a sort of cemetery trustee, and had joined in requesting a fire engine. He had been a township trustee and constable, and twice a county commissioner. He had been a

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12 Hugh Cale to George T. Wassom, August 24, 1886, in Charles N. Hunter Papers, Special Collections Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina. The letter is cited as among those giving "optimistic, enthusiastic and 'dedicated'" support for the Association’s Fair, by Frenise A. Logan, "The Colored Industrial Association of North Carolina and Its Fair of 1886," hereinafter referred to as Logan, "Fair," North Carolina Historical Review, 34 (1957), p. 61 and n 11. Curiously, neither Wassom nor the 1886 Fair are indexed in Haley, Hunter. Charles Norfleet Hunter (ca. 1851-1931) was the other secretary and an Association founder. Wassom, often referred to as a "Col.,” was a politico prone to mount a table and orate in defense of his points of view according to Logan, Negro, pp. 33f. Such forcefulness was balanced perhaps by firm but polite resolutions passed by the North Carolina Teachers Association in 1886, favoring establishment of a "normal collegiate institute" for Negroes; Mrs. G. T. Wassom was a committee member for two such resolutions (see Herbert Aptheker, A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States, 2 vols., paperback edition [New York: Citadel Press, 1964; hereinafter referred to as Aptheker, Documentary History], II, pp. 693, 694.)
steward in his church and a delegate to a Negro convention and involved in other political conclaves.

He was a trustee of a college, school district committeeman, and board of education member. He performed weddings and other legalistics as a justice of the peace; and had been a town lamplighter, protem, and an election registrar.

He had seen service as a juryman, a coroner's juryman, and grand juror and as a witness in court cases. He had supervised a prisoner's working out his costs; helped build bridges; and conveyed paupers and mentally ill persons to appropriate institutions.

He had been a laborer, a grocer, and was a registered voter. He paid taxes and served as trustee for persons and institutions in their own tax payments; had been a guardian for orphans; and bought or built houses.

He had addressed civic groups, grade school pupils, and normal school students. He supported a Negro fair, and won a prize in the hometown fair. He had been to the Outer Banks, and to Philadelphia, and to Raleigh four times as a state legislator.

He neither smoked nor drank (it is reported); had married and acquired a son; married off his "niece"; had reached his fifties; and in general had been a rather busy fellow. Overlaying and underlying the past two decades was public work, especially the department of politics, Republican division; and Hugh Cale was 'not about' to quit now.

For instance, on Monday, January 2, 1888, the "twenty-fifth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation was duly celebrated by the Colored people here," the North Carolinian reported (on January 4). "They were out on parade, with flags and music, and then assembled at the Court House where addresses were delivered by ex-Senator [George A.] Mebane
of Bertie; Prof. Reid of Gates; Dr. Manley and Hugh Cale of Elizabeth City, and others." That was appropriate civic involvement for the Gentleman from Pasquotank.

Equally appropriate, it would seem, was for the Gentleman to appear at the city Republican convention on Friday, May 12 (1888) when delegates to the Republican county convention were selected. With Judge Albertson as chairman, and M. B. Culpepper and Dr. John as secretaries, Negroes were allowed and elected since Jesse Brown was named a delegate. Judging from the North Carolinian's report on May 16, however, Cale was not prominent at the session. More curious than this was the county convention on Saturday, May 12, like the city session, held in Elizabeth City's courthouse. With John S. Morris, chairman, and former State Representative Noah R. Newby, secretary, Negroes again were allowed in and elected to larger conventions, since Brown and A. A. Small were named, respectively, among delegates and alternates to the District convention and Edmund Daily named alternate to the Congressional convention. Many other names were given prominent mention - Culpepper and Newby, delegates, and Edmund J. Barco as an alternate to the Senatorial convention - but still no report of Hugh Cale (according to the May 16 Carolinian). At the state convention (May 23), George Mebane and John Dancy (both Negroes) were secretaries during this 85-county delegate assembly; Palemon John was a Credentials Committee member; John Dancy was elected a delegate-at-large to the national convention at Chicago; and in general, it would seem that Republican politics had bypassed Mr. Cale.

Quite singular, if satisfactory in some quarters, then, was the development in Edenton on June 8, 1888, during the First District convention which named delegates to the national Republican noise-making at Chicago (to begin on June 19, the Carolinian reported). C. B.
Bernard, Esq., of Greenville, was elected by acclamation. "For the other delegates, Hugh Cale, of Elizabeth City, H. G. Gussom, of Edenton and M. F. Burke, of Hertford, were placed in nomination. Mr. Cale having received a majority of the votes, on motion, his election was made unanimous." (Gussom and William W. Speight of Gates County, became alternates by acclamation.)

Assuming he was not elected in absentia, how Cale got to the Edenton convention in the first place is a tiny mystery. But he apparently was there; went to Chicago; and there, one assumes, did what one Republican delegate could, to support thrust resulting in Benjamin Harrison becoming Party nominee for the presidency of the United States.

During May 1888, "Hugh Cale was the lay delegate from this place to the General Conference of the A. M. E. Zion Church in NewBerne [sic]," according to the *North Carolinian* for May 23. In one prelate's view, this Conference was a five-day "struggle to have the ... Church to give up her position of Ultra-Conservatism and assume a progressive attitude ...." The record does not indicate which camp had Delegate Cale's allegiance, but it is clear that, at mid-1888, he thus wound up covering both the political and parochial fronts - nor was it unusual that their boundaries were a bit blurred. Meanwhile, the time was approaching whereby the office-holding "front" also needed covering.

Elizabeth City Township's Republicans gathered on Friday, July 20, to elect delegates to the county convention wherein Pasquotank's officers would be nominated. This would be on

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13 Mr. Speight, who became a state senator, had less than two years to live. Dr. John reported on May 14, 1890, that news of the former senator's death came as a "painful shock" to the editor.

August 6. C. C. Pool chaired the session with Messrs. Culpepper and Small as secretaries. "On motion of Hugh Cale," Chairman Pool was instructed to appoint delegates and alternates to the county convention. Pool then appointed Colonel Guirkin, A. B. Seeley, and Jesse R. Brown as delegates with Dr. John and Messrs. Cale and Small as alternates. John P. Overman, Culpepper, and Brown were "continued" as the Township's executive committee. When the report of the county convention came in, having met Monday, August 6, Edmund J. Barco was Republican nominee for Pasquotank's representative (eventually elected) and Mr. Cale's name was mentioned as a convention participant not at all. The report did say that "attendance was larger than for years and the proceedings were entirely harmonious."

Cale's absence from the literature might be explained by his alternate status and by the fact that, unless he made motions or was appointed something, his name logically would not be reported, barring some speech-making. A more significant reason, however, was an event held on July 13, 1888: "At a meeting of colored citizens of Elizabeth City, held on Friday night, at which J. R. Brown was called to the chair and A. A. Small was appointed Secretary, after remarks by Jordan Close, Hugh Cale, N[oah] R. Newby, Joshua Bowe and others, a resolution was adopted recommending, in the interests of the Republican party, that an entire white ticket be nominated at the [county] Convention and supported at the election. This action shows an unselfish and patriotic spirit and is highly commended." The North Carolinian commented thus, as a part of its July 18 report.

Cale may well have seen political expediency in the move and may have felt that it hurt no one's immediate aspirations. He may have appreciated the North Carolinian's back-patting in November - "The Colored Republican Club at this place, of which J. R. Brown is Chairman,
did noble and effective work in this campaign" - and then again, he may not. By then, however, how Edmund Daily felt about the election outcome and about the Club's work, would no longer be determined. Like Hugh, a Negro, and a veteran of Pasquotank's Republicanism, this "well known citizen of Newland, this county, after a long illness, died on Friday night [October 10, 1888] aged about 65 years." Death, in the latter 1880s, came to many of the old guard; those left had much to reflect upon.

Although there was sadness, its opposite also existed. Local Republicans felt they had much to be happy for, since Harrison was elected President. The North Carolinian was even willing to print in its November 14 issue a two-column drawing of a tombstone, inscribed "All is Over With Free Trade Grover [Cleveland]..." and at its base, "Blown up November 6, 1888." Pasquotank's Republicans had "illuminations" on Wednesday night, November 21, "in honor of the great National Republican victory." Palemon John's newspaper of November 28 glowed with a description. Main and "Central Road" streets were ornamented with "several hundred" Chinese lanterns "hung on cords diagonally across from tree to tree.... Nearly every Republican had his dwelling and place of business lighted up." Next, the report listed various homes "among others" which he "noticed" - he then proceeding to name every local big-name Republican in reach. In fact, the reporter was careful not to miss any future vote possibilities: "Among the prominent colored whose houses were conspicuously illuminated were J[esse] R. Brown, W[illiam] R. Riddick, Hugh Cale, S. F. Dickson, W. Gordon and E[manuel]...

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15 Events described are from the following 1888 issues of the North Carolinian: May 30, p. 2; June 13, July 18 and 25, August 8, October 24 - all, p. 3; November 7, p. 2. (There were probably two men named Edmund Daily, since one was still active by June, 1889.) The Reverend W. W. Kennedy, chairman of the board when Cale was a county commissioner, died on June 9, 1889 at the age of 70, according to the June 13, 1889 North Carolinian (p. 3). Kennedy had been a nominee for the county board of education in 1887 but lost to J. D. Perry (16 votes), N. R. Parker (14), and George Baker (13) in the commissioners' and justices of the peace election of June 6, 1887 (Commissioners' Minute Book 3, p. 338).
M. Davis." The whole was polished off with a parade sparked with signs inscribed with various polite sentiments: "Cleveland Went Up Like a Rocket, and Came Down Like a Stick"; "Turn the Radicals Out" (hardly the most fortunate coinage!); and "Three Epochs - Republican, from 1861 to 1885 - Democratic from 1884 to 1889 - Republican from 1889 to 2000." "Everything passed off soberly, orderly and in good feeling."

The "illuminations" and banners could be deemed many notches higher than some of the events preliminary to party victory. Delegate Cale and others could hardly have been totally unaware of vocal gems tailored to the times. Some thirty "rousing" songs were available in the 32-page Republican Club Campaign Song Book for 1888, gotten up in Chicago and containing texts only. Samples: "Say, white folks, hab you seen Grove Cleveland / wid de sadness on his face..." to the tune, "Kingdom Comin'" (p. 10); or from page thirteen:

Sing a song of Cleveland,
With pockets wrongside out;
Many idle workingmen
Standing all about.

To the tune, "Goodbye, My Lover, Goodbye," was grafted (p. 20): "O, Democrats, hear the trumpet blow / Good-bye, free-traders, good-bye!" With the music of the chorus to "Oh Susanna" (p. 23), President Cleveland was caricatured: "Oh, Ben Harrison, help me to some safe shore, / And I'll go back to Buffalo and stay forever more." Party solidarity was invited with stanza four of the following example of American lieder, designed to fit the music of "Kingdom Comin'" (p. 8):

I don't like dis yere red bandana,
It minds me o' 'fore de war;
Gib me de flag dat freed de nigger,
Dat's de flag I se prayin for,
For the stars an' stripes an' Harrison
Dis nigger'll pray and shout;
An' I'll bet ten dollar de Democratic party
Am a gwine to step down and out.

Of two things there was certainty. Whether state legislator, county official, Congressman, town councilman or whatever - if he were a Negro, at some point he would become the butt of, or instrument for, ridicule. If he was a plain citizen rather than an office-holder or office-aspirant, he could expect the same thing. The difference resided in the frequency of lampooning.

"De flag dat freed de nigger" also left him (or her) with the problem of how best to keep one's head high and back erect. Former State Representative Cale, Delegate, Republican, had matters to ponder - probably from different perspective than Attorney Howard Cale of Indianapolis, Mr. Harrison's former law partner.
CHAPTER 16: IN SEARCH OF A SEAT (1889-1890)

Mr. Cale appears to have taken a sort of political rest, locally, during most of 1889; he was listed in the North Carolinian of August 14 to be a juror for Pasquotank's superior court but otherwise was seldom seen in its columns. A significant reason for journalistic absence may have been the nature of listings when they occurred, for instance that of September 11: "Mr. Hugh Cale is home on a leave of absence for a short time from Washington City." The Gentleman from Pasquotank for the time being had shifted his scene of operations. Viewed thus, the "political rest" may have been more apparent than real.

No clear picture of his Washington activities had developed when this was written. The closest information came for 1892, when Cale was a messenger - on the surface, an odd occupation for him - living at 302 H Street, N. E.,1 Washington, D.C. The significance of his many trips to and from Washington, extending through some of the 1880s and into the 1890s, may yet come to light. It is possible that he resided there with Junious and Elizabeth (Cale) Rooks. They, too, were back and forth between DC and Gates County.2

Quite often during 1889-1890, when Cale returned to Elizabeth City, the news he might hear was not pleasant. The North Carolinian for January 1, 1890, reported, "Hugh Cale has returned from Washington City," and Cale could learn that a former associate had died in Pasquotank's Poorhouse on November 25, 1889. He could also learn that William R. Riddick

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1 The author is indebted to Mr. Buford Rowland, then of the National Archives, for assisting with an attempt to unravel Cale's Washington sojourn. Less-than-significant employment circumstances attended the later years of more than one black legislator. Representative Sykes, of both the North Carolina and Tennessee Houses finished his career in Nashville as an elevator operator (Ballou, New Man, p. 17). Yolette Trigg Jones termed Sykes' job "symbolic" of black Republicans' plummeting from political prominence, following the Party's November, 1890 election "debacle" in Tennessee (p. 66 of her 1985 Duke dissertation, The Black Community, Politics, and Race Relations in the "Iris City"...).

2 Deed Book 44, p. 117 (Gates County Register of Deeds), cites Washington residence for them, in connection with a January 14, 1892 Gates County land transaction.
was reported to have passed on, Tuesday, December 3. Mr. Riddick had been publicized in the Republican newspaper only a year earlier. Another person had been very active in the upper reaches of county politics (Republican) a decade or so before his aforementioned demise in the Poorhouse. Cale surely had come into frequent contact with these men.

In a different matter, there was also less than cheerful news. Among 164 men in North Carolina "excluded for non-payment of dues" was "H. Cale," as of "December 6th, 1889." This referred to Cale’s Eastern Star Lodge No. 15 (Masonic), headquartered in Elizabeth City. With Cale, as with other prominent men in that same list (which included a former state representative, as was Cale), a man’s fortunes went up and down. It was quite possible, however, that journeys to and/or residence in Washington contributed to overlooking the responsibility.

Nor was news improved by February 19, 1890, when the Carolinian indicated that "Hugh Cale had again returned from Washington City." Elder William H. Pitts, Elizabeth City’s A. M E. Zion pastor twenty years earlier and "well known throughout eastern North Carolina," had died in Portsmouth, Virginia on February 8, it was reported, "about" 80 years old. More and more of Hugh’s associates and contemporaries were passing on.

Other items were not less disturbing. Dr. John railed against the Democrats for gerrymandering the boundary lines of the town’s five wards (the Fourth Ward had 17 lines). Implicit in the fulmination was the fact that the opposition had just about conquered. Lynching

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3 See Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Communication of the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge for the State of North Carolina, held at Winston, N.C., December 10, 11 and 12, 1889 (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton, 1890), p. 43. The Lodge’s secretary was then Emanuel M. Davis, frequently mentioned in the present text, who was also District Deputy Grand Master for the 5th district containing five lodges - Elizabeth City, South Mills, Hertford, Winfall, Roper (Proceedings ... 1889, pp. 51, 80). Among those prominent in the 1889 Proceedings were others with whom Cale had acquaintance, e.g., George H. White, and James W. Hood. Stewart Ellison of Raleigh, Cale’s sometime legislative colleague, was the Grand Master.
proceeded apace (none reported in Elizabeth City, however) and the local chapter of the Farmer's Alliance set their meetings for Tuesday at 7:30 p.m., and Saturdays at 3:30 (in the courthouse) "until further notice." Political alignments and issues were indeed shifting.

Another less-than-subtle item was the half-column-long, apparently verbatim report of an anonymous colored gentleman's strong disfavor for Negroes who sought public office. The gentleman felt that Republicans had done great quantities of good work for "his race" and that the best thing they (the Negroes) could do now was consolidate gains and not push too fast nor certainly too hard. John himself noted in his March 26, 1890 Carolinian that education and land-owning would do more for Negroes "than all the offices, municipal, State or National." He perhaps sought an advance cushioning for the time when the colored vote would become a cipher; or perhaps he had become just plain disenchanted with Negro office-holding - whether an emolument of citizenship or party crutch.

Negroes, nationally, during the 20-year turn-of-the-century period (ca. 1890-1910) were in for hard times and a process of developing what they considered to be survival techniques. These techniques were designed to maintain collective self-respect. That some of the techniques developed were awkwardly overdrawn versions of what was deemed to be 'correct' life styles, as countenanced by the 'good white people', was of little import. They had to have something to hang on to, when much they had enjoyed was being eroded. Hugh Cale may have spent comparatively little time pondering long-term future effects of burgeoning developments but that does not seem likely. He was now a twenty-year veteran of Pasquotank Republicanism and without a doubt, he sniffed the current political winds.
Meanwhile, Negroes kept in political practice. Elisha Overton won election to the town’s Board of Commissioners, from the Fourth Ward. Local Negro enumerators for the 1890 Census came to be praised for their accuracy and neatness.4

Some little comforts were forthcoming, however. John, in the April 16, 1890 edition of his newspaper, had this tidbit: "A Northern correspondent, among other inquiries, asks the Carolinian: ‘Do any number of the colored people of Elizabeth City own their homes?’ The answer is, they do. Among those whose residences are neat and very respectable are Jesse R. Brown, Elisha Overton, Whitmel Lane, Isaac Leigh, Hugh Cale, Jordan Close and Henry Starke. Quite a number of others have comfortable homes, all their own. And the number is increasing."

That was quite nice, but Cale and Lane, among others, had been owning, buying, and selling homes for a long time. Elisha Overton was a respected contractor, who built homes and other structures. For Hugh’s part, he probably deemed it as important to get where laws concerning home-owning and other matters were made or modified. At any rate, he would not get into a stagnant state: the April 23 issue of John’s newspaper noted that "Hugh Cale is back again for a few weeks from Washington City." A little circulation did not hurt a man. Polling fever was a bit more pronounced nowadays and the voters should see a fellow ever so often.

Political back-patting occupied the North Carolinian. "Intelligent colored men" were not to "fall for the new combine" - probably referring to the ascendancy of the Farmers Alliance. "Two of our active young colored men, J[ohn] H. M. Butler and Sumner Lane" (the latter a member of Whitmel’s family) opened a grocery on South Road Street. The Good Samaritans had

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4 Pasquotank’s Commissioners, on August 4, 1890, ordered an entirely new registration of voters, in every precinct (Minute Book 3, p. 470), most probably became of the new census - not to mention the opportunity to get a new look at voting potential for whatever party.
a "very pleasant time" during the celebration of their anniversary; they were a "worthy and influential colored organization." Ex-Senator George Mebane, "late of Bertie," had started the *Industrial Advocate* in Elizabeth City; printed it at the office of the Democratic *Falcon*; and won the comment from Editor John's organ that Mebane's journal "appears to be largely made up with matter taken from that paper" (*Falcon*).

The "Sankey" of the "colored race" - the Reverend J. H. Manley of Petersburg, Virginia, was in town for an address at the A. M. E. Zion Church: "Shall the Colored Man take up his Bed and Walk, or Shall he Stay?" The Republican journal agreed with Mr. Manley's decision that Negroes should not emigrate. Judge Pool presented an address at the same church (Mt. Lebanon), this one some six weeks later (July 10), his topic being strictly non-political - whether or not his presence was; the audience heard about "Brazil." More to the point was John's comment on the opposition (which did not include Pool): "How coyly the Democratic spiders are coaxing the colored flies into their parlors." Equally to the point was a big picnic in Tyrrell County sponsored by the local Farmers Alliance and sparked by the band of the Pasquotank Rifles. However Negro Republicans may have reacted to such frolics and being called "flies" - or the Democrats, "spiders" - such was a sampling of the pre-election climate in Elizabeth City at mid-1890.5

The Gentleman from Pasquotank also received newspaper coverage in the meantime. The July 15, 1890 *North Carolinian* presented two items in the same issue: "Mr. Hugh Cale had returned from Washington City. He is one of the ablest and most influential colored men in this district." After this high and well-deserved praise, was the report that the "colored people had

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5 See the *North Carolinian* (page three in each instance) for May 14, 21, 28, and July 8, 15, 1890. The Manley comparison is to evangelist Ira D. Sankey (1840-1908).
a large meeting at Nixonton on Friday [July 11]. Speeches were made by Hugh Cale and J. W. Barrington, both of whom were loudly applauded."

Diverting as it was to titillate voters - every group was involved in the pastime, Republicans, Democrats, and Farmers Alliance - it was instructive to learn the dimension of the voting potential. John reported on July 22 that the 1890 Census for Elizabeth City "foots up" with 3,252 in the town and complained that some one thousand persons were uncounted because of what he called Democratic gerrymandering. According to his figures for each of the five wards, the total properly was 3,251. In any event, his report on August 5 was that fewer Negroes were in town in 1890 than in 1880. Perhaps emigration fervor had had its effects; perhaps economics; perhaps the racial climate; perhaps all of the above.

Whatever the problems created by the vote potential, not to mention pressures resulting from considerable shifting in political alignments and concepts over a wide geographic area, the time had arrived to field candidates. In the present instance, executive committees of local and district conventions for national and district offices, and the committees themselves were permitted to nominate candidates. This move, the *North Carolinian* reported on August 19, had the support of "leading Republicans," white and black. Cale's erstwhile co-delegate to the Chicago convention which nominated Benjamin Harrison, was nominated to Congress from the First District. This nominee, C. B. Bernard of Greenville, got strong support in the District but he eventually felt the need to insert a graceful "card" in the local party organ expressing his appreciation for support even though he did not win. "Demo-Alliance or Allia-Democratic (which?)" forces had gained the upper hand, after John's having so labelled them on September
2, and after his September 23 quotation of the San Francisco *Chronicle*’s advice, "Don’t Try to Fool the Farmer."

Meanwhile the Negro Republicans of Elizabeth City met on Thursday night, September 18, 1890. "E[manuel] M. Davis ⁶ was called to the chair and J[ohn] W. Barrington was appointed Secretary. Able and convincing speeches were made by Messrs. H. G. [sic] Gussom, Hugh Cale and Medicus M. Phelps. There was great enthusiasm. The action of the Congressional, Judicial and Senatorial Executive Committee was endorsed." Not so unqualified was the endorsement contained in resolutions adopted by the colored Republican clubs during their district meeting in Edenton on September 30. They felt that selection of nominees was "not wise," but "heartily" endorsed those selected, including Mr. Bernard. W. W. Blair, secretary, and R. M. Lee, "Chm’n," signed the report as it appeared in the *North Carolinian* on October 7. Dr. John felt that the resolutions "had the right ring."

Earlier, on August 28, the state Republican platform won adoption. It endorsed the Party’s platform of 1888, President Harrison, and the Silver Bill. The Platform also urged: repealing the "iniquitous" county government system; farmers’ throwing off the "despotic yoke of bourbon tyranny"; free elections; and James G. Blaine’s policy of reciprocity in opening Central American markets to farmers, manufacturers, and laborers in the United States. The Platform condemned the United States Senate’s failure to pass the Blair Education Bill ⁷ and urged

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⁶ Nineteen months earlier, Mr. Davis (listed as "Manuel" and "Emanal") had the sad task of ordering a child’s coffin (p. 19 of *Ziegler Ledger 1887-1892*, entry for March 22, 1889).

⁷ Amid much literature on the topic is Crofts, "Blair Bill"; North Carolina is included. Whitener, "Public Education," gives less than "A" grade to Republicans’ activities concerning North Carolina’s development of its school systems.
the State's Congressional delegation to help the Bill in any way possible. It also decried Democrats having passed North Carolina's election law (1889 Legislature) which "enables politicians to defeat by fraud and trickery the honest will of the people." All elected to offices, especially those beyond the local level, had the Republican "word" before them for consideration and implementation. The Democrats, via their *Economist* (October 21, 1890; Paul Creecy, manager) had a word also, with a Negro dialect editorial on a "Distinguished Republican politician - Milton Leonidas Littlefield" (the Western North Carolina Railroad, rode again). It was not a pleasant piece; the times were like that. The times also required that political parties complete their slates.

Pasquotank's Republicans in county convention assembled, unanimously formed a roster, October 27, 1890. John P. Overman was listed for clerk of court; M. B. Culpepper, register of deeds; Thomas P. Wilcox, sheriff; George W. Cobb, treasurer; Hugh Cale, representative to the Legislature. Also unanimous was adoption of resolutions endorsing Bernard for Congress, J. W. Halstead and E. T. Snipes for the State Senate, and C. C. Pool for solicitor. "The proceedings were harmonious and good feeling predominated," the *North Carolinian* reported on October 28. It also reported in the same issue that "about a half dozen Democrats met in one of the rooms at the Court House on Saturday [October 25] and fixed up" a ticket which included James M. Weeks for the County's state representative. The *Economist* for October 28 (Tuesday) was more decorous. It simply listed who was nominated by Republicans for what - with a sneakily

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8 The 1889 General Assembly had eleven black Representatives and two black Senators (Ballou, *North Carolina's Black Legislators*), including the veteran Wilson Carey. Collectively, they engineered a pothole or so in history's road, but could not divert its direction.
inserted adjective that referred to the said Republicans' "mixed " convention. The next paragraph was equally bare-boned - facts only, unless one overlooked an innuendo or so, like the one above.

The "half dozen Democrats," as John called them, would augment themselves considerably just a little later. So much did they do so, that John reported on November 4, "as we go to press the election is in progress. As to the result, the Carolinian has made no predictions." The situation definitely was not a settled one. The times seemed to be past when the journal would not only predict victory but the margin of it, as it did during an earlier Cale candidacy.

Unsettlement existed in other than political camps. Back at the beginning of 1890, meetings took place. These concerned education and left a message for candidates, Cale included - whether or not the message might be heeded.

By 1890, Pasquotank had benefitted from a proliferation of educational possibilities for the Negro population - all the way from 1865. Nonetheless, these advances were not up to the caliber desired in some quarters. Some sought firmer private school footing, in contrast to state support. Of significance, therefore, was a meeting of local Negroes, held January 22, 1890. The January 29 Carolinian carried the following report (punctuation as in original):

COLORED EDUCATIONAL MASS MEETING.

Pursuant to a call by the Trustees of the colored Normal School a meeting was held in the Court House on Wednesday night, January 22nd, 1890, for the purpose of considering the present and the future educational interests of the community. The meeting was called to order by E[mauel] M. Davis, who in a few terse remarks, explained the object of the meeting whereupon he was elected chairman. J. A. Fleming, jr., [sic] was elected secretary and G[orge] A[l]len] Mebane assistant. Frank Vaughan esq. was called, who came forward and entertained the meeting for thirty minutes. He knew the colored people had made rapid strides since emancipation, socially, financially and
educationally; yet their condition was not what it should be according to their advantages. They were minus in this city of that interest in self education which should characterize them, [sic] Here he declared there were two distinct classes which he proceeded to define. The one industrious, self-respected [sic; respected] and respected; the other indolent, neglected, worthless. The children of the one might readily be distinguished from the other, &c, "You cannot," said he, "perform your duties to yourselves nor as citizens, without improving the mind by education." He closed by assuring the meeting of his hearty support in any laudable undertaking for the advancement of the colored race. Mr. Mebane wished to say that he was gratified at the attendance and had heard and knew of no opposition to the movement. Rev. P. W. Melick was called and spoke at length upon the condition of the colored race and of the importance and advantages of knowledge. He spoke earnestly regarding religion and sabbath schools.

Prof. S. L. Sheep, county Supt. of Public Instruction, was the next to speak. He had not thought of what to say before coming, but the speeches already made had opened an inviting field for talking. He spoke upon the importance of uniting in the advancement of any cause, and the great need of a first class private school for the benefit of the colored people. He believed that when the white people saw the colored people endeavoring to help themselves they would more willingly pay the school tax. Such a school as it projected would be a benefit to the community and the surrounding counties and he hoped for its establishment.

Mr. W. C. Brooks being called, desired to show his appreciation of the invitation extended to him by saying a few words of encouragement and sympathy for such a move. He counseled the acquisition of education as above all other acquirements, it is something the sheriff cannot get.

The assistant sec'y here read letters endorsing the meeting from Messrs. D. B. Bradford, C. H. Robinson, J. H. M. Butler, J. P. Overman and Revs. E. M. Jordan, C. A. G. Thomas, Joshua Fleming and Hardy Moore, regretting their inability to attend the meeting in person, but took this means of assuring us of their approval and support of such [sic; such] an effort. Short speeches were made by Revs. A. L. Newby, Joshua Bowe and George Williams, pledging their hearty support. By request an article in the Carolinian was read expressive of the sentiments of Dr. John.9 The assistant secretary read a series of resolutions setting forth what he conceived to be the object and purpose of the meeting, which were adopted. The chairman was authorized to appoint a committee to draft a constitution and by-laws to report at the next meeting, consisting of Revs. A. L. Newby, J. K. Lamb, J. A. Fleming and A. A. Small, Elisha Overton, James R. Brown and Dempsey Griffin.

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9 John editorialized urgently on values of Negroes acquiring education and land, versus seeking office (North Carolinian January 22, 1890, p. 3). More than one Negro shared the sentiment (the April 30, 1890 North Carolinian, has an example). Others addressed the problem by emigrating.
On motion the meeting adjourned until Wednesday night, January 29th.

J. A. Fleming
G. A. Mebane
Sec'y

E. M. DAVIS
Chm'n

The Carolinian published a report of the group's second meeting, this news appearing under the heading, "THE COLORED EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENT - AN ORGANIZATION EFFECTED" (edition of February 5, 1890):

Pursuant to adjournment the meeting met on the 29th ult, E. M. Davis in the chair. The committee on Constitution and By-laws reported which after being read, was adopted. J. P. Overman esq, being present was invited to address the meeting, which he did, making pointed and encouraging remarks. Letters were read from Messrs. S. S. Fowler, M. B. Culpepper, T. P. Wilcox, and others, expressing [sic] sympathy with the movement.

The following resolution was adopted: "That the letters just read, with those read at the previous meeting, be retained by the Association as a stimulus to our efforts." After a very pertinent address by Rev. Joshua Bowe, the following were elected permanent officers: Rev. A. L. Newby, President; Rev. J. K. Lamb, Vice President; A. A. Small Recording Secretary; J. H. M. Butler, Assistant Secretary; J. R. Fleming, Corresponding Secretary; Whitmell [sic] Lane, Treasurer, and Rev. J. S. Caldwell [pastor of Mt. Lebanon], Chaplain. After some other business adjourned to meet on the 5th of February.

J. R. Fleming
Sec'y

E. M. DAVIS
Chm'n

Perhaps the meeting of February 5 was held, but no report of any subsequent meetings could be found in available editions of the North Carolinian. What could be found via press coverage was continuing concern about conditions and differences of approach to problem

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10 The San Francisco Elevator for October 11, 1890 ("The Only Acknowledged Organ of the Colored Race of California and the Official Organ of the American Citizens' Equal Rights Association for the State Of California") felt that educational progress in North Carolina as elsewhere depended upon Republican ascendancy. It asserted: "That the Farmers' Alliance of North Carolina have found it necessary to take steps looking to the establishment of a cooperative school at Moorehead [sic] city in that State speaks volumes for the poor condition of their public schools. There is not a State controlled by the Republican party in which better educational facilities are not furnished to all without pay than can possibly be obtained, outside of the half a dozen expensive colleges, in the Southern States, for pay." The Elevator's optimistic 1890 prediction: "When the Southern voters are educated, more of them will become Republicans."
resolution. Mr. Davis, for example - chairman of the Educational Meeting in 1890 - was elected a "Commissioner" from Pasquotank, to serve on a "Board of Commissioners of Emigration." This was just eight months earlier - May 1889. The Board was to favor migration "to more than one State or Territory" and the "exodus" was to be "gradual."\textsuperscript{11} On the other hand, the Reverend Monroe R. Lane, Presbyterian minister and son of Whitmel Lane, indicated years later that Negroes should have studied technology. Former teacher Lane felt there was an over-abundance of teachers/preachers, but "we are pitifully shy of technicians."\textsuperscript{12}

Of course, the machinery for getting someone into the Legislature, to do something about problems, was already in motion. At the time, the "who" was a doubtful factor; only the "what" was clear: it was the age-old urge for power. In November 1890, therefore, those who felt they managed or influenced the electorate were busy getting all factors settled. For the Republican camp, Palemon John and others rightfully kept fingers crossed.

With some relief, he was able to report on November 11, 1890, "Representative Cale 'reads his title clear' notwithstanding the devious efforts of the 'combine' to down him. This will be his third term." It was his fourth and he was fortunate; in the future, some Republicans would not get their first. John also had to report: "The contest of November had been fought and as the smoke of the battle clears away it is clear that the Republicans did not win." He explained the situation and gave optimistic predictions for "two years hence." That was on page

\textsuperscript{11} North Carolinian, May 8, 1889, p. 3; full text of the journal's report in Appendix 2, p. 463.

\textsuperscript{12} Elizabeth City Independent, April 17, 1936, Section 2, p. 1 (fragment of edition in Elisha Overton Papers, ECSU Archives). See also Appendix 1, "Connections...," pp. ___.
two. On page three of that November 11 issue, he suggested, "The election is over, now for business."

Dr. John did just that in an interesting page three, column two. He followed his own advice with an item on corn crops. Next: "Old Pasquotank remains the banner Republican county of the District." Next, items on cotton and on blue fish. Next, "The census of Pasquotank shows that the white population had increased in much larger proportion than the colored." Then came an item on marriage. This was followed by: "While about seventy percent of the colored voters remain steadfast in support of the party that enfranchised them it is now evident that the balance of them can be induced [his italics] to vote against it." Immediately following that, was "A paradox: To hear Democrats cursing the 'nigger' and insisting on the 'color line' in politics and then on election day doing all they can to get colored votes for the Democratic ticket!" Dr. John reported that a fire burned down a saw mill; then said the Democrats were overjoyed in having made up for President Cleveland's defeat;¹³ told the Republicans to look to 1892; then commented on pretty women in Elizabeth City. Next came reports of marriages, followed by how the Democratic candidate for solicitor went to work in earnest to garner Negro votes with a resultant election win - thus causing unhappiness to more than one "prominent" Democrat who did not want the said solicitor in the first place. It was an interesting column which began by suggesting that 'election-itis' be put aside.

Mr. Weeks, meanwhile, had given Mr. Cale a rather close run. Cale won 922 votes; Weeks, 881. Cale was a veteran of the County's politics but apparently there were some who

¹³ The feud was nothing new. The Falcon way back in its December 12, 1884 issue, referred to "Our Sage Contemporary," the North Carolinian, which had "distinction" in determining why corn had dropped to 35 cents per bushel; it was because of Cleveland's presidency. Further, the Falcon said: "Among other calamities immediately traceable to this cause, our astute neighbor fails to mention the Washington monument, the Virginia plague and the contemplated removal of P. John."
thought his political status should be a little different - retired. Even so, the "election here ... passed off very quietly," the local Republican organ claimed. It said that 756 votes were polled, this being 81 off the total registration. In fact, the North Carolinian's lead editorial a week later (November 18) was the grump that Republicans from the District aspiring to national-level offices were "Defeated by the Stay-At-Home Voters." Nonetheless, Cale for the state-level office polled 50.7% of a final total of 1,817 votes cast for representative, carrying four of eight precincts, even if his tiny majority was but 41 votes.

Nor was Weeks his sole opponent. A. A. Small, chairman of the same Elizabeth City district school committee of which Cale had been a member, and an officer of that 1890 Colored Educational Association, ran for the House and polled one vote. Earl (or Edward?) Davis did better, with three votes. William(?) Henry Stark (or Starke) tallied four; Joseph (or John) L. Oliver, five; and Rooks Turner in his second bid, one vote.14 Yet, for all the post-election soul-searching and dark looks, two items were pleasant: John announced that the November 11 issue of his newspaper appeared on his 63rd birthday; and, "How delightful the weather had been the past week."

For Hugh Cale, nearing what one takes to be his 55th birthday and approaching his fourth term as a state legislator, the weather during the past week more than likely had been downright beautiful. Perhaps the days were beautiful enough to allow the Representative-elect to be not overly affected by the following "Query" appearing in John's journal on November 18: "Which is the most honorable, to vote for a competent colored man [Cale?], or to hob-nob with negroes

14 Election totals for all except Small and Turner were given in the North Carolinian, November 11, 1890, p. 3. Here, data are utilized from the Election Book (Office of Pasquotank's Board of Elections).
to secure their support? White Republicans did the former, white Democratic candidates and their lieutenants did the latter" (italics as in original). This was signed, "ONE WHO KNOWS."
The newspaper gave its answer in a statement following the item: "The query is pertinent, and the facts are correctly stated. The former are in every respect - in intelligence, character, and social standing - the peers [!] of the latter, and they ask them no odds. - Editor."

Mr. Cale would have to hear about this and other matters later on. The November 25 North Carolinian reported that "Hugh Cale has returned from a business trip to Washington"; quite likely, he severed ties there in order to be in consistent attendance with the North Carolina General Assembly of 1891.

Two other items were perhaps of more concern to Cale than the socio-political dicta of John and "One Who Knows." The editor reported on December 16 that Dr. Rufus K. Speed had been conveyed to Raleigh’s Insane Asylum on his own request, a sad close to the career of Hugh’s opponent in the legislative race of 1876, and a sobering note amid political wrangling.

It was not sobering enough to derail still more wrangling, however, and so the second item (appearing in the North Carolinian on January 6, 1891): "Mr, [sic] J. M. Weeks, who want’s [sic] Cale’s seat in the Legislature, don’t seem to be succeeding in obtaining the evidence he desires. There was to have been a hearing on Saturday [January 3], but his witnesses failed to appear."

This matter raised by former County Commissioner and Justice of the Peace Weeks, apparently having died a-borning, the January 6 North Carolinian included an event of January 5, 1891: "Representative-elect Cale left for Raleigh." His trip that day, following successful emergence from one of the messier, if not the messiest, local campaigns thus far, put the
legislator in the path of achieving the most frequently recalled of his civic actions - one which came to rank as perhaps the greatest distinction of his career. In short, that January 1891 trip resulting in a state-supported normal school for Elizabeth City, was part of Hugh Cale's route to posterity. 18

15 On the other hand, Mrs. Ada Hinton Kee, then 82, was reported as saying her grandfather, Prince Albert Hinton, "undertook the task of going to Raleigh to get the charter for the establishment of Elizabeth City State University." He walked to Raleigh from Elizabeth City, she said, "because there was only enough money for a train ticket one way"; he "rode the train back home" (Daily Advance, October 15, 1991). Mr. Hinton (1848-1922 [Book 9, p. 43, Pasquotank Record of Deaths]) was Pasquotank's Representative in the 1889 General Assembly.
CHAPTER 17:

HOUSE WORK, 1891: ROUTE TO POSTERITY

Seen from the perspective of records of the House of Representatives, the 1891 Legislature appeared to give primary emphasis to tidying details of everyday existence for the State’s citizens and institutions. Of course, the Legislature would not be unaware, also, of such tidying matters as related to recently demonstrated political alignments.

A dearth of legislative grist for headline concocters or historians primarily interested in the ‘big picture’ would not seem to be a defect. Not every Session must shake the State from mountain to ocean in order to justify lawmakers’ per diems. Periodic editorial yawning or grumbling over "local and private" bills in profusion, generated paragraphs of journalistic opinion, even if bored issue-hunters claimed that Senators and Representatives did not. However, the sheer bulk of the House and Senate Journals, and accompanying volume of laws, shows that the 1891 General Assembly did not just convene, orate, and draw pay. In fact, nearly a century later, an observer felt the 1891 Session "was one of the most productive in the state’s history and deserves credit for its lasting achievements."¹ Its aim seemed to be: serve the citizens - the reason, of course for the honorable gentlemen’s being there.

Quite as expected, particular attention went to citizenship as perceived by Democrats and the Farmers’ Alliance. This included continued efforts to remove blacks from government. Republican Negro representatives with additional Party members who were white, hardly constituted enough strength to outvote House majorities comprised of "Conservatives" (Democrats) intent upon fully reclaiming power. It should not be supposed, however, that even

the Negro legislators voted *en bloc*. Beginning with the 1868 and 1870 Sessions, when there were 22 black General Assemblymen, individual legislators often voted their sundry convictions. In the 1891 Session, where there were only four black solons (three in the House and one Senator),\(^2\) individuality could still be discerned. The most frequent constant was Cale, and others similarly circumstanced, often turning up in the minority voting column.

Obviously many issues acutely affected the fortunes of North Carolina’s Negroes in rather particular fashion; the black person was seldom far from the consciousness of the Southern white (or his Northern counterpart for that matter), whatever the public protestations. Cale and colleagues could add their mite to obstructing measures considered obnoxious to the citizenship of Negroes and people in general, but more often than not, such measures were rammed through into law - whether or not frequently preceded by acrid debate and fancy parliamentary maneuvering. But then, such activities also produced welcome grist for the journalistic mills.

Sometimes the lawmakers would draft statements expressing interest in equality of citizenship, and concern that no rights be abrogated - the Resolution of earlier years concerning relations between white and colored people being an example. These looked well if one read quickly; often there were elements of honesty. But for the darker man or woman such paragraphs had little to do with the practical day-to-day progress of state citizenship, since the effect of measures ratified into law handled many of these considerations directly. The boon of full citizenship for blacks was vitiating more rapidly and would reach bottom in the electioneering of 1898 which, among other events, precipitated the Wilmington Riot.

\(^2\) This total of four placed the 1891 Legislature with the second lowest total of Black legislators (there were only two in 1895) of all the State’s General Assemblies, 1868-1900. In addition to Cale, there were Representatives John Chapman (Craven County) and James M. Watson (Vance); and Senator Isaac Alston of Warren County (Ballou, *North Carolina’s Black Legislators*).
In short, Cale and colleagues could do little about the trend of history between 1876-1900. At best, they could but slow the pace or somewhat blunt the roughest edges of events. This they attempted and sometimes they were not without a modicum of success. On both sides of the color spectrum there were, after all, statesmanlike persons in the several North Carolina Legislatures. Such men partially redeemed frequent majorities where "statesmanship" depended quite closely upon expediency and manipulating public opinion so as to win gusty cheers from the folks back home, who felt the "power" was where it should be. It wasn't; the "power" remained in the hands of the upper echelon of the majority population and those who saw to it that the grassroots electorate kept it there.

On Wednesday, January 7, 1891, Representative-elect Cale and other uncontested colleagues were "duly qualified by Hon. R[obert] W. Winston, one of the Judges of the Superior Court...." The Gentleman from Pasquotank then proceeded to vote with the majority for all House officers except the Speaker. Rufus A. Doughton of Alleghany County managed to squeak into the Chair, nonetheless, with 93 votes in his favor after a contest with John A. Hendricks of Davie County, for whom Cale and thirteen others cast their votes. Mr. Speaker Doughton

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3 An example, in 1888, was Oliver Dockery's using the racial gambit as a magnet for votes - with President Cleveland inviting Frederick Douglass and Mrs. Douglass (white) to the White House - as Dockery's point of departure (see Logan, North Carolina, p. 176). Cale had voted for Mr. Dockery. The ploy was neither new nor subsequently unused. The Elizabeth City Economist-Falcon plugged the same kind of issue. This time it was the excuse that Booker T. Washington allegedly squired white women to a Saratoga dinner given by John Wanamaker (its August 23, 1905 edition). Such people-baiting illustrates turn-of-the-century political climate and helps explain why, when Cale reached old age, former political allies not only did little to help him but in some instances contributed to his financial debility. As T. S. Cooper put it in 1966, "they wanted to break him up."
included in his brief address his hope that "our associations be pleasant.... Let conservatism and
justice guide our footsteps...."4

Mr. Cale next surfaced on January 13 with his appointment to the 16-man Fish Interests
Committee.5 He had served on it in 1885. In 1891, he was the last man named to it; it was the
last committee listed in the "House Rules";6 and it was Cale's only committee assignment for the
Session. Yet he would be busy if he participated in all that Committee's activities. The oyster
and allied businesses represented repeated legislative dredging operations during the Session.

Saturday, January 17, Representative Cale introduced his first bill for this session, "to be
entitled an act to regulate the shipping of timber out of the State." Labelled HB 225, it went to
the Finance Committee. He then introduced HB 226, "to amend section 1285 of The Code,
adding another cause for divorce." This went to the Judiciary Committee.7 On the following
Tuesday, January 20, Mr. Cale got his answer about out-of-state timber shipping. Iredell County
Representative John B. Holman gave an "unfavorable recommendation" from the Finance
Committee on HB 225. Two days later, Cale buried his own dead: HB 225 "is, on motion of

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4 House Journal, 1891, pp. [7], 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 26. On Thursday, voting for the Speaker was corrected
to 94-14 (ibid., p. 16).

5 Ibid, p. 44. Cale's townsmen produced a petition on oysters; Elizabeth City wind force had reached high
proportions in dislike of existing law on the subject. The North Carolinian reported (January 21, 1891, p. 3):
"We
see that in the Legislature Senator Parker is chairman of the Committee on Banks and Currency; Senator [P. H.]
Morgan is chairman of the Committee of Finance, and that Representative [Henry A.] Bond [Jr] of Chowan
[Edenton], is chairman of the House Committee on Fish and Oysters. Representative Cale is a member of the latter
committee." People at home could now keep track of their interest and blame or congratulate.

6 House Journal, 1891, Appendix, p. xxi.

7 Ibid., pp. 78, 79.
Mr. Cale, laid on the table." The same day he presented a petition "from the citizens of Elizabeth City, in relation to an industrial school for white girls," which, joining many others from across the state, went to the Committee on Agriculture. What resulted was The University of North Carolina at Greensboro, but in 1891, it was a "Training and Industrial School for Girls" (subsequently the Woman's College) with a nine-man board of trustees - W. P. Shaw standing for the First District. News given the home folks in the North Carolinian's February 18 issue was that the "bill to establish a State Normal and Industrial School for white girls has passed. It gives the school $10,000 annually, of which $6,000 is from the general fund. Free tuition is to be given girls who signify their intention to become public school teachers." For once, a petition presented by Mr. Cale could be said to have reached fruition. Not mentioned by the North Carolinian was Cale's introducing the local petition nor his efforts on behalf of the school's creation. He joined many solons in debating the matter and is credited by Boyette with making a statement "which hit at the heart of the measure." Cale "would support the bill because 'it is calculated to help the poor people, while the rich people do not teach in the schools.'"

Domestic bliss - or rather the lack of it - must still be addressed. Thursday, January 29, Mr. Cale got an answer on his Divorce Bill. Representative Thomas H. Sutton of Fayetteville,

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8 House Journal, respectively, 1891, pp. 93, 128, 118.


10 Final disposition of the Bill (not Cale's Petition) is House Journal, 1891, pp. 971, 1001.

11 Boyette, Alliance Legislature, p. 162, which includes quotation from the Raleigh News and Observer, January 27, 1891. Boyette gives considerable attention to this school and other educational efforts (Ibid., pp. 155-165).
gave the Judiciary Committee's unfavorable report on HB 226. The *North Carolinian*’s legislative correspondent gave his own report on divorce matters (February 11): "Still a flood of local bills.... A bill giving another cause for divorce also provoked discussion. It provides that if either husband or wife be convicted of a felony and flee the State and remain away for six months, it may be ground for divorce. Cale favored the bill and said there was a woman in his town chained to a man, and ‘she couldn’t get away from him to save her life.’" Although the *North Carolinian* did not make clear whether its reference was to Representative Cale’s bill or to another measure (three bills on divorce came before the House,¹² Cale’s included), the newspaper report actually was not on Cale’s proposal. His idea was that "If the husband or wife shall, without legal Cause, intentionally and wilfully abandon each other and leave the State, and remain out of the State for two years so that they have no knowledge [sic] of the whereabouts of each other, This shall be deemed a sufficient Cause for a divorce the same as other Causes now proscribed [sic] by law."¹³

One educational matter was temporarily derailed. HB 190, introduced on Friday, January 16, by Durham County Representative W. M. Lowe, would establish "an agricultural and mechanical college for the colored people of North Carolina, ... making appropriations for the same." The Agriculture Committee, to which it was referred, gave the proposal an "unfavorable recommendation" on Saturday, January 31. The following Monday (February 2), "HB 190, a bill to be entitled an act to establish an Agricultural and Mechanical College for the colored people of North Carolina and for other purposes, is, on motion of Mr. Cale, laid on the table." It was

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¹³ Quoted from the original, North Carolina Division of Archives and History.
not difficult to understand why. Section 7 provided: "That eight thousand dollars, the amount now paid annually to the colored normal schools be annually appropriated out of any money in the State Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the use and benefit of the said college. The said eight thousand dollars to be available when the college term begins." Section 9 provided: "That the four normal colleges now established for the use of the colored people be and the same are hereby abolished. Provided the said normal schools shall not be abolished until the end of the present school year, after which, they shall be abolished." With a law like that lying around, a man would have a hard time starting a new normal school, much less keeping up what was already available. The Agriculture Committee’s opinion was somewhat similar. Representative David Alexander (of Tyrrell County), reported for the Committee: "The Committee on Agriculture having carefully examined this bill, and as It would interfear with, and Consolidate the present Collord Normal Schools, Recommend that It do not pass" [sic].

Proponents of new schools kept at work, however. HB 437, for instance, was introduced on January 28 by Warren County Representative W. W. Long. Mr. Long’s Bill also seems to have had quiet interment by the Agriculture Committee.

Friday, February 6, Representative Cale was given a leave of absence, the length unspecified. Accordingly, he was not on hand Saturday and the following Monday and Tuesday, but he was back on Wednesday in time to join the argument over SB 175, HB 762, which provided for the "general supervision of railroads, steamboat or canal companies, express and telegraph companies doing business in the State of North Carolina." He voted against

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14 Quoted from the original, North Carolina Division of Archives and History. Boyette, *Alliance Legislature*, pp. 166-167, has description minus Cale’s tabling motion.

15 *House Journal*, 1891, respectively, pp. 68, 230, 176.
Representative Sutton’s substitute bill (16-88) and was in the minority in favoring an amendment that not more than two of the proposed railroad commissioners be of the same political party (28-72). Cale was also among minority supporters of an amendment favoring qualified voters (18-87), but he was with the majority in frowning on an amendment allowing Assembly members to be on the railroad commission (43-57). Wednesday evening, as the controversy wore on, Representative Cale favored allowing railroad companies to extend the "usual courtesies to State officials," but most of his colleagues did not (22-76). Next, he buffeted the Bill on his own: "Mr. Cale moves to amend: Strike out section 3 and substitute in lieu thereof 'that any railroad corporation, operating a railroad or part of a railroad in this State, shall not discriminate against any person on account of its rates in the passenger accommodations provided by said railroad company.' The amendment is lost."[16] Though lost, it was a worthy attempt. Boyette elaborated that, "[a]lthough this section dealt harshly with devious railroad actions, it did not insist upon equal accommodations, as Cale suggested. However, Section 23 did provide for separate and equal accommodations for whites and blacks on trains and at railroad stations ...." After the House rejected exemption of the Western North Carolina Railroad, "Section 23 was approved, and Cale achieved some measure of success."[17]

On two or three hometown matters, the Gentleman from Pasquotank was apparently bypassed, as in previous Sessions. One item dealt with a proposed bond issue. Pasquotank’s commissioners in January 1891, authorized their chairman to advertise that application would

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[16] *House Journal*, 1891, respectively, pp. 298, (leave), 346, 347, 348, 350, 352 (Cale’s amendment). The Bill was further attacked, Cale voting for or against various proposals, and finally passed its third reading, 87-18, Cale with the minority (*ibid.*, pp. 353, 355, 356, 357).

be made to the General Assembly to allow issuance of county bonds, not to exceed $5,000. These bonds would help pay Pasquotank’s indebtedness. The chairman of Pasquotank’s commissioners, George M. Scott, was instructed to have a bill drawn, including data that bonds would bear interest at 6% per year, paid annually, and sold at not less than par.\^18 SB 423, to accomplish these aims, was introduced on February 6 by Senator P. H. Morgan of Shawboro (Currituck County, First District), the Bill also allowing Pasquotank’s commissioners to levy a special tax. The Finance Committee gave it a favorable report on February 11. The House heard about it on Friday, February 13; numbered the Bill SB 423, HB 859; sent it to Finance; got it back in good order on February 17; passed its second reading (66-0) on February 21; and its final reading (84-0) on Monday the 23rd (Cale obviously in the affirmative on both votes). On Wednesday, February 25, Buncombe County Representative J. P. Lowery reported the bill correctly enrolled; the Speaker ratified it; Senate ratification took place the same day; it went to the Secretary of State; and Pasquotank’s commissioners had their Act in the form of Chapter 159 of the Public Laws.\^19

Another hometown matter involved changing Elizabeth City’s boundaries by amending its charter. Again, Cale was or wished to be, bypassed. Senator Morgan on February 5 introduced the bill (SB 395) which would amend Chapter 126, Private Laws of 1889. The Corporations Committee gave the Bill a favorable report on February 7 (via Senator W. R. Chesson of Washington County); the second reading was passed on February 10; the third,

\^18 Commissioners’ Minute Book 3, pp. 489, 491, Office of the Register of Deeds, Pasquotank County.

\^19 Senate Journal, 1891, pp. 284, 295, 327, 344, 531; cognate House Journal, pp. 381, 432, 537, 564, 616; Laws, 1891, p. 148. Commissioners decided to advertise the bonds in the Norfolk Landmark and in the Economist-Falcon of Elizabeth City (could they have forgotten the North Carolinian?). Later, they rescinded the advertising order for the Norfolk newspaper and decided to take action on the bonds on Saturday, April 18, 1891, at 11:00 a.m. (Minute Book 3, pp. 495, 497, 501f, actions of March 2, April 6, and April 18, 1891.)
February 11; it was reported correctly engrossed on February 13 and sent to the House. Arriving there the same day, it was renumbered SB 395, HB 857, and sent to Corporations. Back home, the *North Carolinian* reported on February 18: "The bill to amend the charter of Elizabeth City has passed the Senate. It is said that the boundaries are so extended as to include in addition to the First Ward all the territory North to Knobb's Creek and West to the public road leading from Road street. This is all right. But how many of the citizens have been consulted or really know what other changes have been made in the charter[.]" Things had come to this point, furthermore, without any apparent consultation with the County's Representative. Even if it was Republican clangor against Democratic stockpiling of future votes, it was a little gratuitous to grumble now. Republicans had registered less than tumultuous joy when their man won the 1891 House seat. In Raleigh, the House having received its Corporations Committee's favorable recommendation for charter amendment on February 17, that body passed the Pasquotank matter on its second reading (February 21, Cale not voting, it appears), and the third reading on February 23 (79-0; Cale voting). Reported correctly enrolled on February 25, the measure was ratified and sent to the Senate which received it the same day. That body also Chapter 109 of the Private Laws.  

A third local matter bypassing Representative Cale was a measure to omit Pasquotank from the list of counties in which justices of the peace could allow chairmen of county

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10 *Senate Journal*, 1891, pp. 272, 294, 326f, 323, 343, 366, 531; cognate *House Journal*, pp. 381, 434, 538f, 563f, 616; *Laws*, 1891, pp. 912-914. One innovation was authorizing Elizabeth City's town commissioners to appoint wood inspectors ("to inspect all firewood brought to the city for sale"), and also a harbor-master with a four-year term of office (Sections 5 and 6 of the Act). Morgan also introduced on February 14 a bill (SB 577) to incorporate the "Elizabeth City ferry" but on the 26th, with consent, withdrew it apparently before the Corporations Committee reported the Bill (Senate Journal, 1891, pp. 382, 569).
commissioners extra compensation. To accomplish this, Senator James Parker of Gatesville introduced SB 421 on February 6, which would amend Section 709 of the Code, as that Section related to Pasquotank. The Corporations Committee recommended on February 11 that the Bill pass. It passed its second and third readings on the 13th, was reported correctly engrossed on February 17, and received in the House (as SB 421, HB 925) that day. The House Propositions and Grievances Committee reported the measure favorably on February 19. It passed second and third readings on Wednesday evening, February 25, and was ratified by the House on the 27th and by the Senate that same day.²¹

Whether it was Representative Hugh Cale of Pasquotank, or Representative J. F. Cole of Granville, who introduced a petition "(by request)" on February 23, is not altogether clear. The Journal says "Cole"; but the petition was from Elizabeth City citizens regarding "temperance instruction in the public schools." It would be logical for Cale to have presented the matter, but Cole could well have done so, just as others had done for various proposals related to the city or county. Furthermore, the Journal seldom erred in reference to the two legislators, although it did do so once, in a bill definitively related to Hugh Cale. Whoever introduced the legislation, the Education Committee received the petition and added it to many similar requests.²²

²¹ Senate Journal, 1891, pp. 284, 337, 373, 399, 586; cognate House Journal, pp. 438, 475, 641f, 685. The Act is Chapter 183 of the Laws, p. 162. Other measures on JP's powers were considered, Cale voting pro or con at various points of deliberation. These included enlarging powers, making them ineligible for the office of county commissioner, etc. (See, e.g., House Journal, 1891, pp. 482, 483, 633.) It would be expected that Cale would have an interest in such bills since he was a former JP - in the days when their powers were much wider. The Legislature still elected them, the following being selected for Pasquotank: H. T. Greenleaf, Elizabeth City Township; H. C. Wood, Mt. Hermon; W. J. Williams, Newland; "Alex." Armstrong, Nixonton; Simeon Pritchard, Providence; W. S. Davis, Salem. They would fill vacancies "as will occur in August, 1891 ..." (House Journal, pp. 766, 747).

²² House Journal, 1891, p. 556. The Index to the volume understandably attributes the petition to Mr. Cole.
If some question could exist on the presenter of the foregoing petition, none does on a signer of a protest. Madison Representative Jeter C. Pritchard (later a United States Senator) had put HR 485, on January 30. This was "in regard to the public printing." It went on the Calendar. On February 18, Northampton Representative Robert H. Stancil moved to make the Resolution a special order for Friday, February 20, at Noon. Friday arrived, and Rockingham Representative R. P. Henry moved to table, which "prevails" and Pritchard moved to reconsider the vote by which his Resolution had been tabled. Cumberland County Representative Archibald D. McGill then moved to table Pritchard's motion, which "prevails." Thus, on Saturday, February 21, Mr. Pritchard, "on behalf of himself and other Republican members of the House, presents a protest against the defeat of HR 485 ..., which [protest] is read." This strategy generated more maneuvering. Representative Thomas H. Sutton of Fayetteville took the chair at the Speaker's request. Mr. McGill moved to amend: "Strike out section 2 [of the Protest], and all after the word 'State' in line 8 of section 3, except the signatures." This was adopted. The truncated Protest was then received and ordered spread on the Journal. A whole nine Republicans signed the item, including Mr. Cale. Republican growling about the public printing was a less-than-popular cause in the 1891 General Assembly.23

More peaceful was the Bill (HB 1416) which Pitt County Representative Harry Skinner of Greenville introduced "by request" on Thursday, March 3. This was "for the relief of Hugh Cale" as a suretor on the performance bond of former Pasquotank Sheriff John T. Price. The Bill was put on the Calendar and taken up during the 4:30 p.m. session of March 5, passing then its

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23 House Journal, 1891, pp. 194, 470, 511, 554-555. The text of the Protest is found in Appendix 2, p. 499. Boyette, Alliance Legislature, p. 179, reports Josephus Daniels and Samuel Ashe having a fight in the Capitol building over which one did the public printing. What was the world coming to, with the "best people" engaging in such crudities!
second and third readings. Sent to the other chamber without engrossment, it was received in
the Senate on March 6 and passed its second and third readings there (as HB 1416, SB 1298) on
March 7. Monday, March 9, the Bill for Hugh "Cole" was ratified in the House, sent to the
Senate, there ratified and sent to the Secretary of State. Mr. Cale's relief thereupon became
Chapter 485 of the Laws.24

Three hundred and fifty-two votes are recorded for the Gentleman from Pasquotank during
the 1891 Session. In addition, he presented four motions, signed his name to a protest,
introduced three bills and, perhaps, one petition. He was elected to two groups, one legislative,
the other supervisory (a trusteeship); was himself the object of legislation; and had one official
leave of absence (he appears to have taken a few others unofficially). This total of 364 or 365
recorded instances of official involvement by a Negro member of the minority party is not an
insignificant record of attention to duty and conviction (on the part of any member, in fact),
especially considering the 1,600-odd bills and resolutions which he and his colleagues
experienced during a 53-day session. Not every member could claim such faithful attention.

Many of these legislative matters obviously involved Cale; a few of them he precipitated.
As indicated earlier, a great portion of the legislation served to tidy matters of state citizenship.
This could be said to be a characteristic of the 1891 House. The so-called "Farmers' Legislature"
attended to the so-called "little" people.

The gamut of such attention included the need to "fix and establish" North Carolina's
Congressional districts and to apportion the House; the 1890 Census did present wonderful

Text of the Act is Appendix 3, p. 501.
gerrymandering possibilities, notably including the aim for an all-white Congressional delegation.\textsuperscript{25} The House also considered prohibiting "labor agents from carrying farm laborers from the State of North Carolina"; this meant Negro-stealings depleting white farmers' labor potential.\textsuperscript{26} Other matters: taxing income; protecting mountain trout in Buck Creek (McDowell County); regulating the sale of corn "in certain counties" and repealing the tax on state banks. Not overlooked was allowing sale of cider and wine in Tyrrell County and the same for "juice of apples, peaches and grapes [and] wine" in Granville County. Incorporation requests covered the spectrum from a Negro Methodist Episcopal church, through the Wachovia Loan and Trust Company and the town of Pigeon River, to the Seven Springs Mineral Water and Improvement Company.

Preventing "horse thieving," the "spread of cattle distemper," dogs from running at large, and "dealing in fortunes" also claimed attention. Weightier was limiting county officers to no more than two consecutive terms; providing for unclaimed dead bodies of convicts; and telling North Carolina's congressmen and senators the Legislature was against the Conger Lard Bill and for the Paddock Pure Food Bill. Not foreign to the latter measure was concern for "better protection of life and property by preventing the sale of inferior illuminating oils."\textsuperscript{27}

Intra- and interstate adjustments had to be focused. The Illinois General Assembly asked North Carolina to help make the Columbian Exposition a success (as did North Carolina Governor Fowle), and North Carolina's House thereupon attended to the State's image. North

\textsuperscript{25} Boyette, \textit{Alliance Legislature}, pp. 200-201, reviews the 1891 "opportunity to establish all nine [congressional] districts in a Democratic, white supremacy fashion."

\textsuperscript{26} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 189-192, reviews these 1891 efforts.

\textsuperscript{27} \textit{House Journal}, 1891, respectively, pp. 25, 401, 997; 29; 30; 33, 34; 36, 308; 39, 343, 734, and 784 (on Pigeon River, votes of 76 and 98 "for" with Cale affirmative and no dissent), 359; 380, 59, 60, and 97 (the dog bill tabled, 87-7, Cale with majority), 112; 42, 51, 263; 620.
Carolina county boundary lines needed attention; the North Carolina-Tennessee and North Carolina-Virginia lines also were considered; and debate arose once again over establishing new North Carolina counties - Richland again proposed along with Burgwyn. A United States Senator had to be elected, Mr. Vance winning over his opponent, Jeter C. Pritchard, 86-13. Representative Cale voted for Mr. Pritchard, who would become a Senator later in the '90s (1895-1903).28

If these matters were not sufficient to engage the attention, there was the bill to enlarge the duties of the State chemist and another proposing January 19th as a legal holiday honoring Robert E. Lee’s birthday - generating less acrimony than the proposed 1895 adjournment upon Frederick Douglass’ death. A free ferry was desired at Wilmington, and while on nautical matters the House also should consider fishing problems in "Sweetenwater Creek" (Martin County). Steps to the Executive Mansion should be erected and the residence furnished and, of course, the Governor’s message must be heard. A favorable response came to the proposed re-interment of Brigadier General Jethro Sumner on the battlefield of Guilford Court House and the House considered building a monument to the "declaration of independence in Mecklenburg." A monument was desired over the grave of 18th-century Governor Thomas Burke and the House adjourned in honor of George Washington’s Birthday.29

28 House Journal, 1891, respectively, pp. 401, 986 (a 62-21 vote on second reading of the Exposition Bill, Cale with the majority); 291, 535, 931; 359, 380; 208, 254, 282, 485 (on Richland, a 48-41 vote on second reading, Cale with the majority), 511 (on Richland, 34-64 vote on third reading, Cale with the minority), 526, 711 (on Burgwyn, 54-21 vote tabling the committee substitute, Cale with the minority); 99.

29 Ibid., pp. 240; 157, 202; 294; 266; 916, 929, 956, 970 (34-55 on amending to reduce appropriation for furnishing the Mansion, Cale with the minority; 64-24 on third reading, Cale with the majority); 30f; 86, 260; 437; 558f, 591.
More immediate in impact on local citizens were measures causing weighers of leaf tobacco in warehouses to be sworn; making it a misdemeanor not to pay "females for house work"; providing for imprisonment of officers permitting escapes; "regulating the temperature" of the Capitol building; amending the charter of the Tyson & Jones Buggy Company; confirming incorporation of the Egypt Railroad Company; considering payment of Negro employees of the House; preventing "unjust" discrimination in rates of life insurance companies (the matter was tabled); and encouraging citizens to "prospect for and discover phosphate rock and ... deposits ... in navigable waters of this State." The Robeson County chain gang was considered. Management of the Chronicle was thanked for its courtesy "in having a copy ... placed on ... desks every morning" - which had nothing to do with two representatives later rising to personal privilege regarding what the newspaper wrote about them. Rounding out areas of consideration were a measure to "propagate diamond-back terrapins" in Onslow County; the vast noise throughout the Session concerning the shell fish or oyster industries; and a resolution benefitting members’ eardrums - "relating to the length of speeches" (adopted).

30 Boyette, Alliance Legislature, pp. 29-30, 141-149, shows the deadly seriousness of efforts to stop pirates (including some Virginians) from raping seafood areas from Roanoke Island to Pamlico Sound. This included using an Elizabeth City-based Company of the State Guard, the Vesper, and a cannon from Virginia. The legislators were on target in protecting the fisheries industry - from both economic and conservation standpoints. David S. Cecelski points out that the striped or "jumping" mullet area was the nation’s largest in the 1870s and 1880s (p. 3 of "The Hidden World of Mullet Camps: African-American Architecture on the North Carolina Coast," North Carolina Historical Review, 70 [1993], pp. [1]-13). What dominant-party - and used-to-be-dominant - legislators chose to ignore was the relative absence of racial barriers among on-the-job fishermen and oystermen. As Cecelski put it; "No race held dominion over the sea and its fish, and a man’s fishing and boating skills strongly influenced his social status on the waters" (ibid., p. 12). The large body of relevant literature includes Medford, Transition, pp. 142-145, regarding black tongers on the Virginia peninsula; and Mark T. Taylor, "Seiners and Tongers: North Carolina Fisheries in the Old and New South," North Carolina Historical Review, 69 (1992), pp. [1]-36; considerable attention is given to blacks operating in northeastern North Carolina during the nineteenth century. Grocer Cale, in 1891 a member of the House Fish Interests Committee, could recall providing many hundred finny creatures to Pasquotank’s Poorhouse. He would be well aware of the source for the staple, and those from whom he procured it.

31 House Journal, 1891, respectively, pp. 507; 413; 315; 85; 465; 607; 606 (the employees were Major Hannon, Cad Alston, Thomas Haley, Phillips King, all @ $2.50 per day); 954; 983f; 951; 933, 1034; "724" (recte, p. 624).
Perhaps as significant a tidying process as any during the 1891 Session was the Legislature's evident interest in bolstering public and non-public education. Merely listing assorted schools involved in sundry petitions, bills, and resolutions - these variously handled but often in a manner favorable to the school - gives an idea of interest in education on the part of the 1891 Legislature. Some of those schools lasted but a while; others are extant. Some began under this Legislature; others received from it additional financial support (scant though it might appear to the present day) or gained firmer bases of operation from other viewpoints. Some of these schools were the following (names as they appeared in the House Journal):^27

Agricultural and Mechanical College (Raleigh; now North Carolina State University)
Baptist Female University of North Carolina (now Meredith College)
Bellemont Academy
Bennett's [i.e., Bennett] College (Greensboro)
Caldwell Institute (Orange County)
Cooper's Spring School-house (Cherokee County)
Cullowhee High School (Jackson County; now Western Carolina University)
Fair View Male and Female College at Trap Hill
Franklinton Christian College
Garysburg High School Academy
Globe Academy (Caldwell County)
Hamburg Normal School (Jackson County)
Mebane Academy (Alamance County)
Mount Amoena Female Seminary of Mount Pleasant (Cabarrus County)
Mountain Dale Seminary (Buncombe County)
Mud Creek School-house (Ashe County - desired a name change; the House concurred)
Oak Ridge Institute (Guilford County)
Pine Valley School-house No. 64 (Iredell County)
Robeson Institute (at Lumberton)
Rural Hall Male and Female Academy (Forsyth County)
Saluda Seminary (Polk County)
Scotia Seminary (now Barber-Scotia College, in Concord)
Shiloh Institute
South Atlantic University

^27 House Journal, 1891, respectively, pp. 57, 76, 88; 196; 380; 689, 744; 526; 375; 240; 653; 95; 461; 214; 194; 122; 78; 343; 410, 414, 712; 535; 139; 123; 139, 145; 1003; 221, 423; 379; 724; 873; 242, 265; 86; 777.
Southerland Seminary (Ashe County)
Stanly Hall Industrial School for White Boys (Locust Level, in Stanly County)
Table-Rock Academy (Burke County)
Union Normal Institute (Burlington, in Alamance County)

The House showed still other interest in education. HR 69 requested the Education Committee to investigate the public school system. HR 71 would provide "small book-cases" for the "General Assembly" (the Resolution did not pass). HB 258 desired a "training school" at Trinity College. HB 268 would incorporate "the Normal and Industrial School" while SR 560, HR 862 created a committee to nominate "Directors" for it. HB 273 would abolish county boards of education and change the method of paying county superintendents of education. HB 288 sought establishment of a pharmacy department at the University of North Carolina. SB 244, HB 400 would change the name of Chowan Academy (in Winton, Hertford County) to Water's Normal Institute\(^3\) (it subsequently became the C. S. Brown High School and still later, the "High" was dropped - reflecting mid-20th-century demeaning practices).

Not to be overlooked was a petition from the "Grand Lodge of Colored Masons" requesting an agricultural college (another such bill) nor the one previously mentioned, HB 437 to establish a "college of agriculture and mechanic arts for the colored people." Also of concern was "temperance instruction in public schools" (one such request already presented from Elizabeth City) which joined a petition from Catawba County citizens who requested "teaching physiology in public schools," whereas HB 625 wedded temperance and biology by providing for the "study of the nature of alcoholic drinks and narcotics, and of their effect upon the human

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\(^3\) *House Journal*, 1891, respectively, pp. 35, 38, 95, 96, 381, 111, 112, 157, 202. Murrill, *Roanoke Association*, pp. 70-74, may be consulted with profit on the Negro school and its founder, the Reverend Dr. Calvin Scott Brown. Examples of black public school demotions and name-obiterations throughout the South are legion, including in North Carolina's Albemarle Region "Marian Anderson" school in Currituck County losing its name and P. W. Moore (formerly Dunbar) "High" School in Elizabeth City becoming an elementary school.
system in the public schools." A later petition requested that "physiology and hygiene be taught in our public schools."\textsuperscript{34}

Not totally unrelated to proposals like the foregoing was an assortment of laudable aims: HB 39, prohibiting the sale of cigarettes to minors; HB 622, establishing a "department" for the criminally insane; HB 663, defining justifiable homicide; HB 98, prohibiting the carrying of deadly weapons (almost a perennial); HB 196, preventing gambling and HB 207 doing the same for agricultural fairs. HB 201 prohibited the sale of deadly weapons to minors. HB 14, also prohibiting sale of deadly weapons, was apparently tabled with the Chair breaking the tie vote.

Grand jurors of Forsyth County petitioned for establishing a reformatory for boys "so as to separate them from the hardened criminals in the penitentiary" and similar sentiments came in the form of a "memorial" from Yadkin County's grand jurors concerning the "treatment of young criminals." The sociological concept of juvenile delinquency was coming into being across the Nation, and North Carolina was in the forefront in recognizing such a development. Meanwhile, just to make sure that more loopholes were attended to, HB 204 would prohibit carrying concealed weapons "by certain detectives." Two bills (HB 695 and HB 1357) would "more effectually prevent lynch law," and HB 1037 would disbar shooting guns or pistols near churches "or other places." Even contributory to advancement in education, but tabled, was SB 8, HB 124, to "punish persons who use language calculated and intended to create a breach of the peace." The thought was educationally uplifting, but campaign oratory would continue into the foreseeable future. Nothing daunted, HB 377 arrived later to "elevate the morals of the

\textsuperscript{34} House Journal, 1891, respectively, pp. 117, 219, 265, 497, 556, 289, 333. Perhaps to be expected was HB 1093, incorporating the Southern Woman's Christian Temperance Union Assembly (ibid., 560, 990).
country." It went to the Committee on Propositions and Grievances. Perhaps more practical was HB 741, "relative to empowering school committeemen in employing teachers" and the Education Committee's favorable report on increasing the public school tax to 16 2/3 cents on property, and 50 cents on polls. The latter measure and its Senate companion were buffeted, not unexpectedly.\textsuperscript{35}

Also reflective of controversy was a petition from the trustees of Davidson College protesting the proposed change of name for the town of Davidson College. Meanwhile, HB 559 would "provide school children of the State with school books" and HB 620 would incorporate the Waynesville Library Association (of Haywood County). Incorporation of the Charlotte Library and Literary Association was proposed by SB 281, HB 589. The hard-pressed Education Committee, which received many of these proposals, finally got a breather by being granted a leave of absence to "visit" the University of North Carolina. The Corporations Committee, which also received assorted proposals but no leaves, received instead HB 947, to define "Swamp Lands" in reference to lands appropriated and belonging to the State Board of Education. This, of course, dealt directly with a source of educational revenue as did tax levies for school purposes. The Senate meanwhile proposed (SB 606, HB 1003) that the State Board of Education invest funds from the sale of swamp lands.\textsuperscript{36}

In between debates, the House passed HB 648, establishing a graded school in the town of Concord and took notice of HB 1090, prohibiting usage in public schools of the book, \textit{First

\textsuperscript{35} \textit{House Journal}, 1891, respectively, pp. 23, 273-274, 786; 290; 60; 69; 70; 296; 393; 596; 70; 304, 775; 508; 148, 155; 324; 336, 445, 468, 469, 694, 973, 991.

\textsuperscript{36} \textit{House Journal}, 1891, respectively, pp. 249, 422 (name changed to Hempstead); 238; 255; 241; 366, 462, 689.
Steps in North Carolina History. The Education Committee reported the Bill "without prejudice."

Also received were Warren County Representative W. W. Long's Bill (HB 1119) to have the "Colored Normal School" moved from Franklinton to Warren, and HB 1131, which aimed to increase the length of public school terms "without additional taxation." The latter idea was admirable but required a neat feat. The former, Mr. Long's proposal, was at first unfavorably reported from committee, then favorably, and finally ratified on March 9, 1891.34

HB 774, relative to public schools in the town of Asheville, passed the House. However, HB 313, to "encourage" sheep husbandry "and to increase the public school fund of the counties" did not fare as well. Perhaps tabling it represented sentiment that the educational blanket could stretch but so far and no more. More concrete was a petition from citizens of Rocky Mount, desiring a "colored school in Nash and Edgecombe" counties. Edgecombe Representative Jesse Brake of Rocky Mount presented this sentiment in HB 1293, to form a "free school district for the colored race at Rocky Mount in the counties of Edgecombe and Nash." The Education Committee gave its unfavorable report to Mr. Brake's proposal. Equally important developments, to citizens affected, were SB 834, HB 1309, establishing a graded school in District #1 of Cherokee County, and SB 578, HB 1247 allowing the "town" of Durham to issue school bonds. Of course, if the schools were established or strengthened, it was appropriate to deal with potential increase in average daily attendance. Forward-looking and conceivably not detrimental to school attendance was HB 780, regulating the employment in factories of women and minors.

37 Mr. Long was granted an indefinite leave of absence on February 26 because of "illness in his family." Two days later, Saturday, the House gave a unanimous rising vote in adopting a resolution of sorrow upon the death of his wife (House Journal, 1891, pp. 659, 729).

38 House Journal, 1891, respectively, pp. 513; 559, 647; 604, 974, 976, 1027; 605.
under 16. The Judiciary Committee gave the Bill an unfavorable report. HB 876 tried another
tack: relieve those under 21 from duty on public roads, while HB 940 would "punish the hiring
of infants without the consent of parents." The legislators did what they could.

Existing schools required direction. As usual, trustees of the University of North Carolina
were elected to fill vacancies which would occur on November 30, 1891. More alarming was
the measure seeking to reduce the appropriation for "an industrial school" from $15,000 to
$10,000. Quite refreshing was the Corporations Committee's favorable report of SB 365, HB
1387, to incorporate the "Grounds of Trinity College" as "Trinity College Park" and to amend
charter of Trinity College "so as to provide for the admission of students to a share of the
government thereof." The students could find historical precedent from Medieval times; the
request also had its prophetic elements, given late-1960s student unrest nationally.

No one could say the Legislature had loafed. House bills numbered in the 1,300s proved
otherwise (they would exceed the 1,600 mark). A man could begin consulting his watch and his
calendar but that might not help much since many other matters remained for consideration. As
the last days drew near the stacks of bills grew higher, including educational measures. The
solons waded through them.

On March 4, the House passed a measure related to public schools in Statesville. Still
to be considered were a measure seeking to reduce the cost of the books and another, to establish

39 Ibid., pp. 342, 393; 399; 461.

40 Presumably the present North Carolina State University at Raleigh. Chapter 308 of the 1885 Laws had
a maximum appropriation of $5,000. Chapter 410 (1887) was supplementary. The 1891 legislation further modified
provisions of the 1887 Act.

41 House Journal, 1891, pp. 695, 802, 814.
a graded school in Henderson (Vance County). On the latter measure, the 39-year-old black carpenter-farmer-county school committeeman, Vance Representative James M. Watson of Henderson, moved to amend Section 3 of the Bill "by striking out 'white' and 'colored' where said words occur." Mr. Watson's amendment was adopted and the Bill passed the House.\textsuperscript{42}

HB 1446 would establish a school for the "deaf and dumb." Proposed locations for it moved around from Morganton to Raleigh to Thomasville - Raleigh finally winning enough votes so far as the House was concerned. A tax levy to support public schools in the town of Shelby had to be considered (it was a Senate bill and passed the House). HB 1453, to amend the school law and reduce the expense thereof, also was handled. "Handled" it was. An amendment passed which excluded thirty-three counties. The Bill failed its second reading.

SB 1007, HB 1544 providing for necessary repairs to the State University passed the House and became law. SB 1171, HB 1547, amendatory of an 1883 Act relative to graded schools in the town of Wilson, also passed the House and at long last, after four bills and a petition, an "Agricultural and Mechanical College for the Colored Race" (now SB 1240 1/2, HB 1567) passed its examinations and became a legislative reality on March 9. It had a board of trustees which included Mr. Cale, who had previously tabled it; an appropriation of $2,500; and for the time being, no home (later, Greensboro and still later, named the North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University).\textsuperscript{43}

The House twice considered authorizing the Secretary of State to furnish colonial records of North Carolina to Rutherford Military Institute. The first of the measures - SR

\textsuperscript{42} \textit{House Journal}, 1891, respectively, pp. 849, 871; 857; 859, 930. Boyette, \textit{Alliance Legislature}, p. 74, briefly sketches Watson. In addition to the 1891 Session, he served in the House for the 1887, 1889, and 1893 Sessions (Ballou, \textit{North Carolina's Black Legislators}).

\textsuperscript{43} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 864f, 1001, 1010, 1016-1018; 879, 952; 915; 930; 948, 974; 971, 1001, 1005, 1009, 1031.
1268, HR "1,579" - passed the House. The second one - also SR 1268, HR "1,579" - went to its Calendar. The workload may well have blurred the eyesight of both the scribes and the solons.

In another educational quadrant, SB 928, HB 1341 allowed the superintendent of public instruction in Robeson County to conduct examinations for teacher certification at the town of Maxton. The House approved the matter and it became law. Next, the House seems to have had an afterthought. On March 9, the final day, the A & M "College for the Colored Race" became the ante-penultimate educational matter considered by the lower chamber. Understandably, clerks rather mixed the numbers of the House and Senate designations of the Bill. At any rate, SB "1,608," HB "1,392," supplementary and amendatory to the Act establishing the institution, was passed and ratified; the new school had J. M. Early of Bertie County - who would be a state senator in 1897 - as chairman pro tem of its board of trustees.44

The little story concerning Representative Cale's being named to the school's first board was quite uncomplicated. "Mr. [Thomas H.] Sutton, for the Joint Select Committee on Election of Trustees for the Agricultural and Mechanical College for the Colored Race, reports as follows: "The ... Committee beg leave to report that they nominate and recommend the following named persons for the several Congressional Districts as Trustees ...:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First District</td>
<td>Hugh Cale.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second District</td>
<td>J. M. Early.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third District</td>
<td>John S. Leary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth District</td>
<td>W. H. Pace.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth District</td>
<td>Charles H. Moore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixth District</td>
<td>W. B. McKay.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventh District</td>
<td>W. A. Graham.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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44 House Journal, 1891, pp. 987, 988; 1009f; 1028. (See also, above, pp. 258-259.)
Eighth District --- S. McD. Tate.
Ninth District --- W. H. McClure.

"On motion of Mr. [Robert B.] Peebles [of Jackson, Northampton County], the bill is made a special order for 10:30 o'clock to-night." The next item on the agenda for this Saturday night session, March 7, 1891, was the special order. Balloting ensued, and Representatives W. W. Long (Warren County) and R. K. Denny (Guilford County), as tellers for the House, reported 24 votes each. Following that, the "Speaker declares that the gentlemen named in report of Tellers, having received a majority of all the votes cast, are declared elected, as stated in said report."\(^\text{45}\)

The net total of new colleges (in name or fact) established or given firmer footing for North Carolina’s citizens, at one point stood at no less than three institutions. Interestingly, all three, insofar as education at public expense was concerned, took up some of the slack in the State's provisions for historically disadvantaged segments of the population. Two of the schools (the present Meredith College and the University of North Carolina at Greensboro) expanded educational opportunities for women; the other one (the present "A & T") accomplished the same laudable aim for Negroes - in a sense, where the blacks were concerned, completing partially done work dating from 1867.\(^\text{46}\) Higher education opportunities specifically favoring Indians

\(^{45}\) *House Journal*, 1891, pp. 1013-1016; *Senate Journal*, 1891, p. 911. Cale and Early had two-year terms; those from the next three Districts, four years; the remaining three, six-year terms. The Senate members of the Joint Committee were John L. King of Greensboro and W. R. Chesson of Mackey's Ferry (Washington County); for the House, Representatives Sutton, W. W. Hall of Weldon (Halifax County), and Thomas J. Williams of Mooresville (Iredell County). Third District Trustee John Sinclair Leary was a black attorney from Cumberland County, who served in the House (1868, 1869), and whose father had been a slaveowner (Ballou, *North Carolina's Black Legislators*).

\(^{46}\) Alexander, "Black Education," cites (p. 122) the 1867 General Assembly approving incorporation of a proposed Presbyterian-sponsored, eastern North Carolina institution, to be named the "Freedmen's College of North Carolina."
must wait awhile. Yet, the so-called "Farmers' Legislature" had done right well for itself and its constituency, where women and blacks were concerned. One other proposed school had demanded attention, however.

Seventy-five years after the event, a lieutenant governor of North Carolina sought to recreate a scene for the 17th day of the 1891 Session, the House of Representatives convening at 11:00 a.m. It was a Monday - the 26th of the month. "The month was January. The place was Raleigh. The locale was in the Capitol Building, up on the second floor."

"The Speaker was in the chair. The clerks were sitting on the dais in front of him, the Legislators were in their seats, a few wandering in and out as they attended to last minute business before the session and even after it began. Pages were around taking notes in and out.

"And after the routine of opening business, one of the elder legislators in terms of years arose, and said, 'Mr. Speaker."

"And the Speaker of the House glanced to see who had arisen and said, 'For what purpose does the gentleman from Pasquotank arise?'

"'Mr. Speaker, I desire to send forward a bill.'

"A page came to his side, took the bill from his hand, and carried it up to the clerk.

"The Speaker says, 'The clerk will read.'"

What the clerk read was recorded by Principal Clerk J. M. Brown of Albemarle (Stanly County) as: "By Mr. Cale, H. B. 383, a bill to be entitled an act to establish a normal and training school for the colored race in the town of Elizabeth City."

As word-painted by Lieutenant Governor Robert W. Scott on February 27, 1966, and in the formal prose of the House Journal of 1891, a long-standing educational idea had begun its embodiment.
Representative Cale’s Bill went to the Education Committee. Just when that Committee reported the measure was not given in the Journal, but it was a month and a day before further action was recorded. On Friday, February 27, HB 383 in the form of a substitute by the Committee, was put for adoption. The Scottish-born Confederate veteran, Representative Archibald McGill (Cumberland County), demanded the ayes and noes on the Bill’s passage, but the call was not sustained. Next, the Bill "passes its second and third readings, and is ordered sent to the Senate without engrossment." The Journal also recorded that "Mr. Cale moves to reconsider the vote by which the bill passes its third reading and to lay that motion on the table." He thus bolted the door, in a parliamentary manner of speaking, against a surprise attack on the Bill.

The Senate duly received the proposal on February 28, numbered it HB 383, SB 1096, and placed it on the Calendar. That evening (the session convening at 8:00 p.m.), Cale’s Bill "passed its second and third readings and was ordered enrolled." Back in the House, Representative J. P. Lowery (Buncombe County) reported on Tuesday, March 3 as correctly enrolled the Bill to "establish a Normal School for the Colored Race in the Town of Elizabeth City in the county of Pasquotank." The Speaker ratified it, and off it went to the Senate. Senator Benjamin P. Griggsby of Ashe County also reported on March 3, that the Bill was correctly enrolled. Senate President Thomas M. Holt added his signature to that to that of Mr. Speaker Doughton. The matter had become law. Chapter 265 of the Public Laws became the place to learn of provisions in the Act’s four sections.47

47 Quotations from Mr. Scott, subsequently Governor (1969-1973), are from a transcription of his Founders Day address at Elizabeth City State College (now University), given February 27, 1966, and used with his permission. Other data are from House Journal, 1891, pp. 155f, 699, 700, 818; cognate Senate Journal, pp. 631, 636, 687; Laws, 1891, p. 213. Texts of Cale’s Bill, the substitute, and the Act, are in Appendix 2, pp. 477-498, 500.
The State had at long last provided for the higher education of a significant portion of the most northeasterly concentration of Tar Heel population - specifically for Negroes in and near Elizabeth City. A peak of educational aspirations by a citizenry had been reached - aspirations of nearly a quarter-century compressed into less than a half page of printed matter.

A little normal school as a ratified idea, with "borrowed" appropriation of $900 and no building, had reached a state of existence. If some ten additional months (to January 4, 1892) must elapse before the "state of existence" was translated into students, teachers, and a building, that 306-day wait was more comfortable than one which already stood at nearly 300 years for most antecedents of citizens directly affected. Whatever the weather beyond the walls of North Carolina’s capitol building, March 3, 1891 should have been a beautiful day for the Gentleman from Pasquotank.

The Speaker, Mr. Doughton, had a few words of parting, six days later, on March 9. Mr. Cale was among the forty-four representatives still in attendance and thus able to hear him:

We have a great State, rich and varied in natural resources, but greater still in the prudence, conservatism and tolerance of our people. These qualities have been emphasized by the deliberations of this body during the present session. I feel that the record of this Legislature, when calmly and fairly considered, will generally be approved by our constituency at home.

I wish each and all of you long lives of usefulness, prosperity and happiness, and trust that if we never again meet in these Legislative Halls, we may meet in that Capital city of joy and bliss where there shall be no more differences or partings. I now declare this House adjourned without day.49

48 Boyette, Alliance Legislature, p. 165, commenting on the $900 appropriation, has the interesting revelation that the "Elizabeth City school was not comparable to the white girls’ School at Greensboro in regards to appropriations...." The sum consisted of $500 from the Fayetteville Normal fund and $100 each from the Salisbury, Franklinton, Goldsboro, and Plymouth normal schools.

49 Text may be found in House Journal, 1891, p. 1036. Nathaniel F. Macgruder’s biography of Doughton is DNCB, II, p. 98.
CHAPTER 18: TWO FRIDAYS AND OTHER DAYS

Some people at home wearied of the 1891 General Assembly well before it closed. Palemon John's journal printed its correspondent's lackluster notes that local and private bills by the hundreds had been introduced. These bills were deemed to be of comparatively little importance. The March 4, 1891 North Carolinian advised that the "legislature is to adjourn next Monday. Elizabeth City and surrounding county would have benefited several hundred thousand dollars had it never convened." The newspaper's crystal ball, generally in fair working order, was never more cloudy than at that instant. Owner T. B. Berry's weekly Elizabeth City News ($1.00 a year) could find at least one redeeming feature, however. The Saturday, March 14, 1891 edition, announcing that the Legislature "adjourned last Monday," also announced that the '91 Session "gave politicians something to talk about at the next campaign." The News somehow overlooked mentioning Mr. Cale but did list local officials for general information - including Mayor W. C. Glover; Elizabeth City Commissioner "Elijah" Overton; and Collector of Customs Palemon John.

Collector John's March 11 North Carolinian reflected its improved vision in a week's time. The newspaper reported that "Representative Cale returned from Raleigh yesterday" and the journal recorded a set of resolutions from local Negroes (italics as in original):

A VOTE OF THANKS.

At a meeting of the Elizabeth City Colored Educational Association, the following preamble and resolutions were adopted:

Whereas, the present session of the Legislature of North Carolina has made provisions for a Colored Normal School to be located at Elizabeth City and

Whereas[sic], we believe that such action of the Legislature was wise and judicious, Therefore

Resolved, that the North Carolina Educational Association tender the Legislature its thanks for the interest manifested in the education of the colored race by making such provisions.
Resolved, that a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to our representatives in the Legislature and the State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

Resolved, that copies be sent to the North Carolinian and the Economist and Falcon with a request for publication.

A. A. Small, C. McDonald, Geo. W. Williams, Jno. [John] H. Manning Butler, J. Royal Fleming, committee.

This recognition in John's journal was a pleasant response and no doubt Cale appreciated seeing the names of his associates. Mr. Small was a co-committeeman for Elizabeth City's School District 14; Mr. McDonald had been a co-witness years earlier in the Salomonsky burglary case. Messrs. Butler and Fleming were younger men, of course, but 'rising' young men.

This recognition, however, was for a particular person and came from a group elated over legislative action directly related to their prime interest. In other sectors, some citizens still could not see very much to be all that happy about. Editorial comment was an example: "Taken as a body, the late Legislature was the weakest that ever assembled at the State capital," the North Carolinian pronounced on March 18. If one followed this generality to particularity, the Republican organ's grump could be construed as also including the Republican Representative from Pasquotank. "And as for Governor," the journal continued, "much abler men have filled the Executive chair." Whether later news about that gentleman would have changed the tone of the complaint, is not known: the journal could not have foreseen that Governor Daniel G. Fowle had less than three weeks to read any newspaper's comment concerning him. He died "very suddenly on the 7th inst., aged 60 years," the North Carolinian reported on April 15; and that is all it reported on his demise.

The March 18, 1891 North Carolinian, meanwhile, had a certain ambivalence within its columns. Although grumbling editorially about the recent legislative session, it was also
complimentary: "It was through the efforts and influence of Representative Cale that the Colored State Normal School was located at Elizabeth City," the Republican organ announced on page three. That being the case, perhaps the 1891 Legislature was not so weak after all. The Negroes were much less terse. The same page carried their expressions (italics as in original):

PUBLIC MEETING OF COLORED CITIZENS ---
VOTE OF THANKS --- CANE PRESENTATION TO MR. CALE.

A large and enthusiastic meeting of the colored citizens was held at the Public School building on Friday night, March 13th, at which Robert Fearing\(^1\) was called to the chair and Bryant S. King appointed secretary. After organizing, Mr. Hugh Cale, member of the Legislature, was introduced and delivered an able and interesting address, giving an account of the proceedings of the General Assembly and especially of the action taken on the establishment of the Normal School at Elizabeth City. At its conclusion, the following preamble and resolutions were adopted:

*Whereas,* the Legislature of North Carolina during its last session appropriated $900 for the establishment of a colored State Normal School to be located at Elizabeth City, and

*Whereas,* we believe that it will prove a success, the location being suitable for the most thickly populated body of the colored people in this section of the State, therefore

*Resolved,* that we, the colored citizens of Elizabeth City and community express through these resolutions our highest appreciation for the wise and laudable act.

*Resolved 2,* that we tender thanks of the members of the Legislature for their generous aid in removing the illiteracy of the colored people in North Carolina. And

*Whereas* our Representative, Mr. Huge [*sic*] Cale, was one of the prime movers of the bill, providing for the establishment of a Normal School here, and used strenuous efforts to secure its passage; therefore

*Resolved,* that we present to him a gold-headed cane, as a recognition of his valuable services in behalf of his Race.

*Resolved 2,* that copies of these proceeding [*sic*] and resolutions be sent to the *North Carolinian, Economist-Falcon* and the *Daily State Chronicle* for publication. Also to the Supt. of Public Instruction.

The cane was presented by Mr. Charles McDonald with a few very appropriate remarks.

Rooks Turner, Charles McDonald, Rev. George Williams, Robert Bowe, Committee.

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\(^1\) Grandfather of Barbara O. (Fearing) Gaines Laurent, Elizabeth City State University Class of 1967. Mrs. Laurent, an English major and winner of the school's Publications Award, was 1966-1967 editor of the student newspaper (the *Compass*) - the first woman editor in almost a decade.
This information reported a really significant gesture - in fact, a comparatively rare honor. Under the circumstances, the typographical errors should not have been disturbing, certainly including "Huge" Cale.

If the local press was any gauge, Negroes of Pasquotank might help vote a man into office, but they seldom took time and money to accord such mass respect to one of their number. Further, should some deem the totality of appreciation versus that of the school's appropriation somewhat out of kilter, the practical facts were (1) no funds need have been appropriated; (2) with whatever appropriation, the school did not have to be located at Elizabeth City.

Friday the 13th, 1891, had been far from unlucky for "Huge" Cale. Not without reason could he have basked in a sense of pride in accomplishment. Furthermore, small men were not then in evidence. That Rooks Turner, defeated by Cale in the 1884 and 1890 races for the Legislature, was the first-mentioned committee member, might well have added to the joy of the occasion and perhaps signalled healing of wounds and a move toward political and community cohesion.

Representative Cale was not a man to rest very long on his laurels. For one thing, duty called. Trustee Cale, of Livingstone College's governing board, had been to Philadelphia for a meeting and returned on Friday, April 17, the North Carolinian reported on April 22, 1891.

The same issue also reported that Mr. Cale had other institutions in mind besides the local normal school-to-be and the college in Salisbury. "The holding of a Fair by the Colored people of the District at this place is now being agitated and is now assuming shape," readers were told. Further, "Mr. Hugh Cale informs us that he has the assurance that there will be a
general co-operation of the colored people in the enterprise and that it will be success." The April 22, 1891 *North Carolinian* was hopeful.

Fair fever had finally caught up with and swirled around Negroes of North Carolina's Albemarle region, just as it had gripped blacks elsewhere in the State and Nation over the years. Local occasions held by and primarily for whites probably added to the impetus. For Pasquotank, Cale was an obvious choice to spearhead the move. It was to be quite a number of months, though, before the idea would become reality. Meanwhile, actions by various Negroes in the vicinity made local news.

According to the local Republican journal for June 10, 1891, the "first peaches of the season have been laid on our table by Rooks Turner." Also, "J. H. M. Butler and Martha A. Newby, both of this place, graduated at the colored State Normal School at Plymouth last week." The June 17 issue announced that the Colored Odd Fellows were to celebrate their 22nd Anniversary on the 18th, and that class leaders at the A. M. E. Zion church were to have a Japanese Lawn Party, at the rear of the Church, on Tuesday and Wednesday, June 23 and 24. Admission, 10 cents.

The *North Carolinian* for June 24 called attention to weightier matters with a reprint from the Keokuk, Iowa *Gate City*, entitled "The Colored Man's Friend." This, quite naturally, extolled the benefits of the Republican party. The same issue of the local paper also extolled the Colored Odd Fellows\(^2\) who "made a creditable appearance in the parade Thursday."

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In the July 22 issue, it was reported that "J. H. M. Butler, who recently graduated at the Colored Normal School at Plymouth, has left to take charge of the school at Hamilton, Martin county." Meanwhile, Negroes in Perquimans County formed a stock company for building an "Academy" at Hertford, according to the same edition. Mr. R. O. Preyer's new home on Riverside Avenue in Elizabeth City was nearly completed, the newspaper reported in its August 12, 1891 issue, with Elizabeth City Commissioner Elisha Overton, builder and T. R. Bland, painter. The Reverend William Yost, D. D., of Cleveland, was in Elizabeth City, visiting the Preyers, preaching at the Presbyterian church, and deciding that he and his family expected to spend a part of the coming winter in town (issues of August 12 and 19). Later on, Mr. Cale's normal school would reap benefits from the civic concern of the Yost and Preyer families; some of its earliest landholdings came from them.

The school meanwhile, moved towards functioning. In the September 16, 1891 edition of the North Carolinian, it was announced that J. H. M. Butler "has been appointed Superintendent of the colored Normal School to be established here." Mr. Butler was indeed a 'rising' young man; the announcement may therefore have referred to a second normal school having a co-genesis with the State Normal.

The normal school obviously was being translated from words into action, but it was not clear who was doing the translating. The State Board of Education, comprised of Governor Thomas M. Holt, Secretary of State Octavius Coke, State Auditor George W. Sandlin, State Superintendent of Public Instruction Sidney M. Finger, and State Treasurer Daniel W. Bain, had met on May 5, 1891. Messrs. Sandlin and Coke were "requested to recommend, at the next meeting, a Board of Directors for the Elizabeth City Normal School which was directed to be
established by the Assembly of 1891, under a [sic] Act entitled 'An Act to establish a Normal School for the colored race in the County of Pasquotank.'" This put matters into motion. Next, on June 2, 1891, with Mr. Sandlin absent, the authorized "Board of Directors" was constituted on motion by Mr. Coke. These Directors (subsequently Trustees) were Samuel Lloyd Sheep, F. F. Cohoon, W. "W." (recte, J[oseph]) Griffin, Frank Vaughan, and J. W. Albertson, Jr. (in the order listed). The school now had a larger population - from zero, to a possible "Superintendent" and five men to supervise it. Superintendent Finger was to notify the men of their appointment. Also, he was to tell them they should "take such steps in the establishment and management of this institution as has heretofore obtained as to the other Normal schools for the colored people."  

Cale was not necessarily in Pasquotank while all of these strands of the school's fabric were being woven. "Mr. Hugh Cale," reported the *North Carolinian* for October 21, 1891, "now at Washington City, called on Monday. He attended the exposition at Raleigh and came this way on his return to the National Capital." In this manner, and a side note, he may or may not have been in town to hear the "born musician," Blind Tom, who "held his audience spell-bound" during performances on September 17 and 18 at the same Pasquotank courthouse completed during former Commissioner Cale's tenure. Master Thomas Wiggins Green ("Blind Tom") Bethune (1840s-1908)\(^4\), internationally known pianist and a prodigy, played on Thursday the 17th "under the auspices of the Y. M. C. A.," and on Friday the 18th "for the benefit of the

\(^3\) MS *Minute Book 3* of the Board (Division of Archives and History, Raleigh), pp. 100, 107.

Presbyterian church," according to John's newspaper for September 23, 1891. It was interesting that a black musician was eligible to aid whites in money-raising projects while the whites objected with increasing strength to being aided by a Negro in local, state, and national government. But that was both a sign of the times and operation of a stereotype; Negroes, after all, were 'just born' musicians and while acting in such a role, were quite properly 'in their place'.

If Hugh Cale missed a local piano recital or viewed an exhibition in Raleigh, Blind Tom was not the only new arrival in Elizabeth City. The North Carolinian noted politely in its issue for October 28, 1891: "We had the pleasure the other day of making the acquaintance of Prof. P. W. Moore, the elected Principal of the Colored Normal School here. He impressed us very favorably." The newcomer not only paid a visit, he left a memento: "The prospectus of the Elizabeth City State Colored Normal School is on our table. The first session will began on the 4th of January [1892]. P. W. Moore, A. B., has been elected as Principal. He is a fine scholar and has had a very successful experience as a teacher. Our young townsman J. H. M. Butler, also a young man of culture and experience, has been appointed Assistant." Representative Cale's Bill was beginning to have even more visible manifestations.

Polite notices continued. "Mr. J. H. M. Butler and Miss A. G. Fleming, who have been conducting a select school at Hamilton returned," Republicans and other readers learned on

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5 Moore had been teaching at Plymouth Normal School. Plymouth Principal Crosby in his report to the State Superintendent (Legislative Document 3, 1891, p. 49) praised his teachers: "Prof. Peter W. Moore and Miss Timberlake were faithful in the discharge of their duties..." J. F. Norman, treasurer of the school's Board of Managers, reported salaries paid as of June 6, 1890 (ibid., p. 50): Crosby, $750 for 10 months; P. "M." Moore as "Assistant," $450 for 10 months; Miss E. J. Timberlake as "Assistant," $400 for 10 months. Other data on Mr. Moore may be found in the present author's Pasquotank Pedagogues and Politicians (Elizabeth City State College [University], 1966) as well as in numerous news items - both local and beyond Elizabeth City - and in various issues of, e.g., North Carolina Teachers Association journals. See also Chapter IV (pp. [87]-114) of Nathan Carter Newbold (ed.), Five North Carolina Negro Educators (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1939; hereinafter referred to as Newbold, Educators) and Murrill, Roanoke Association. pp. 47, 76-80, who cites Moore as a Missionary Baptist "Licentiate." Charles Ingram's biography of Moore is DNBC, IV, pp. 305-306, while A. M. Barns III has a warm, understanding biography of Newbold in DNBC, IV, pp. 362-363.
November 11. On December 2, subscribers were advised that "Prof. P. W. Moore, the Principal of the Colored Normal School, was in the city this week." Everyone was reminded, "[t]he school opens on the 4th of January." The Economist-Falcon also took note of the coming events in its January "5"(?), 1892 edition: "The State Colored Normal School will open in Elizabeth City on Monday January 4th for the training of teachers. P. W. Moore, of Clinton, Sampson county, a graduate of Shaw University, is Principal and J. H. Butler of Elizabeth City assistant. It will be in session 20 weeks and we look for much educational good to come of it. The system will be by practical lessons of instruction and occasional lectures." Further, the North Carolinian for January 6, 1892, acknowledged that the school "was opened on Monday and will continue 20 weeks," and reported that the teachers were "both well qualified for their work." The Leap Year had brought something really new to Pasquotank. To take advantage of that situation, 23 students⁶ were on hand.

The county board of education and the city commissioners both met on January 4, but their minutes were silent on the new school's opening day. Living memory was better. "It was a big thing to go to school," Miss Isabella Hollowell remarked, recalling her experiences as a member of that first group of twenty-three students. "There were different classes; the students boarded in different homes. Some families would take four or five girls." The board charge was

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⁶ Initial enrollment figure from the School's advertisement in the August 11, 1897 North Carolinian. Boyette, Alliance Legislature, p. 165, seemed less-than-enchanted with curricular possibilities and less-than-clear on students' geographic origin: "It did provide some training for those blacks who could afford to travel there." Enrollment at the close of the first session was 69 students from nine counties (pp. 4-6, Catalogue and Circular of the First Annual Session of the State Colored Normal School. Elizabeth City, N.C. for the Year 1892 [Elizabeth City, NC: Lane Simons, Job Printer, Carolinian Office]). The 30 men and 39 women were divided into "Post-Graduate," "Middle," "Junior," "Sub-Junior," and "Preparatory" Classes and came from Bertie, Camden, Currituck, Dare, Martin, Onslow (one student and longest distance), Pasquotank, Perquimans, and Washington counties. Students included Joshua "Royall" Fleming (Middle Class) and a certain George A. Mebane of Windsor, Bertie County (Preparatory Class). Thirty-eight students (55%) were from Pasquotank County.
minimal, she felt - "three or four dollars a month" - and the school was free from "scandal." Mr. Moore "looked after them" and it was "just like one family; everybody knew each other." The students, she said, would go to school "in the morning." Most of them were teachers seeking a firmer foundation for their pursuit. Social matters also came to the forefront as a result of new status. Miss Hollowell recalled with glee her being advised that "Elizabeth City girls do not wear white aprons to Sunday School." She promptly shunned the habit.\(^7\)

Nor were progenitors overlooked. If Mr. Cale was in the shadows as his legislative seed sprouted, he apparently was close to the consciousness of contemporary students. Cale "worked with the school," Mrs. Jennie (Butler) Joyner emphasized.\(^8\) "We give Mr. Cale the credit for working with the State until it gave the money" for the school, Miss Hollowell said. She also reminisced upon the difficult times when other local schools sought continued existence minus State aid; a chief example which she recalled was Rooks Turner in his efforts to maintain educational opportunities for local Negroes.

Now, of course, it was young Mr. Moore's turn to nurse a normal school. In Mrs. Joyner's view, much could be done. The college-to-be existed for some years in a "one-room shack," she said, but despite such undistinguished architecture, a school of some permanency was now established.

Its "Board of Managers" as they came to be called, reflected the proper political stripe; it was basically Democratic. W. J. Griffin was chairman; S. L. Sheep, secretary; F. F. "Cahoon" (Cohoon), Treasurer; J. W. Albertson, Jr. and E. F. Lamb (who apparently replaced Frank Vaughan), the remaining members. Chairman Griffin was the City's attorney. Secretary Sheep

\(^7\) Interview granted the author, 1965.

\(^8\) Interview granted the author, May 28, 1966.
was the County's superintendent of education and had long since begun running his own "Academy" (the Atlantic Collegiate Institute). Treasurer Cohoon was an owner of the local Daily Star; Mr. Lamb was a newspaperman; and Mr. Albertson the son of a Republican judge. All the dramatis personae were present except one; he, too, made his appearance but not necessarily for school purposes.

Dr. John's newspaper reported on January 6, 1892, "Mr. Hugh Cale, temporarily at Washington City, spent a few days here last week." While in town he attended to his image: "Under the auspices of Fletcher Post, G. A. R. [Grand Army of the Republic], the 29th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation was duly celebrated at Elizabeth City on the 1st inst. After a parade, appropriate ceremonies were conducted at the Court House; the proclamation was read, very clearly and distinctly, by Miss Armetta Vaughan and stirring addresses were made by Rev. M. P. Hawkins, Mr. J. H. M. Butler and Mr. Hugh Cale. The speech of the latter was especially applauded. Mr. Cale is really one of the ablest and most influential colored men of the district." Few persons should have disagreed, but on March 7, 1892, there was a Sheriff's sale of Cale's lots on Cale Street.9

Despite sales and such, life struggled onward. The North Carolinian for January 13, 1892 announced that the Colored Normal School "has opened under favorable circumstances," as everyone should know by now. It reported that "five counties are already represented by students." The same newspaper advised on March 23 that "Hugh Cale arrived from Washington City on Saturday [March 19] and left for Raleigh on Monday [March 21] to attend a meeting of the Trustees of the Colored Agricultural College, of which he is a member, to decide upon its location." The following week brought results of that session to the local populace, via a reprint

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9 Deed Book 12, p. 492 (Pasquotank Register of Deed's office).
from the March 24th Raleigh News & Observer, appearing in the March 30th North Carolinian:

THE COLORED A. AND M. COLLEGE GOES TO GREENSBORO.

The board of trustees of the A. and M. College held a meeting at the office of W. H. Pace, esq. Propositions were heard from Wilmington, Raleigh, Greensboro and Winston to locate the college at those respective points. The decision was in favor of Greensboro. Her offer was $8,000 in cash to be turned over in thirty days, and $3,000 additional to be given by June 1st, 1893, after a vote to be taken by the city upon a subscription of $11,000 for that purpose.

There were present W. H. Pace, chairman; W. H. McClure, J. M. Early, W. B. McCoy, Hugh Cale, John S. Leary, C. H. Moore.10

Mr. Cale was getting to be quite a college man. Having been part of deliberations governing the destiny of Livingstone College for something like a decade, he had initiated the practical side of the present Elizabeth City State University and now had a hand in the equally practical business of getting located the present North Carolina Agricultural & Technical State University. The home front, however, still called, for Principal Moore reported to State Superintendent Sidney Finger that the "Hon. H. Cale" had visited the little school in Elizabeth City to give a speech to its students during the first term of operation.11

Palemon John thought he should look at the School himself: "The editor spent several hours at the Colored Normal School one day last week. There are 56 students in attendance, coming from some seven counties of the district. The Principal A. B. [sic; P. W.] Moore, and

10 A fine story of A & T's founding is Frenise A. Logan, "The Movement in North Carolina To Establish a State Supported College for Negroes, North Carolina Historical Review, 35 (1958), pp. [167]-180, which Boggs alleged to have been the "most momentous event for Tar Heel Negro education in the 1890's" (Wade Hamilton Boggs III, State-Supported Higher Education for Blacks in North Carolina, 1877-1945 [PhD dissertation, Duke University, 1972; hereinafter referred to as Boggs, Higher Education], p. 103).

11 Superintendent's Report ... (1891-1892), p. 56.
the Assistant J. H. M. Butler, are doing a good work. The course of instruction is thorough and practical and the system and discipline are excellent." Those compliments appeared in the North Carolinian for April 6, 1892, representing sentiments of a practical man.

This practical man along with others of similar inclination - like Hugh Cale - subsequently turned attention to another kind of education. Pasquotank's Republicans were at it again. They met on April 11, in Elizabeth City, to elect delegates and alternates to the state and district conventions. County Executive Committee Chairman J. S. Wilcox called the session to order. P. S. Shipp was named chairman and W. G. Pool, secretary. Dr. John and Elisha Overton were elected delegates to the state convention (former Representative Prince Albert Hinton and Pool, alternates). Messrs. Cale and W. H. Keaton became delegates to the district convention (A. B. Williams and John, alternates). Having reported these events in its April 13 issue, the North Carolinian also reported the state and district conventions, the latter event in the edition of May 11, 1892.

Held in Elizabeth City for once, the district convention was called to order by Executive Committee Chairman George W. Cobb. Wheeler Martin (Martin County) was named chairman and Calvin S. Brown, secretary. That May 5, 1892 session then selected delegates and alternates to the Republican national convention to be held in Minneapolis beginning June 7. It also voted a man to be an elector; adopted resolutions; and installed the District's new chairman and committee, after naming a congressional candidate. All concerned were to support the renomination of Benjamin Harrison for the United States Presidency. The First District delegates entrusted with lending support to President Harrison were former Congressional Candidate C. B. Bernard of Greenville, and State Representative Hugh Cale of Elizabeth City. The political stock
of the Gentleman from Pasquotank still was in good condition. This was his second time to be a delegate to the Party's national convention (the first in 1888).\textsuperscript{12}

While these matters of choosing took place, the little school sired by Cale and nursed along by Moore and Butler came to the end of its first session. It offered local citizens and others a series of programs on May 18, 19, and 20, 1892. These signalled the school having come to a milestone - its first Commencement.

The \textit{North Carolinian} for May 18 made announcements: "The closing exercises of the State Colored Normal School will begin at the Court House to-night, and continue to-morrow [sic] and Friday nights. On to-morrow night the Annual Address will be delivered by C. S. Brown, editor of the Baptist \textit{Pilot} and principal of the Normal Institute at Winton \textit[i.e., Waters "Institute" or "Academy"]. A special invitation is extended to the white citizens to attend each night." (The language may well have been that of a publicity release from the School itself.)

The May 25 edition gave an account of the festivities: "The closing exercises of the Colored State Normal School at the Court House on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday nights were decidedly creditable both to the teachers and the students. The annual address, on Thursday night, by Rev. C. S. Brown, of the Winston [sic; Winton] Normal Institute, was a decidedly able one. His theme was 'Our Country, and the Negro as a Citizen.' He is a forceful and pleasant

\textsuperscript{12} Mayer says the "selection of Minneapolis proved unfortunate...." The city was "in the grip of a heat wave" and "resin dripped sporadically from the unseasoned pine roof of the convention hall, forcing delegates either to sit on gummy benches or stand in the aisles and receive direct hits on their heads" (George H. Mayer, \textit{The Republican Party, 1854-1964} [New York: Oxford University Press, 1964; hereinafter referred to as Mayer, \textit{Republican}], pp. 233). Norman P. Andrews provides a view of Blacks receding from the forefront of national Republican campaign consciousness in late-19th-century America; \textit{e.g.}, "campaigns after 1888 ... made no special mention of the Negro ... and did not show any inclination to shoulder the grievances of the race" ("The Negro in Politics," \textit{Journal of Negro History}, 5 [1920], p. 432).
speaker, and he made a very favorable impression.¹³ This institution has done a good work and should by all means be encouraged and sustained. Prof. P. W. Moore, the Principal, and J. H. M. Butler, the Assistant, have faithfully performed the work committed to their charge and have satisfactorily demonstrated their competency for it."

Dr. John then acknowledged a visit (on May 20) from "Rev. C. S. Brown, A. M." and reminded readers that this school principal was also editor of the Baptist Pilot, headquartered in Winton. Mr. Brown was, of course, an active and well-known Republican as well as a minister and educator.

It was another Republican Negro deeply interested in education who had planted the ‘seed’ for the new normal school in Elizabeth City. It may have been in keeping with the spirit of things, then, that at ‘harvest’ time, Principal Moore, not averse to Republicanism himself, invited a Republican Negro (but one directly involved in education) to lecture the little school’s first ‘crop’.

¹³ According to Penn, Afro Press, pp. 305-308, photo p. 307, The Reverend Calvin Scott Brown was born to Henry and Flora Brown on March 23, 1859. Brown's father died in 1876; 17-year-old Calvin began teaching to support the family. He became valedictorian of his Shaw University theology class and subsequently pastored several churches. Brown's newspaper work began with the Samaritan Journal, organ of the Samaritan Society of North Carolina. In Winton, North Carolina (Hertford County), he became editor of the monthly Chowan Pilot and used the 24-column newspaper's revenues to help finance construction of the Waters Institute. Part of the Pilot's success was its being Winton's only locally published paper. The Baptist Pilot was "established in 1887 by the North Carolina Ministerial Union," according to Henry Lewis Suggs and Bernadine Moses Duncan, "North Carolina," Chapter 8 of Henry Lewis Suggs, ed., The Black Press in the South, 1865-1979 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983; hereinafter referred to as Suggs & Duncan, Black Press), p. 265. Brown was editor of The Baptist Pilot from its inception (loc. cit.). Suggs and Duncan indicate that most Winton whites were Baptists; that they subscribed to Brown's Baptist Pilot since they "had no other organ for news." This could be a bit ironic since the paper regularly "ran articles about the problems facing blacks in Winton and the surrounding counties" (ibid., p. 265) along with championing temperance and the Populist party (ibid., p. 266). Waters Institute (1886) became the C. S. Brown School (1937), its campus having gained a church (1897), originally named "South Winton," then later, First Baptist. Brown was its first pastor and is buried behind it (he died in 1936). The State Historic Marker in front of the campus reads: "Chowan Academy / Founded for Negroes 1886 / by C S Brown, pastor / of the pleasant plains / Baptist Church. Since / 1937, the Calvin Scott / Brown High School[.]" Brown was also a founder of the Lott Cary Foreign Missionary Convention, serving as its president for three decades. (First Baptist and Lott Cary information from History of First Baptist Church in Winton, North Carolina; typescript, Merrill Collection, ECSU Archives.) "Cary" vs. "Carey" is thoroughly discussed - with correctness ascribed to the former - by Miles Mark Fisher, "Lott Cary, the Colonizing Missionary," Journal of Negro History, 7 (1922), p. 380 n 1. E. Frank Stephenson, Jr's biography of Brown is DNCB, I, pp. 241-242.
Notwithstanding such harmless politics as may have entered the picture, the School had reached a significant point on Friday, the 20th of May, 1892. That was the important thing - reaching such a point and gearing itself for many other such points, still to be attained. In this endeavor during the decades ensuing, the institution's successes have not lacked distinction.

Hugh Cale would have liked that. And if he cared to reminisce, two Fridays - in 1891 and 1892 - had proven their significance.
Republican Delegate Cale managed to stay clear of anonymity even in Minneapolis. Dr. John's journal reported on June 15, 1892 that the "North Carolina delegation to the National Convention was distributed on the Committees as follows: E. A. White chairman of the delegation; Hugh Cale on the permanent organization committee; J. O. Wilcox on the credentials committee; J. C. Pritchard on the platform committee and E. A. Johnson on rules of order." The Committee on Permanent Organization named Charles W. Johnson as secretary; felt that the assistant secretaries serving during the temporary organization of the convention should be continued; and presented for the permanent chairmanship, Ohio's Governor William McKinley. The latter announcement was greeted with "prolonged applause, delegates waving hats and handkerchiefs for nearly half a minute." (That long!)

Back home, events were slightly less intoxicating even if as interesting to the persons concerned. "A bunch of onions, measuring 3 1/2 inches in diameter, has been laid on our table by Prof. Rooks Turner," the North Carolinian reported on June 1. It had advised on May 18: "The howl of 'nigger' is losing its efficacy as a rallying slogan.... The truth is, the people don't or won't scare as easily as they used to" - or so some politicos hoped. On June 6, the same newspaper informed subscribers that "J. H. M. Butler, Assistant of the Colored Normal School here, left on Friday to conduct a Teacher's Institute at Hamilton, Martin county." For July 13, the news was that "Prof. P. W. Moore, Principal of the Colored Normal School, has been spending a few days here in the interest of the institution." The August 3 advice was that "Mr. J. H. M. Butler, who has been conducting a colored Teachers' Institute at Hamilton, returned on Saturday." Also, and significant, the
county commissioners during their meeting of August 1, divided Elizabeth City into five voting precincts.

So went some comings and goings of the County. The news also reflected unhappy events: Christopher W. Hollowell, a county commissioner with Cale, died a blind man at age 71, it was reported with sorrow.

In New Bern, there was a colored fair, evaluated as being better than the one a year earlier, with "about 40 of our Colored people" in attendance. A headline announced, "Gladstone in Power." A note reported that C. S. Brown visited the newspaper office; the gentleman was a "good teacher and a good Republican." John Dancy's A. M. E. Zion "Quarterly" drew favorable local mention. Mr. Dancy was also a Republican. The Pasquotank Republican organ meanwhile acknowledged, and decried, the use of Negroes as a political issue. It was a political "trick," the journal averred. Related to the matter, it also quoted a gentleman as saying, "'If we don't frighten the masses we are gone.'" The North Carolinian seldom appeared to be trying to do so.

The newspaper noted the 83rd birthday of Oliver Wendell Holmes; the death of John Greenleaf Whittier; and the formal acceptance by President Harrison of his nomination for a second term. The First District Republicans meanwhile felt it "inexpedient" to nominate candidates to the United States Senate. Republican Congressional Candidate C. C. Pool took about half a page in the North Carolinian to explain his declining the candidacy; and the "Grand Lodge of the Order of Love and Charity is in session here."¹ Thus the third quarter of 1892 in Pasquotank, partially as portrayed in the Republican journal.

¹ North Carolinian, August 10, 17, 24, 31; September 7, 14, 21, 28; October 5 (also containing an article on the death of Bandmaster Patrick Gilmore) and October 12; all - 1892.
A rumbling beneath the layer of events was not hard to detect. The sound could be defined as a type of decision-making: that white Republicans and white Democrats could very well enjoy perennial political and other pounding of each other, minus the Negro issue; more specifically, minus the Negro vote-caster. In the meantime, the Negro could still ballot in large bunches. His political pride thus had enough value in elections to warrant application of soothing salves wherever appropriate. The present time was appropriate and the October 26, 1892 North Carolinian was an energetic massager (italics as in original): "The charge that in the settlement of the Senate and Congressional matter the colored Republicans were 'sold on,' is a Democratic lie started by the irresponsible 'rotten egg' editor of this place. It is as silly as it is false. In the first place, the Third party managers had no funds to purchase had 'boodle' been required and the second place, the fusion was agreed to upon the advice of the leading Colored men of this District, as well as of the white Republicans." A man was free to decide whether he was one of the "leading Colored men"; presumably the label should cover Mr. Cale. The practicalities were also enunciated: "It was simply a question of another defeat, or, by accepting the proferred co-operation of outside friends, vanquishing the common enemy." In this case, soothing salve was reassurance to the Negro electorate that their representatives were well aware of developments, as fusion politics burgeoned, and had acted accordingly. But why so vehement? Had the opposition struck a raw nerve?

An editor was a "LIAR," the Republican journal shouted. Peddlers of iniquitous stories were "guttersnipes," it yelled. The November 2 edition gave further explanations to that specially-tinted electorate, concerning which, neither political camp had yet made a firm decision locally: "The 'fusion' with the People’s party was no ‘sell out’ of the colored people, but it was
made to insure for them what they most desire, a *free vote and fair count*, in every county, and especially in the counties where there are too few white Republicans to stand up and aid them in enforcing their rights at the ballot box. The People’s party will now see to it that every man’s vote is *counted as cast*” (italics as in original). It was not stated whether this was an unsolicited advertisement for the "People’s party."

Whether or not a fair count became reality, any editor who advertised the possibility that there would or could not be such proper tally, was an "owl-eyed old fossil." According to the November 9 edition, he was also a "skunk." Negroes should remember, by the way, the earlier statement of October 26 and keep it firmly in mind: "The editor of the *North Carolinian* has never deceived nor betrayed the colored voters and he never will." Republican yowls in 1892 seemed to recall Democratic yelps in 1876. How times had *not* changed: always, the Negro problem.

These political festivities climaxed with the election, prompting subsequent editorializing on the "overwhelming Republican defeat" which was a "surprise and disappointment" to the local Republican journal of November 16, 1892. The November 23 issue shook its editorial finger at naughty Negroes who themselves contributed to the defeat: "The colored people of this District who believe that they were betrayed at the late election by some of the hitherto trusted of their race, feel that the ones should be condemned in such a manner as to destroy their influence for future harm in the way of deceiving and misleading the ignorant, and they are taking action to that end. That a colored man has a right to vote the democratic ticket is conceded, but accepting a bribe, Judas like, to mislead and betray others is quite a different thing."
Electioneering in 1892 Pasquotank County, was over. A high old time had been had by all.²

The State Legislature had convened. Besides moving to repeal the state charter for the Farmers Alliance, according to the *North Carolinian* for February 22, 1893, it appropriated funds for state institutions of higher learning. The same newspaper (March 8, 1893) reported the Agricultural College received $10,000. The colored normal schools, however, were to divide equally the munificent appropriation of $8,000. Such ungainly proportions would endure for many more decades.

² Those desiring a statewide review of '92 will find lively writing in Joseph F. Steelman, "Vicissitudes of Republican Party Politics: The Campaign of 1892 in North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review*, 43 (1966), [430]-442. Other examples of the voluminous commentary on shifting alliances include that of James Absalom Padgett in his faintly condescending "From Slavery to Prominence in North Carolina" (*Journal of Negro History*, 22 [1937], pp. 433-487), who considered Populists "a strange factor in American politics" and dubbed their platform "inconsistent in their alliances" (p. 484). But while some deplored Negroes who voted/�allied themselves with Populists, truly acid commentary targeted Black Democrats - in Hinê's opinion (Hinê, "Black Politicians," p. 566), "[s]urely the least recognized Reconstruction politician ...." However, Work, "Reconstruction Legislatures" (p. 237), shows that not all were outcasts - several being elected to South Carolina's legislature, 1876-1886. Nonetheless, the *North Carolinian* had rather widespread and long-standing companionship in fulminations against such atrocious voting habits - for example, the Black congregation in early 1870s St. Louis, which "arrayed" a member "on the charge of being 'a Democrat and a traitor to his race'" (Lillian Brandt, "The Negroes of St. Louis," *American Statistical Association*, New Series No. 61 [March 1903], p. 266). As late as 1917, H. A. Wallace, a Black New York City resident and once a page in South Carolina's Reconstruction House, registered contempt for "[t]hree colored Republicans [Representatives] whose names I do not care to mention"; these worthies "abandoned to the Democrats" (Work, "Reconstruction Legislatures," pp. 93, 94). Suggs & Duncan, *Black Press*, report the 1867 Raleigh *Republican* labelling such voters "rattlesnakes" (p. 258). Brandt (op. cit., p. 267) explains dwindling support of Republicans by St. Louis Blacks, while George Washington Williams (... *The negro as a political problem ...* [Boston: A. Mudge & Son, 1884]) told Washingtonians in Asbury Church that the "political fidelity of the Negro is the marvel of all political history. When the white Republicans had been reduced to a mere corporal's guard, the Negro remained loyal to his party. In fact he was more faithful than his friends. For his fidelity he was rewarded by being deserted by his friends and being shot by his enemies" (pp. 277). No less a citizen than A. M. E. Zion Bishop Alexander Walters, born a slave in Kentucky, August 1, 1858 (Walters, *My Life*, p. 12), felt the need for an entire Chapter to defend his voting habits (e.g., 1908, 1912) and presidency of a "Colored Democratic League" (*ibid.*, pp. 177-198). Trelcease, "Fusion Legislatures," reminds readers that the Republican party "was responsible for nearly all of the civil and political rights enjoyed by black [sic] Americans in the 1890s" (p. 306) and McKinney, "Mountains," reports (at p. 516) that a number of whites in mountainous precincts approved proper balloting by the minority. Blacks "had the basic right to vote - Republican." Some Colerain citizens (Bertie County) were explicit in 1867: "if ther Bee any cullard Person that wants to vote A Democratic vote, frail him until he knows Nothin" (Drumm, *Union League*, p. 94).
Meanwhile, the *North Carolinian*’s March 8 issue also reported another educational matter: that Mr. Cale had been re-elected to the trustee board of what is now A & T State University. There had been some maneuvering in the matter. Guilford County Representative Martin H. Holt, a Democrat from Oak Ridge, introduced HR 1532 on March 2, 1893. It called for a nominating committee to offer three names for trustees on the nine-man Board of "The Agricultural and Mechanical College for the Colored Race," its title as given in the enabling Act. 3 Mr. Holt’s Resolution passed practically on the spot, and went to the Senate. There, it became HR 1532, SR 1244, and was adopted. It was placed on the Senate’s calendar, cited as being there in a later session, and notice was served that elections would take place at 9:30 p.m., March 3.

On that date, the Nominating Committee made its report in the Senate, listing W. B. Shepard for the First District, W. W. Long for the Second, and Isham Royal for the Third. In the House, same date, afternoon session, Representatives had received the slate, Shepard’s and Long’s names being reported. For Mr. Long, no clouds appeared, but for the other gentleman, opposition developed. There was a minority report given by Representative J. Frank Ray, a Democrat from Franklin in Macon County. This called for H. C. Tyson, "colored," in place of Mr. Royal, "white." In addition, Representative William Henry Crews, a Negro from Granville County who had seen House service in 1874-75 and 1876-77, 4 despite opposition from expected quarters, nominated former colleague Hugh Cale in place of Mr. Shepard. The slate now redrawn, elections took place.

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3 *Laws*, 1891, Chapter 549 (pp. 607-609), Section 2. Only three persons were to be elected because Section 4 of the Act provided that one-third of the Trustees originally would have a 2-year term; another one-third, 4-year terms; the remaining three persons to have 6-year terms. All successors, of any class, were to have six-year terms.

4 His son, Representative William Henry Crews, Jr., would serve in the 1895 and 1897 Sessions of the North Carolina House (Ballou, *North Carolina’s Black Legislators*).
Alexander County Representative N. S. Norton (Democrat from Elk Shoal), a Teller, gave the report of balloting with the following tabulations:

W. B. Shepard (First District)
- - - - - - - - - - - 42
- - - - - - - - - - - 9
51

W. W. Long (Second District)
- - - - - - - - - - - 42
- - - - - - - - - - - 64
106

Isham Royal (Third District)
- - - - - - - - - - - 42
- - - - - - - - - - - 9
51

Hugh Cale (First District)
- - - - - - - - - - - 62

H. C. Tyson (Third District)
- - - - - - - - - - - 64

The presiding officers of the two chambers then "declared" that "Messrs. W. W. Long, Hugh Cale, and H. C. Tyson, were ... elected."5 Barring something unforeseen, Mr. Cale would continue as a Trustee until 1899. Among other people, he could thank his former colleague, Representative Crews.

That Trustee Cale made it back to the A & T Board with the lowest total of votes could be less interesting than the more arresting phenomena surrounding his election by Democrats. One could also ponder Negroes being elected over white opponents. Furthermore, here was an

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avowed Republican Negro who as a legislator during four terms had cast few votes favoring, for instance, a Democrat Speaker's winning an election; and none for so prestigious a Democrat as U. S. Senator (and former Governor) Vance. For Cale's part, his political stock for the time being apparently was of durable quality; he had friends. On the other hand, politics was a game with surprises.

Trustee Cale, having been re-elected to his position, was hardly the person to omit its exercise. The *North Carolinian* (May 24, 1893) announced: "Trustees of the Agricultural & Mechanical College for the Colored Race at Greensboro, held a meeting a few days ago for the transaction of important business. Mr. Hugh Cale is the Trustee from this District." No explanation of the "important business" was given. Other educational matters were reported (same edition): that Rooks Turner left on May 23, to attend an "Annual Reunion" of Howard University's Alumni Association; that Principal Moore would be Memorial Day speaker for the local Fletcher Post, his Normal School having its "Closing Exercises" at Pasquotank's Courthouse (May 23-25); and that Elisha Overton was constructing a new building for C. S. Brown's Waters Institute in Winton. All this, along with notice of Trustee Cale, appeared in the *Carolinian's* anonymously-written new feature, entitled "Our Colored People."

The column gave both reports and opinions. The May 24 advices included announcing that Trustee Cale's Livingstone College would celebrate its centennial on May 30, 1893. Its January 2, 1895 chortle, praised a preacher: "In his sermon at Mt. Lebanon Church Sunday night [December 30, 1894], Rev. Mr. Pettigrew went for the preachers and teachers with gloves off. That's right, Rev., give it to 'em."

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6 Additional Overton details may be found in Appendix 1, "Connections ...", pp. ___.
Greatly sobering was the announcement in that January 2, 1895 edition that Cyrus W. Grandy had died at his Mathews Street residence during Wednesday morning, December 26, 1894, in Elizabeth City, at the age of 65 - his funeral on December 28. Attorney Grandy had never recovered from a paralysis which struck him. As sometime attorney for, and county commissioner and political colleague with Cale, the latter surely must have felt a loss.

As if that were not enough, "Colonel"7 Arthur L. Jones was claimed on Monday, January 7, 1895, at age 75 (Carolinian, January 9 edition). Messrs. Jones and Cale also had close association - politically, if not otherwise. A Confederate veteran, Jones became the County's Standard keeper, to "safely keep the weights, measures, stamp, and brands[?] of the County" - his $200 bond for the office accepted November 18, 1868. Subsequently, he became a justice of the peace (1869), delegate to a First District Congressional Convention (1870), and school committeeman (1871) - all these elections involving Jones and Cale. During February 1862, Mr. Jones - an advertised livery stable owner by 1867 and Elizabeth City Commissioner by 1870, was "directed" by local officialdom to load up his wagon with County records and hide them from Union Army marauders. Many decades later, Pasquotank showed its appreciation via a historic marker standing before Commissioner Cale and colleagues' Courthouse.

Cale surely noticed that time was claiming more and more of those he knew, while leaving him and other citizens to carry on. He did so.

"Mr. Hugh Cale left last week on a visit to Raleigh," the North Carolinian reported on January 23, 1895. "Mr. Hugh Cale returned on Monday from a business trip to Greensboro and

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7 Mr. J. Howard Stevens of Elizabeth City (interview, March 15, 1994) indicated the title being locally honorific and that records-hiding was via directive. (Remainder of vignette abstracted from present text: pp. 16 n 1, 51, 55, 62 n 1, 81f, and for his bond, pp. 15-16, Ms Bonds book, Pasquotank Register of Deeds' Office.) Thomas Russell Butchko, "Historical Resources of Elizabeth City, North Carolina, 1793-1943, National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, 1992, indicates "panicked" townspeople "set fire to several of the principal buildings, including the courthouse..." (Section E, p. 13; cited with author's permission).
Raleigh," it announced on March 6, referring to March 4. "Mr. Hugh Cale left again on Saturday on a business trip to Greenboro," was the April 17 advice. "Mr. Hugh Cale leaves today on a visit to Bertie [County]," was the item for Wednesday, May 15, 1895.

The May 1 edition, incidentally, announced that a certain Mrs. Fannie Burke had departed for New York City on Thursday, April 25. Mrs. Burke and Mr. Cale, if they had not done so already, would have occasion to converse later on.

The news concerning some other citizens was saddening. John Morris, a Negro and "respected resident of the North side," was buried on April 1. Colonel Guirkin died at his Road Street residence on March 14, it was reported. Even the daughter of Whitmel and Mary (Simmons) Lane, Hattie F. (Mrs. J. H.) Newsome - just 19 years old and a bride of but four months - was not spared, her funeral having taken place on April 14, 1895, according to the Republican journal. Nor better news was a report from afar: ex-Senator Matthew W. Ransom was in "feeble health at Monterey, Mexico." Grim news continued. The June 19 Republican journal had the sad information that "Hon. Hugh Cale returned on Saturday from carrying Mrs. John Simpson to the Insane Asylum at Goldsboro. Mrs. Simpson has many friends who deeply sympathize with her and the family in their affliction."

Yet, those who remained had duties to perform and interests to follow. Reported the North Carolinian on May 29: "Rev. J. W. Moore, of Goldsboro, and Mr. Hugh Cale, of this City, were welcome visitors at the Public School on Friday evening [May 24]. Both gave instructive talks." Principal Moore noted at page 20 of his Fourth Annual Catalogue that the "Hon. H.

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*North Carolinian*, respectively, April 3 (p. 3), March 20 (p. 3), April 17 (p. 3), 1895. See also Appendix 1, "Connections...," pp. _____, for additional Lane Family details.
Hale" (sic) provided an "Address" to close the Fourth Commencement, May 31, 1895. References in John’s journal (editions for May 22 and May 29, 1895) highlighted "Rev. Dr. Blackwell, the eloquent pastor of the Baptist Church," who was to deliver the Commencement’s "annual address" on the same Friday night. The June 5 Carolinian reported that "Mr. Hugh Cale attended the closing exercises" of the school in Greensboro - appropriate for one of its trustees. The Gentleman from Pasquotank, at mid-1895, had looked in on two of the three "colleges" with which he had direct connection. Meanwhile, one should not forget direct politics, especially polite phrases for the Democrats.

Having announced in his June 5 journal that he (Palemon John) was elected chairman of Elizabeth City’s commissioners, he also noted that the previous and Democratic administration of the town "goes out with an empty treasury and a big deficit." This was deemed by the North Carolinian to be a Party characteristic, locally and nationally. Of course, Negroes were still on the political scene, and it was good practice (for the time being) to recognize the fact, such as Lancaster Brothers receiving a minor appointive position among the town’s officialdom. (Justice of the Peace Cale officiated years earlier at Mr. Brothers’ wedding.) On June 12, the Republican journal took another swat at Democratic efforts to disaffect Negroes. The "intelligent and influential" members of the race were not taken in by such procedures, the journal hoped; naturally almost any Negro reader could assume membership in that category.

One of the "intelligent and influential" Negroes had visions of additional cooperative effort by other intelligent, influential and/or industrious area Negroes. The man with the credentials, Mr. Cale, this time sought neither a school or legislative seat. Instead, a local fair was desired. If successful, it ought not damage the department of politics, either.
CHAPTER 20: PRESIDENT CALE (1895)

Pasquotank's Republican journal was faithful in its notices of comings and goings of one of the County's best known Republicans. The North Carolinian for May 22, 1895, perhaps explained some of Mr. Cale's trips within the past few months: "Arrangements are being made to organize a Colored People's Fair to be held on the grounds of the Albermarle Park Association during the month of October. It is a worthy movement and should be encouraged. For information, address Hugh Cale, Chairman, or J. W. Brown, Secretary, at Elizabeth City, N. C."

This information did not appear in the "Colored People" column, apparently ranking high enough to be included among the general news. The notice also showed that Cale's vigor and enthusiasm for civic interests was undiminished even though he was nearing his sixtieth birthday and had been in the midst of things for more than a quarter-century.

News the following week was encouraging. Reported the North Carolinian in its regular columns (June 26, 1895), "Mr. Hugh Cale informs us that the prospects for the Colored Fair here this Fall are very favorable. He is at work in this and adjoining counties in getting up an interest, and he is meeting with encouraging success. It is a movement by our Colored people that is highly commendable and it should be encouraged. The North Carolinian will cheerfully aid all it can."

Mr. Cale worked assiduously in the interest of the proposed Fair but he could take time out on June 28 for religious matters; as properly he should. "A representative of Disciples arrived in the city the latter part of last week and began a series of meetings. Hon. Hugh Cales [sic] delivered an address to them last Friday," reported the July 3 issue of the North Carolinian. It also reported that former Representative Noah Newby, living in Washington, D. C. for the past six years, had returned to Elizabeth City with his wife and that he was "very sick." This would
not be happy news for former Representative Cale, who had been Mr. Newby's immediate successor in the Legislature.

On July 10, more news of the proposed Fair: "Chairman Cale reports increasing interest in the Colored Fair. He feels warranted in saying that its success is assured. It is certainly a commendable movement and should have every encouragement." Encouragement on another project close to Chairman Cale's interest came on July 24, 1895 when the North Carolinian acknowledged that the fourth catalogue of the local State Normal School was received, and that it "makes a creditable exhibit of that excellent institution."

Still another push - this one for the immediate project - came on July 31: "The dates of the Colored Fair at Elizabeth City have been fixed on the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th days of October" (1895). The next sentence showed how busy Chairman Cale had been: "It will be opened by Hon. Jeter C. Pritchard, United States Senator from this State. On the second day an address will be delivered by Ex-Congressman J[ohn] M[ercer] Langston from Va. President Hugh Cale is hard at work and he is meeting with much encouragement. The indications are that there will be a large attendance." The indication, also, was that Hugh had a new hat. Now he was "President" of something.

The July 31 issue, via "Our Colored People," gave an additional detail on the President's activities: "Hon, [sic] Hugh Cale returned last Thursday from a brief visit to Washington, Philadelphia and New York. He was traveling in the interest of the Colored Fair."

Sad to report, one who probably would have enjoyed and supported the Fair had been called to rest. It was reported that Noah R. Newby of Nixonton Township (Pasquotank
County), member of the 1883 North Carolina House, died on August 1, 1895. The next day, Mrs. Simpson, whom Cale had escorted to Goldsboro, also passed on. These were dolorous items in the August 7 North Carolinian.

A brighter item was in the August 14 issue: "President Hugh Cale informs the North Carolinian that the prospects of the Colored Fair here are most favorable. He has very encouraging reports from every section. The dates, remember, are October 1, 2, 3 & 4." The anonymous reporter for "Our Colored People" echoed the sentiments: "Hon. Hugh Cale, President of the Colored Fair to be held here, is very busy working in its interest. He is visiting different sections and speaking to large crowds."

Spirited Fair announcements continued. "Be sure and get something ready to exhibit," exhorted the reporter for the Colored Column on September 4; "President Cale effected a complete organization of the Fair Monday night [September 3]. An enthusiastic audience was addressed by Messrs. P. W. Moore, J. H. M. Butler, J. W. Brown, Hugh Cale and Revs. H. B. Pettigrew, W. C. Butler and J. C. Coleman." The September 11 issue (again, "Our Colored People") reported that "President Cale and Prof. Butler spoke at Currituck Court House Saturday [September 8]. Many entries for the Fair were made. Prof. Brown and Mr. Cale were at Edenton Wednesday. From there Prof. Brown went up the Roanoke and Cashie rivers. Enthusiastic crowds greeted him."

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1 Representative Newby, born in Perquimans County, June 15, 1857, closed his college course at Hampton Institute (University) in 1879, thereafter serving as a teacher. He was elected with a 217-vote majority and served on the House Committees on Education and Fish Interests (Tomlinson [1883], p. 61). Newby was among vocal opponents of the State’s 1883 Dorch Act, which "threatened the virtual destruction of black public education"; he foresaw blacks emigrating rather than endure such "‘injustice’" (pp. 111f of Jeffrey J. Crow, et al., A History of African Americans in North Carolina [Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, 1992]). Newby is one of eight "Legislators Not Yet Positively Identified as Black," ibid., p. 211; Representative Hinton is entirely missing (ibid., pp. 209-211).
The *North Carolinian* itself was faithful in publicizing the event. In the edition just quoted, it noted on page three that the "Colored Fair arouses a good deal of interest. It will begin on Tuesday, October 1st with an address by ex-Congressman J. M. Langston of Va. On Wednesday, October 2nd, United States Senator J. C. Pritchard will deliver an address." No one would be so unkind as to ascribe political motives to the selection of speakers.

"Hugh Cale, President of the Colored Fair, has been devoting his time and energies in awakening an interest and enlisting the colored people of the District in the enterprise," the *North Carolinian* beamed on September 18, "and he has met with the most encouraging success. The Fair opens on Oct. 1st and it promises to be a big thing." Although no advertising as such appeared in Dr. John’s journal, his regular columns served as a substitute - perhaps a more significant alternate. It was so in the September 25 edition where, on page three, was announcement that the "Colored Fair opens here on next Tuesday. The indications are that there will be a large attendance, a good exhibit and an interesting time. Professor Langston speaks on Tuesday and Senator Pritchard on Wednesday." The column for Negroes simply headed itself (same edition), "The Fair opens next Tuesday."

Having opened at last, the October 2, 1895 *North Carolinian* made a report: "The Colored Fair opened yesterday with a large attendance. There is already a fine exhibit with still more coming in. Ex-Congressman Langston’s address was an able and eloquent one. He is one of the cultured orators of his race. Senator Pritchard speaks at 11:30 to-day. By all means let everybody go and hear him." The column, "Our Colored People," merely reported as its first item for the issue, "The Fair opened yesterday."
It could be expected that an incumbent United States Senator might command more journalistic comment than a former Representative in the Nation's Lower House - not to mention that the Representative was black. The October 2 *North Carolinian* advised that Senator Pritchard had arrived in Elizabeth City on October 1; had spent the day "and evening very pleasantly"; and had "most favorably" impressed local citizens. "Lieut. Cantwell, of the Government Sloop 'Alert'" invited the Senator to take a "short sail down the [Pasquotank] River at 10 o'clock this morning; at 11:30 he will deliver an address at the Colored Fair and will leave on the 2:30 train."

Mr. Pritchard had been elected to the Senate by the 1895 North Carolina General Assembly. By his presence in Elizabeth City, it would appear that, among other facets, he had not forgotten the support Representative Cale gave him in his earlier bid for the upper chamber of Congress and in other matters when both were in the 1891 House.

What Pritchard had to say was partially reported in the October 9 *North Carolinian*, which also included a favorable set of comments on Booker Washington's speech in Atlanta during that city's exhibition. The column, "Our Colored People," listed various Negro dignitaries in attendance at the Elizabeth City Fair; said that there was a reception at the home of the "Misses Fleming" on October 3; and praised exhibits - especially those entries by women.

The regular columns gave fuller reports on another phase: "Pursuant to promise and announcement Senator J. C. Pritchard came and delivered an address at the Colored Fair on Wednesday last. It was attentively listened to not only by the large crowd of colored visitors but also by quite a number of white people, including Republicans, Populists and Democrats, and all were pleased with it, pronouncing it happily conceived, well delivered and eminently practical."
We expect to publish it hereafter." (The speech was not published in full.) There were more laudatory words, same edition. Mr. Pritchard met "the most of our leading citizens" and the Senator "expressed himself as pleased with our people and more than favorably impressed with our section."

Less favorable news was in the next column: "The Colored Fair last week was not as well patronized as was expected, and hence, financially was not a success." The North Carolinian hastened to explain: "The program was carried out and Senator Pritchard came and delivered the addresses promised, and the exhibits were decidedly creditable, but because of the stringent times, and, to their shame be it said, of the non-cooperation and opposition of certain parties, the attendance was not what it should have been." The article continued: "President Cale labored arduously and worked faithfully, feeling a desire and pride in showing the progress made by the Colored people of the First-District [sic], and he should have had the full and hearty cooperation of every colored man and woman in the Albemarle section.² Referring to him in his address, Senator Pritchard said:

'I have known Mr. Cale, the President of this Fair, for a number of years. I have met him in the Legislature, in caucusses and in party councils, and I have always found him to be sensible, practical and reliable, and to you colored people I will say that he was always true to you. You ought to feel proud that you have a man of your race with his energy, ability and experience in your midst."

Fortunately, optimistic news could be reported as well as the Senator's praise of Cale and filip to some of Cale's constituency: "Since the above was in type President Cale informs us that it has already been decided to hold another Fair next year."

² Less than full cooperation was not new; Raleigh Negroes had the same problem in 1886 (see Logan, "Fair" pp. 63f, for citations). Their October 16-18, 1884 efforts, however, seemed to have been successful, with $500 in premiums, speeches by Joseph Price ("ninety minutes") and Governor Thomas Jarvis ("some thirty minutes"), and opening parade by black military (Jim L. Sumner, "Let Us Have a Big Fair": The North Carolina Exposition of 1884," North Carolina Historical Review, 69 [1992], p. 78).
Amid the post-mortems, there was one background development which had not appeared. This item perhaps had relationship to the strong support given Cale's Fair by the local Republican organ; there were those who well understood the pressures of engineering a fair. About nine years earlier, April 19, 1886, sixteen men had incorporated the "Elizabeth City Fair." This association, with a capital stock of $25,000, divided into 500 shares at $50 per share, represented some of the most prominent surnames in Pasquotank. The sixteen incorporators, in order and manner listed, were: R. B. Creecy, L. Selig, Palemon John, F. M. Scott, E. F. Aydlett, Wm. J. Griffin, F. F.(?) Cohoon, Charles H. "Robinson," W. O. Temple, Thos. R. Mann, J. W. Sharber, Hugh Cale, C. W. Grandy, D. S. Kramer Sons, J. C. Markham, E. F. Lamb.\(^3\) This 1886 mixture of Democrats, Republicans, whites, a Negro, Protestants and perhaps non-Protestants, ought to be a likely candidate for one of the more eclectic combines in the history of North Carolina if not the South. It would be many decades before such cooperation again became clearly evident - with many harsh words and much rough handling of humans and human rights, during the interim.

For the 1895 Fair by Elizabeth City Negroes, some could claim that Mr. Cale lacked 20/20 foresight and disregard of recent history in inviting Pritchard and Langston. If so, Cale had much company; this was 1895 and not such campaigning periods as 1896 or 1902 or 1884. Nonetheless, the time would come when much noise could be heard throughout the State, and beyond, because of political disenchantment with Senator Pritchard. One historian put it this way

\(^3\) Record of Incorporation, 1, 1886-1912 Pasquotank County, pp. 47-50 (Office of the Register of Deeds, Pasquotank County). This "Elizabeth City Fair" may have been an outgrowth of the Albemarle Agricultural Society. The Elizabeth City Falcon (Thursday, July 28, 1881, p. 3), for instance, listed officers of that earlier Society for the following year: C. W. Hollowell, president; W. J. Griffin, secretary; S. Weisel, treasurer; executive committee: Palemon John, chairman, T. J. Munden, E. F. Lamb, C. C. Allen, W. C. Davis, with the vice-chairman not then chosen. The same Falcon, in another context, also included a jibe: "The Republican party is and ever has been the friend of monopoly and the protector of monopolists" (p. 2).
in reference to subsequent events: "There were many who frowned upon Pritchard for abandoning the Negro and who felt he betrayed the party faithful with his calculated appeal to disaffected Democrats among the business community." Further, "for the thousands of Negro Republicans who had supported and been responsible for Pritchard's rise to prominence in politics, it must have come as a rude setback to be abandoned peremptorily by the party leader."  

As for Mr. Langston, who had also addressed the 1886 Fair sponsored by Raleigh Negroes, no less champion of Negroes than Luther Porter Jackson (himself a Negro), was moved to write that Langston's "success led to repercussions which were unfortunate both for the Republican party and the Negro race" and that Langston's candidacy for Congress "only served to hasten the disintegration of the Grand Old Party and to foreshadow the disfranchisement of the entire race" although this "cannot, however, be attributed solely to the campaign of Langston..."  

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4 Joseph F. Steelman, "Republican Party Politics in North Carolina, 1902: Factions, Leaders, and Issues," Studies in the History of the South, 1875-1922 (Vol. III of East Carolina College [now University] Publications in History, 1966), pp. 132, 133. The whole article is enlightening; pp. 132-150, especially germane. Pritchard's defenses and offenses in later years would make for interesting comparison with earlier situations. John Haley, Hunter, who liberally sprinkles "leading blacks," "black leaders," "leading black men," and "best white men" with telling deftness, vividly summarized the 1902 Pritchard fracas with Pritchard among leaders seeking an "all-white" Party (pp. 142-144). However, all was not black disenchantment with Pritchard. The Washington, D. C. Bee (a Negro newspaper), February 11, 1911, p. 1, col. 1, praised the generosity of Mrs. Russell Sage for "several thousand dollars" and lauded Judge Pritchard for stumpin the North, both efforts on behalf of the "National Religious Training School" in Durham (now North Carolina Central University), headed by James E. Shepard. (From the Elisha Overton Papers, Elizabeth City State University Archives.) A photograph of Pritchard may be found in, e.g., Archibald Henderson, North Carolina - The Old North State and The New (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1941), Vol. II, p. [419]. Senator Pritchard's dates are July 12, 1837 - April 10, 1921. His son, George Moore Pritchard, 1886-1955, was also in the Congress. Excellent for most of the whole period is Mr. Steelman's Chapter X, pp. [399]-439, "Inert Republican Politics, 1900-1917," and the entire study of which that chapter is a part, The Progressive Era in North Carolina, 1884-1917 (Ph. D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1955).

5 See Logan, "Fair", pp. 64, 65, where no ill effects are recorded.

Carolina was concerned, saw the disfranchisement stemming from intrastate causes, one being Negroes not supporting the prohibition movement in 1881. Hood felt the Negroes should have "lined up with the best white people.... I did all I could to persuade my people to take the wise course, but many of the thoughtless Negro politicians said some very unkind things about all who favored prohibition." Further, prohibition "was defeated and the Negro was blamed for it, although he was not responsible for it."7

The chief item, of course, was that the Negro was a perennial thorn in the political hide. In Pasquotank, everyone was free to assess any damage done to that hide by President Cale's Fair of 1895 - lacking full or sufficient co-operation of the local electorate; featuring the controversial Langston and Pritchard; and apparently just missing the abyss of acute financial embarrassment.

With tidying up the residue of his Fair and sundry gatherings of loose ends, President Cale - also then or soon to be Senior Steward in his local Masonic lodge8 - apparently took a couple of months' rest from civic endeavor. He had earned the right to his rocking chair. One could hope he rocked at ease.


8 He held the office not later than December 10, 1895; he is so listed in Proceedings of the ... Grand Lodge of North Carolina, ... Twenty-Sixth Annual Communication ... Charlotte, N. C., ... December 10th, A. D. 1895 ... (Goldsboro, NC: Nash Brothers, n. d.), p. 65. (From Elisha Overton Papers, Elizabeth City State University Archives.)
CHAPTER 21: TRIPS, TROTH, AND ST. LOUIS

The non-sedentary characteristic of the Honorable Hugh Cale even seemed to reflect the street named for him. "Cale street is being extended south," the North Carolinian told readers on October 16, 1895. The November 13 issue cited a movement of the man himself, in the "Our Colored People" column: "Messrs. H. Cale and J. A. Dempsey¹ will attend the Samaritan celebration at Edenton to-day." Cale still kept association with one of his favorite groups.

The relatives also got around. Reported John's journal on November 13th: "Mr. Junius Rooks returned to Greensboro Thursday [November 7], taking with him his family, who in future will reside there." Hugh's "niece," the former Elizabeth Cale, and Junius, her husband, seemed to have residence alternating between Greensboro and Elizabeth City. Three years earlier, moreover, they apparently lived in Washington, DC;² that abode may have been among Cale's resting places or his headquarters during his own frequent travels to Washington.

Still another move also could attract Cale's notice: "Mrs. Fannie Burke has returned from the North," reported the North Carolinian on November 20. Also: "Mr. Hugh Cale anticipates leaving this week for the Atlanta Exposition" and on page four, readers could view a three-column picture of the 100 x 300-foot "Negro building" for that variety of fair.

Whether Cale went to Atlanta is not certain. That he left Elizabeth City, is: "Mr. Hugh Cale is in Washington City," the North Carolinian dutifully reported on December 11, 1895.

The edition for December 25 said that "Hon. H. Cale has returned from his recent trip to

¹ Joseph Agustus Dempsey (18 - ), credited with being among Elizabeth City’s first black firemen, was grandfather of Joseph Armstrong Dempsey (1925-1994), who was the son of Joseph Franklin Dempsey (1900-1951). The third-generation Dempsey was a Perquimans County principal and from 1971 to 1990, an Elizabeth City State University administrator. His mother, Mrs. Bessie Mae Armstrong Dempsey (1898-1979), ECSU ’15, ’43, was a well-known local educator and businesswoman. A great-granddaughter of the 19th-century Dempsey is Bessie Patrice Dempsey, ECSU ’79.

² Deed Book 44, p. 117, Office of the Register of Deeds, Gates County, North Carolina, refers to the location. Junius and Elizabeth (Cale) Rooks sold land in Gates County, in 1892.
Washington." Apparently he did not stay home very long - perhaps visiting just for the Holidays - since the North Carolinian for February 12, 1896, reported that "Hon. Hugh Cale is back again from Washington, where he has succeeded in securing a government position." What this position was, this time, was no more clearly evident than similar advices six or seven years earlier.

Another item (in the column for Negroes) pointed to activity more definitely defined: "Two marriages are reported for next week. Rumor mentions our erstwhile friend from the 'City of Magnificent Distances' as one of the contracting parties." Whomever printed rumor had in mind, the issue was settled for one of those couples, on schedule. Wrote the reporter for "Our Colored People" on February 19: "At Mt. Lebanon Church on Monday evening our well known townsman Hon. Hugh Cale and Mrs. Fanny Burke were made man and wife."

Cale at age 61, one presumes (although the marriage certificate gave 51), had married for the second time. The new Mrs. Cale, known in print more often as "Fannie" than "Fanny," had taken her vows before the Reverend H. B. Pettigrew, pastor of the Church. Witnesses to the event were Martin L. Newby, F. W. M. Butler, and W. C. Butler (Sr.?). It may well have been among the social events of the season in the Black community.

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3 "Good Advice to Students" was the title of an address by Mr. Pettigrew to State Normal scholars during 1894-1895 (Report ..., Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1894-1895, p. 84). The minister was one of the few Negroes listed for Elizabeth City in the 1896 edition (p. 478) of Branson's North Carolina Business Directory. Pettigrew left Elizabeth City in November, 1896, after a two-year sojourn. The North Carolinian reported that he had a "stern and aggressive policy against wrong ..." (edition of November 25, 1896).

4 Data from manuscript sources, Office of the Register of Deeds, Pasquotank County. Fanny was then listed as age 30 and as the daughter of a certain Mr. and Mrs. "Chavers" (= Chavis), her father cited as a resident of Hertford (Perquimans County) and her mother, deceased. Fanny Cale had two sisters. One of them, Phoebe, became Mrs. David Overton, Jr., and her daughter, Mary (Overton) Harris, the mother of a late and respected professor of English at Elizabeth City State College (now University). Mrs. Edna Cornelia (Harris) Mitchell (1901-1963) and also mother of the equally respected local educator, the late Mrs. Blanche (Harris) Newell (1910-1981). The present author is indebted to Mrs. Mitchell and to the late Thomas Settle Cooper (who married Phoebe Overton's niece, Sarah) for details of family history. Another member of the family's branches, formerly Assistant Dean at Elizabeth City State
The new Mrs. Cale added her dimension to the stature of the family name. She was then a schoolteacher in Pasquotank County. She also saw to her own further education, several years later appearing as a member of the 2nd Year Class at Elizabeth City State "Normal" (1901-1902). She was then listed as a teacher in Elizabeth City. During 1903-1904, Mrs. Cale was enrolled as a 4th Year Class member at State Normal; she had also studied there during the summer of 1904.5

At one point in her teaching career, she was selected for a two-year tour of duty in a Pasquotank school district for which the farmer, singing-master, and part-time minister, Josephus Woodhouse, was a Committeeman. Although Mrs. Cale stayed in this position but a year, she left her imprint on the Committeeman’s family. She not only resided in the Woodhouse home during various intervals (for convenience in getting to her job), she also gave a scolding (deserved it seems) to a Woodhouse son, one of her pupils. The reprimand was designed to avert repeating some youthful infraction or other. The little fellow simply compounded the misdemeanor; in retaliation, he defaced a photograph of Mrs. Cale. He was forgiven.6

All these events could make Fanny Cale’s teaching career a series of interesting experiences. She also had traveled about and would continue to do so. For the present, however, University, is Dr. Benjamin Franklin Speller, Jr., who kindly provided clarifications of genealogy and who became Professor of Library Science at North Carolina Central University 1976, and as of 1983, Dean of its School of Library and Information Science.

5 Tenth and Thirteenth Annual Catalogues of the institution, respectively, pp. 17, 28; 17, 36.

6 Anecdote based on information kindly provided by Mr. Woodhouse’s daughter, Mrs. A. Lucile (Woodhouse) Newby of Elizabeth City, ECSU ’33, ’41, a retired schoolteacher (her father was an ECSU student, 1895-1896); and abstracted from the present writer’s unpublished manuscript, J. Woodhouse - Singing-Master (1963). The Rev. Mr. Woodhouse’s grand-daughter, Dr. Venita Carol Newby Owens, is a physician; her husband, Franklin Jewelton Owens, Jr., a second-generation ECSU grad (1970), former teacher, and businessman. Whereas Granddaddy Woodhouse was a singing-master, granddaughter and her husband both play the organ.
she was a happy bride and might well feel some pride in being the spouse of a man so well known and highly regarded in and beyond old Pasquotank County.

Bridegroom Cale, not accustomed to being a homebody, continued his mobility. "Hon. Hugh Cale has returned from a trip to Washington," the faithful if anonymous reporter for 'colored people' advised on April 22, 1896. Cale's bread-winning possibly was still Washington-based. Perhaps he no longer had his Elizabeth City grocery store or temporarily left charge of it to someone else.

Another faithful, and distinctly not anonymous, reporter for Republican events also had sundry advices for the electorate to ponder. A national voting season was in the offing and Mr. McKinley was much desired in many quarters as a presidential nominee. The machinery was already in motion and appropriate noises could be heard from its workings. (Meanwhile, "Mrs. Fanny Cale and daughter" have returned from Washington," the column for Negroes said on April 29.)

Pasquotank's Republicans met at the courthouse in Elizabeth City on April 30, to elect persons to the several District conventions. Called to order by J. S. Wilcox, county executive committee chairman, John P. Overman was named chairman with M. B. Culpepper and John W. Barrington (Negro) as secretaries. George W. Cobb (Palehem John's nephew by marriage) and Lancaster Brothers became delegates to the state convention (Wilcox and John, alternates); Cobb and Robert Fearing, delegates to the Congressional convention (Cale and John, alternates); and

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7 i.e., Mrs. Nellie Adelaide (Burke) Levister, late of Conway, South Carolina. Mrs. Levister was a 1900 graduate of Cale's Normal School and was in its "post-graduate" class, 1901-1902. She was listed among Catalogue rosters of alumni as a teacher in Elizabeth City or Pasquotank, 1904-1906; a teacher in Raleigh, 1906-1908, 1909-1910; teaching at the Deaf, Dumb and Blind School there, 1912-1913, 1914-1916; and as a teacher in Newberry, South Carolina, 1916-1928 (the latter year being the last Normal School Catalogue to include such rosters). Mrs. Levister, Cale's step-daughter, was reported as deceased ca. 1971.
Culpepper and Samuel Jenkins, delegates to the senatorial convention (Wilcox and Elijah Edge, alternates). Dr. John then moved for resolutions supporting McKinley as the presidential nominee, Daniel L. Russell as gubernatorial nominee, and Jeter C. Pritchard (recently a speaker at Mr. Cale’s Fair) for the United States Senate. These resolutions were adopted. The convention then postponed naming a County slate until October 6, scheduled for 2:00 p.m., and adjourned. The *North Carolinian* editorialized in the same May 6 issue which reported the nominating convention: "The Pasquotank Republican Convention on Thursday was one of the largest in attendance and most harmonious in all its proceedings ever held in the county. The attempt to draw the ‘color line’ ignobly failed. It was deprecated by both the white and colored delegates, and this feeling extends throughout the county."

Some of these themes had been heard before; some represented optimism. All loyal Republicans presumably greeted changes on the theme with dutiful pride. "Our Colored People," meanwhile, reinforced the news with, "As will be seen elsewhere Lancaster Brothers is a delegate to the State convention, and Robert Fearing and Hugh Cale delegate and alternate respectively to the District Convention."

The District (Congressional) convention on Thursday, May 7, 1896, drew editorial praise in John’s organ - for the convention’s choices and for its having thwarted a supposedly iniquitous

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Negroes’ advocacy of Russell was a "fatal blunder," Bishop Hood asserted in 1908, noting the candidate’s election "largely by the Negro vote." Said Hood, "It is doubtful if any man ever hated the Negro more than Judge Russell did.... His inaugural address indicated that his administration was to be one of hate, spite and vengeance. He seemed to do all he could to vex the best whites and to bring down their wrath upon the Negro who was largely responsible for his election." (James W. Hood, "No Open Door," pp. 24f.) Saying Russell’s gubernatorial win "surprised critics and allies alike," Jeffrey J. Crow aptly entitled his valuable article, "‘Fusion, Confusion, and Negroism’: Schisms among Negro Republicans in the North Carolina Elections of 1896," *North Carolina Historical Review*, 52 (1976), pp. [364]-384. Haley, *Hunter*, p. 151, quotes Governor Russell’s 1904 dicta on Negroes’ unalterable inferiority.
combine. The straight-forward report of the Edenton festivities (May 13 edition) let readers know that George W. Buckman had called the session to order with Wheeler Martin (Martin County) as temporary secretary. Fifteen counties were in attendance, Perquimans replete with two contesting delegations. That one led by Mr. Speight was seated. These preliminaries disposed of, Dr. D. H. Abbott (Pamlico County) was named chairman, and C. B. Pritchard (Beaufort County) and former State Senator George A. Mebane (Pasquotank) elected secretaries. Next came nominees to the national convention to be held in St. Louis on June 16. The delegates were J. P. Butler⁹ (Martin County) and "E. C." (C. E.?) Duncan (Carteret County); alternates were Hugh Cale, and H. G. Gussom of Chowan County. Mr. Martin was named an elector, and Dr. Abbott the chairman of the District Executive Committee. C. B. Bernard (Pitt County) showed his political durability by being named delegate-at-large. Next came resolutions, including that of Dr. John supporting both McKinley in St. Louis, and Harry Skinner, the "co-operation" Congressional candidate of 1894, who still was deemed an excellent political risk by most of the District's Republicans. Skinner, of course, was a Populist and with his Party the Republicans "cooperated" but had no "fusion."¹⁰ The distinctions were less than vivid to some voters.

The District had nearly completed its work. It assembled an executive committee (John was named to it from Pasquotank) and got off another resolution or two. The one by Bernard perhaps bore particular interest for its preamble: "We, the Republicans of the First District of

⁹ Also a top-level official of the Order of Love and Charity, which fact should not harm vote-gathering.

¹⁰ William Alexander Mabry's "Negro Suffrage and Fusion Rule in North Carolina," North Carolina Historical Review, 12 (1935), pp. 79-102, is as good place as any for scholarly rationale underlying 'white is right, black get back'. Duke PhD Mabry ('33) managed to name but two or three blacks in a 23-page disquisition occasioned by none other than the unwelcome sepia electorate.
North Carolina, in Convention assembled, first acknowledging our gratitude to Almighty God for His Love, care and protection in permitting us to live through another Democratic administration, do hereby resolve ...," etc., etc. Not inappropriately, the Convention adjourned.

"Our Colored People" echoed that "Hons. H. Cale and G. A. Mebane attended the convention at Edenton last week." The big point it did not highlight was that this represented the third time that Hugh Cale had been elected a functionary in the Party’s national conclave. In the meantime, Cale had visited the Elizabeth City school he founded to give an address aptly entitled, "Practical Talk."  

Cale went back to his Washington job. "Our Colored People" noted on June 3 that "Mr. Hugh Cale is in the city again"; Cale had returned from Washington, presuming that was the site of his latest visit. Also, an "AWFUL CYCLONE" hit St. Louis but reportedly damaged only slightly the building constructed for the Republican convention - its eleventh - already scheduled for that city. In the interim, at the "recent annual meeting of the Board of Trustees of the A. and M. College for the Colored Race, at Greensboro, Prof. James B. Dudley, of Wilmington, was elected President." Thus reported the June 10, 1896 North Carolinian. Perhaps Trustee Cale was present to help elect Mr. Dudley.  

Alternate Delegate Cale was next to be found in St. Louis, where of course, William McKinley was named the Republican candidate for President of the United States. North Carolina gave the Ohioan 19 1/2 votes from its 22 delegates, reserving two for Mr. Reed.  


12 Newbold, Educators, pp. 35-59, is among sources portraying him.
(according to page one of the June 24 *North Carolinian*) or 2 1/2, if one followed page three of the same issue. The State's voting for Vice President resulted in 20 1/2 for Mr. Evans and 1 1/2 for Mr. "Holbert" - Garret A. Hobart of New Jersey, who captured the number two candidacy. The "eminent colored divine," Bishop B. W. Arnett, president of Wilberforce University in Ohio, had given a prayer on June 17 - escorted to the place of honor by "Delegate Hill (colored), of Mississippi." "Our Colored People" reported on July 8 that "Hon. Hugh Cale returned Saturday [July 4] from Washington. He attended the St. Louis Convention." Another column was more specific: "Mr. Hugh Cale, who attended the St. Louis Convention, having just returned from Washington, called on Monday. He gave an interesting account of the Convention." With national campaigning variously termed "dirty" and "vicious," there was considerable grist for his report.

In the view of Attorney John J. Kelley, a St. Louis Negro, any "interesting account" given by a Negro representative to the convention should include reports of activities sponsored by James "Jim" Crow during the great gathering. Kelley, in June, 1896, wrote to a Negro Democratic newspaper that Negro delegates were no match for Mr. Crow with his successful policies of segregation in St. Louis. Mr. Kelley was of the opinion that delegates presently under consideration did not even put up much opposition to Mr. Crow. In the attorney's view, the Convention members in question were but a "cheap lot of political scullions who exist in political cesspools, doing the bidding of designing white bosses...."¹³ Those were scathing remarks;

¹³ Derived from Herbert Aptheker (ed.), *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States*, II, paperbound edition (New York: Citadel Press, 1964), p. 818; hereinafter referred to as Aptheker, *Documentary History, Mayer, Republican Party*, p. 248, was no more enchanted with the 1896 locale for the convention than for the 1892 choice: "The national committee had made a mistake in choosing St. Louis as a site for the Republican convention. The city was overwhelmingly Democratic, and, in addition, had been devastated by a tornado two weeks earlier; hotelkeepers refused accommodations to Negro delegates; and angry party leaders from Massachusetts
however, he was writing to a Democratic journal. Meanwhile, in Pasquotank County and Elizabeth City, were there Black "scullions," Party "cesspools," and "designing white bosses"?

The question could provoke discussion.

threatened legal action for breach of contract." With Cale a three-time delegate to national Republican conclaves - 1888, 1892, 1896, Walton, Republicans, pp. 20, 170-173, lists him not at all in his "(partial listing)" of such worthies during the time frame and geographic focus of the present text; Delegate Thomas Sykes (1872) is also absent. Walton does cite these nine North Carolina delegates: Henry Plummer Cheatham - 1892; John C. Dancy ("Dancy," p. 173) - 1892; Stewart Ellison - 1880; James Henry Harris - 1868, 1872 (but credited to Mississippi, p. 170), 1876, 1880, 1884, 1888; William P. Mabson - 1876; James E. O'Hara - 1884; George W. Price Jr. - 1880; George C. Scurlock - 1892; John "W" (p. 170) "H" (p. 172) (for Hendrick) Williamson - 1872, 1884, 1888. Walton lists no black North Carolina delegate for 1896.
CHAPTER 22: GAY(?) NINETIES

The times lent themselves to vigorous assertions and arresting topics. In 1896, a Harvard-trained scholar, Dr. William Edward Burghhardt DuBois, with a solid background from Fisk University, completed a study of the suppression of that slave trade which caused much discussion in 1777 and 1866 - its effects still debated a century later. In 1895, Mr. Booker Taliaferro Washington made his separate-but-equal speech in Atlanta; Mr. Frederick Douglass died; Representative William Henry Crews (the elder) moved the North Carolina House adjourn in Douglass' honor,\(^1\) generating considerable editorial steam. The *Carolinian* (March 13, 1895) reported another editor's opinion that a third scribe - editor of the *News and Observer* - had "come home to redeem the South. But he is now trying to impose the job upon the corpse of poor old Fred. Douglass." "Coon" songs could be heard almost as clearly as contentions that the said "coons" should be relieved of voting privileges with all possible expedition. Unrest could also be detected in Pasquotank County, North Carolina.

January of 1896 brought forward a movement among Negroes of the County "looking to the literary, political and material interests" of affected citizenry, according to "Our Colored People" in the *North Carolinian* for January 8. "Don't fail" to attend a meeting at the "School house," was the advice on January 15, 1896 (J. R. Fleming, president; "Prof." J. W. Brown, secretary). On January 22, rumors being "a float," the anonymous reporter felt he should explain the idea - which was to effect "unification of the colored people of this county if such a thing is possible." (!)

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\(^1\) *House Journal*, 1895, pp. 546f. Mr. Crews explained that his motion was to "give publicity to the sudden and unexpected death of this distinguished deceased" whereupon it was "concurred in by all parties..." Further, the "utterances and expressions of the Democratic press ... are denounced as unjust, untrue, misleading, malicious and libelous" (*ibid*, p. 546).
Precisely who constituted the guiding forces in the movement was not clear, excepting announced officers. Fleming and Brown - both sometime faculty members at the local fledgling State Normal School, thus became potential problems for Principal Moore's fund-raising efforts among Democratic-controlled purse strings. Perhaps it was a healthy but not-too-durable gesture. Whatever the circumstances, it clearly showed that some people thought the rest of the people should do more for the whole.² It was not a new idea but a welcome one, nonetheless.

Mr. Cale had more immediate concerns. "Mrs. Fannie Cale had been quite sick, but is now convalescent," the North Carolinian reported on July 9, 1896. Perhaps her improved state allowed Cale to return to his job: "Hon. Hugh Cale left on Saturday for Washington City," it was announced on July 15 by the North Carolinian. But "before leaving" on this trip of July 11, Cale "perfected arrangements for holding a Fair again this Fall."

In a time of vociferation, it seemed that such an activity would harm no one and might even contribute to stepped-up joint efforts at unity. Obviously, from the reported insufficient support of the 1895 Fair, and the current complaint that local Negroes were not together, something was needed. A county fair for local Negroes might be a near cipher in terms of nationwide Negro aspirations but might serve a purpose as a hometown lodestone. Such a program might even gain more in the long run than spectacular fulmination in the public print; but the fulmination would increase. Meanwhile, if the hypothesis was workable, it might for

² "Our Colored People" reported (March 18, 1896) a "Co-operative Industrial Association" having been formed. This was perhaps the group in question. It was designed to "promote race industry by encouraging and assisting in the acquisition of homes and real estate." "The stock of the Association is divided into shares that are placed within the means of all. The second meeting was held at the public school house last night" (i.e., March 17, 1896). This was among cooperative efforts of that general period - the Pioneer Building and Loan Association of Greensboro, chartered 1902, being another example (copy of its Fifth Annual Report ... 1907 in Elisha Overton Papers, Elizabeth City State University Archives). Meanwhile, Elizabeth City-Pasquotank blacks' fledgling building and loan association of 1869 (Thomas Cardozo a participant in its organization), may have fallen by the wayside, with this 1896 activity representing renewed efforts.
instance explain something of Cale's apparent absence in the "movement" among Pasquotank Negroes, versus his well-advertised sponsorship of a fair-to-be.

However one assessed the situation and potential, great energy was manifest int he 1890's. The energy also was manifest in other respects and these may have affected both the temper of the populace and its ideology. During the week of August 2, 1896, for example, the temperature in Elizabeth City reached 100 degrees. The North Carolinian for August 19 carried front-page reports of "A FATAL TORRID WAVE / The Whole Country Prostrated by Frightful Heat." Five months earlier, fire had nearly destroyed the "Church street" residence of Mr. and Mrs. Jesse R. Brown, Mr. Brown being a longtime political colleague of Cale's even if relations between them were not always placid. The couple "requested the Carolinian to express their grateful thanks to the white ladies and gentlemen who rendered such generous and efficient aid during the recent fire" (edition of April 1). By April 29, Brown was re-building his house.

Then, on Sunday, July 26, while Mr. and Mrs. Elisha Overton were attending church, that couple's Road Street residence caught fire. Mr. Overton said in the same newspaper (July 29th edition): "To the Public - I take this opportunity to thank my white and colored friends who rallied so promptly and rendered timely and valuable service to myself and family last Sunday."

On August 12, "Our Colored People" was moved to remark: "Another house burned. Surely the

3 Mrs. Brown (1855-1914) was the former Araminta Harvey who married in 1870 (North Carolinian, September 29, 1870, p. 3). She was a delegate from Elizabeth City to the centennial celebration of the A. M. E. Zion Church (ibid., September 30, 1896, p. 3). At the Centennial, Mrs. Brown probably favored highly some parts of a 21-stanza poem by Frances E. W. Harper, which appeared in the Souvenir Program. Stanza 3, lines 1 and 2: "Where haughty tyrants once bore rule / Are ballot box and Public school...." The Philadelphia Weekly Tribune (a Negro paper), September 28, 1895, p. 4, devoted most of a column to the Browns' Silver Wedding Anniversary. There were unveiling ceremonies, September 30, 1939, at Mt. Lebanon A. M. E. Zion Church for a tablet in memory of Mr. and Mrs. Jesse R. Brown. Given by their son, Bishop James W. Brown, it has 1857 as Mrs. Brown's birthyear and 1840-1903 for Mr. Brown. (Sources for quote and anniversary: Elisha Overton Papers, Elizabeth City State University Archives; for Mrs. Brown's dates, Book I, p. 491, Record of Deaths, Pasquotank Register of Deeds).
incendiaries must be at work. The house of Mrs. Charity Scott, near the city limits was entirely destroyed by fire on last Friday night. This is the third fire in the same neighborhood in a very short while." It was clear that not all of the heat during mid-1896 had been caused by politics and the sun; or was it? Were the fires deliberate and thus designed to frighten some of the Negro electorate?

"Hon. Hugh Cale," whom the Negroes’ anonymous reporter announced on August 12 as having "reached home on Monday from Washington, D. C.," without doubt joined others in discussions of these recent and gruesome events. Cale, moreover, perhaps had particular concern for the plight of Mrs. Scott, for whom he had served as an agent in 1888 and 1889. Meanwhile, Mr. Alfred Morris, a Negro, had been overcome by the heat on Saturday, August 9; and "Our Colored People" (August 12) reflected sentiments of many in saying, "We are sorry to note that Prof. Moore is on the sick list...."

Perhaps the heat had something to do with a false alarm published in the August 19, 1896 North Carolinian. Page two, column three, reported the Republicans’ satisfaction with Populists’ selection of candidates for a portion of the State ticket. Among these nominees were Colonel Oliver Hart Dockery, for Lieutenant Governor, and George Allen Mebane, for Superintendent of Public Instruction. Page two, column four of the same issue showed that, correctly, the candidate for Superintendent was Charles H. Mebane of Cabarrus County and not the Negro State Senator-turned-educator who now operated in Pasquotank County. The correction no doubt reduced the temperature for some of the electorate.

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4 Mrs. Scott was then a resident of New York. She came to Elizabeth City in the interest of "adjusting affairs" after the fire (North Carolinian, September 23, 1896, p. 3). She returned to New York in November (ibid., November 4, 1896, p. 3).
There were other concerns, "Our Colored People" voicing one of them on August 26: "What has become of the recent Fair movement. We can’t afford to let it die. A very creditable showing was made last year and with more experience and an already awakened interest, it is safe to predict far more satisfactory results for this Fall. Let the citizens of this and adjoining counties come together and make this Fair a permanent success. We can do it; then why not?"

The anonymous exhorter was able to report some progress in his *North Carolinian* column for September 9, 1896. Perhaps more men of action were now in the precincts: "Hon. Hugh Cale is back in the city again." The same column reported that "Messrs. Cale, Moore, Brown, Butler, Fleming and others go to Hertford today in the interest of the Fair." Even so, sorrow was mixed in. The column reported, "Sheldon, the little son of Mr. and Mrs. Junius Rooks, of this place, but now in Greensboro, died on Monday [September 7]. The body was brought home for interment." Cale must have been deeply affected in losing his grand-nephew.

On September 16, the Republican journal could report more activity in connection with the proposed Fair along with announcement that Dockery had been replaced by Charles A. Reynolds, of "Winston," as candidate for lieutenant governor. The *North Carolinian* advised on page three that the "Colored Fair Association has re-organized, adopted the name of 'The Albemarle Art and Industrial Fair' and elected Prof. M[oses] W. D. Norman President and J. W. Brown Secretary. The Fair will be held at the Park Fair Grounds here on October 27th and continue four days. Further notice hereafter." The colored column echoed that "arrangements have been made to hold a Fair and the dates fixed." It added information that the "Secretary of the Fair has opened office in Leigh’s building on Road street. Direct all letters to J. W. Brown, p. o. box 70, Elizabeth City, N. C."
Mr. Cale, president of the 1895 Fair and initiator of the one for 1896, would appear to have been eliminated from active direction of the present effort. However, that action could have reflected his own desire in the matter. He had been very active in many efforts for a long time and a man could get a little weary. Still, it was not impossible that, so far as the local electorate was concerned, if a second fair were to be successful, new talent had to head it. Though it may not have been precisely documented, one began to get the feeling that the name "Cale" was not as magic-producing as it once had been.

"Our Colored People," however, had advice in its September 30 column indicating that perhaps the Cale name had potency after all. The news was that "General Agent Cale is busy visiting adjoining counties in the interest of the Fair." Other Fair officials also worked. A week earlier, the column had reported: "There is considerable interest being manifested in the Colored Fair at the Park Fair Grounds here during the last week in October. The Premium List is in the hands of the printer [Dr. John?] and will be ready for distribution this week. It is a laudable enterprise and should be encouraged." The anonymously reported column added: "Don’t forget your exhibit for the Fair." And later, "Bills announcing the Fair and giving particulars are out. Let us take right hold and make this a grand success. President Norman is hard at work, so are the other officers, now let us do our part."

A note of urgency could be sensed among the several announcements - as if there was concern that Negroes of Pasquotank and vicinity were somewhat slow to cooperate in joint ventures. Also of possible significance was the impetus coming primarily from the Negro column, in contrast to rather abbreviated support from that source a year earlier. The North Carolinian may have had some of this in mind when expressing its sentiments on September 30:
"The Colored People of this and adjoining counties ought to feel a lively interest in the Fair to be held here during the last week in October. They owe it to their race to make special efforts in making it a success." Still more urging came in the October 7 issue, in between asides on a political hybrid dubbed "Popocrat" and a report on the County's Republican convention being "harmonious" with the "best of feeling" and producing a "splendid ticket." (Neither Cale or John were mentioned in its reports of the conclave.)

Ament the Fair, "special efforts are being made to make the Colored Fair a success. Let it be encouraged and liberally patronised." The newspaper's column for Negroes added: "The Fair seems to be growing in interest each week. It is a worthy enterprise fully deserving our recognition and support." That October 7, 1896 column also had an unavoidable sour note: "Hon. Hugh Cale and Rev. J. A. Fleming have been on the sick list for the past week."

Progress was made. The October 14 column announced that the "program of events of each day of the Fair has been issued showing entertainment of an interesting and diversified character." Also: "Judging from reports the exhibit at the Fair this year will be superior in both number and character to that of last year. Encouraging reports are heard from all sides." The event would be a stellar one, if journalism could sway the patrons. The following week, there was more inducement for support. The ladies were busy preparing such displays as "crazy quilts" and "fancy needle work." The big day would be Tuesday. Addresses would be given by Professors Atkins of Winston, James Dudley of Greensboro, Calvin Scott Brown of Winton, 

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5 Simon Green Atkins (1853-1934), former president of the current Winston-Salem State University (see, e.g., Newbold, Educators, pp. 3-32). Haley, Hunter, graphically underscores former A & T president Dudley's accommodationist stance - including abolition of black politicians (pp. 117, 121) and deals similarly with Atkins (p. 121). Elizabeth City State Normal "Principal" Moore (not in Hunter's text) faced the same plight, but was a tad less accommodationist: he might tip his hats to whites, but he did not shun black politicos. Moore "had to conform to the social order of the day; he also had to be accepted by his own ethnic group" (Johnson, History, p. 10). "He needed [the State Superintendent's] help, he needed the good will of white Southerners, and he needed the support of his own race" (Ibid., p. 15).