"and others." Meanwhile, on "Wednesday night, at the Court House, a literary program will be rendered by the students of the State Normal School," the October 21 edition announced. "Entertainment by Dr. Gilliam will also be given at the Court House on Tuesday, Thursday and Friday nights," it also advised. Now, for the Fair, the best that one could do in most instances was to cross fingers and hope for a good attendance.

Crossed fingers and raised hopes did little in this case. "Our Colored People" grumped on November 4: "The Fair is over. While the exhibit and some other features were an improvement over last year yet owing to lack of patronage it was not an all round success. The addresses of Profs. Norman, Atkins, Dudley and Moore last week were well received and highly spoken of by those who heard them." Many people tried hard but the public in general seemed not to have cared as much.

By the following week, the Fair idea was thoroughly dead, as far as the *North Carolinian*’s columns were concerned. More urgent was the political temperature, including hope for one speaker during the 1895 Fair ("Hon. Jeter C. Pritchard will be reelected United States Senator"); and advice to the electorate ("It is always a very serious mistake to underrate the intelligence of the American farmer"). Following these tidbits of November 11, 1896, came those of November 18, the latter including a direct assault on a politico: "Hello Chairman Wilson! Which is most entitled to respect by honorable men, an honest Negro or a dishonest white man? Answer ..." (italics as in original). This attack would boomerang.

One of the County's honest Negroes meanwhile had conquered illness, risen from his sickbed, and made a journey. "Hon. Hugh Cale, recently back from Washington, delivered a very instructive address to the 120 students of the Roanoke Institute Friday," the column for Negroes
reported of this Baptist institution on December 2, 1896. While he was home, it was not a bad idea to look in on his own school. "Hon. Hugh Cale was a welcome visitor at the State Normal School on Friday last [December 4], and briefly entertained the students in his usual humorously interesting way." This was the pleasant report in the colored column of December 9. Then, hometown expectations having been fulfilled, Mr. Cale went back to Washington.  

The North Carolina General Assembly was in its 1897 Session with seven black members - a bumper crop for the '90s. Some items considered were of interest in Pasquotank, even if somewhat confusing in retrospect.

First of all, the North Carolinian reported on February 10, 1897 that "Representative [William G.] Pool has introduced a bill in the Legislature to appropriate $500 to the Albemarle Colored Fair at Elizabeth City." Next, it reported that "after visiting both Raleigh and Washington, Hon. H. Cale is back in the city." Thirdly, on February 17, the newspaper announced that a "bill has passed the Legislature making Palemon John, William J. Griffin, M. B. Culpepper, Hugh Cale and R. O. Preyer a Board of Directors of the colored Normal School at Elizabeth City."

The Gentleman from Pasquotank was back in Pasquotank. A favorite civic enterprise of his, the Fair, might actually get a boost (but he was a seasoned enough politician not to get his

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4 Echoes also could be heard from Cale's in-law, apparently a successful farmer: "Mr. Junius Rooks, formerly of this city but now of Greensboro, writes that he recently killed two Poland China pigs, only nine months old, one weighing 222 pounds and the other 228 pounds. Who can beat it?" (North Carolinian, December 16, 1896.)

7 The 1891 Session had four; 1893 - four plus an unseated Senator; 1895 - but two; 1899 - five. The 1897 members were Representatives William Henry Crews Jr, Richard Elliott, John T. Howe, Edward R. Rawls, James Hunter Young, and Senators William B. Henderson and William Lee Person (Ballou, North Carolina's Black Legislators).
hopes too high). He was now part of the governing body for a third educational institution, or so it appeared - this time, his own. Rather incongruous, then was a report in the February 17 issue: "Mr. Hugh Cale and wife have removed to Washington, D. C." The gentleman's intentions were getting to be a little difficult to plot. Equally difficult was determining who became "Manager" of what school. A State Board of Education Minute for April 4, 1897\textsuperscript{8} listed appointment of Managers (trustees) in accordance with "Senate Bill 153 of the last General Assembly" (the 1897 Session had adjourned on March 9). For the normal school at Elizabeth City were listed Palemon John, M. B. Culpepper, W. J. Griffin, and "Prof." S. L. Sheep, Treasurer. (C. E. Kramer was first listed as Treasurer, then lined through.) The switch in personnel was reminiscent of the first announcement of who would head what school, some six years earlier. Meanwhile, perhaps Cale's Raleigh trip had results not according to design.

Political items were a little plainer in design. It was charge, countercharge, retreat. March 17, 1897 was a day of retreat and marshalling forces for the future. The orderly retirement to better positions involved exchange of apologies by Messrs. T. B. Wilson and Palemon John. The latter had twitted Wilson earlier in reference to Negro vote garnering

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\textsuperscript{8} From the Board's MS Minute Book 3, p. 241 (Division of Archives and History, Raleigh). Boggs, \textit{Higher Education}, p. 145, seems to imply Cale's name for the 1891 Board. Under Sheep's name are marks appearing to be "LL" - perhaps representing his middle name, "Lloyd." Samuel Lloyd Sheep - born on a Pennsylvania farm, January 16, 1856 - came South for this health, arriving in Elizabeth City in 1875. He married the former Pauline Freshwater Hinton of Camden County, in 1880. They had six children. Education was a foremost concern of this man who became a Presbyterian Elder in 1906. He started a small school in 1876, then he began "Elizabeth City Academy" (1878), which became "The Atlantic Collegiate Institute" (1894). His 1891 appointment to the local State Normal's first Trustee Board (see above, p. 287) helped foster a warm, longterm relationship between Principal Sheep and Principal Moore; they had many evening discussions about Education, on Sheep's back steps, sheltered by a "huge Oak tree...." Trustee Sheep resigned from the Board in 1914 - a 23-year service period. He died October 28, 1928, and was interred in Episcopal Cemetery, October 30. This school superintendent and co-founder of Elizabeth City's Cann Memorial Presbyterian church - who loved farming, people, and Sousa marches - now rests from the labors of a distinguished career. (Abstracted from \textit{Samuel Lloyd Sheep as his grandson, [Matthew] Leigh Sheep, Jr. researched & remembers him. September 2, 1993 [photocopy of typescript, amended, ECSU Archives; and December 1993 interview].}) The \textit{Carolinian} (July 3, 1895) reported the death of Mrs. Margaret Hinton, Mr. Sheep's mother-in-law (the journal mistakenly indicated "mother"), on Sunday, June 30, 1895, in Norfolk, Virginia at age 57.
("Chairman Wilson! Which is most entitled to respect...," etc.). The vote recruiting methods, meanwhile, seemed a little early for the campaign of '98; but perhaps it was just honest back-patting after all: "It is a conceded fact" wrote the North Carolinian, "that, taken as a whole, the colored people of Elizabeth City are orderly, law-abiding, industrious and self-supporting. Indeed, in all respects, they compare most favorably with those of any town in the State." The colored people's column added a little news of one of the fine citizens: "Mrs. Fanny Cale has returned from Washington."

Newspapers might retreat or marshal forces but Citizen Cale did a little charging in absentia. The 1897 General Assembly ratified Chapter 308 of the Session Laws, on March 8. The Act amended Chapter 485 of the Laws of 1891. Instead of being "empowered," Pasquotank's Commissioners were "directed" to compromise a certain obligation. In short, Hugh still had not gotten full or sufficient relief as suretor on former Sheriff John T. Price's performance bond, as the Legislature had authorized six years ago. If he did not know of this development already, Mr. Cale could learn the news upon his return - the North Carolinian of April 14, duly reporting that "Hon. Hugh Cale is back in the city again."

Other local stalwarts received political recognition. The April 14, 1897 issue reported that Robert Fearing would be a poll keeper in the Second Ward. The "Public Colored School building, on Cale street," the newspaper announced, would be the Fourth-Ward polling place for the coming city election of town commissioners.

Having been home and caught up with local news, "Hugh Cale, has returned to Washington," said the journal of April 21. The same issue also sought to pinpoint the true feelings of various constituents: "Some of our local Democrats are publicly howling about 'Negro
rule,' and yet are quietly trying to persuade the voters in several Wards to insist upon a colored candidate for [town] Commissioner. The object is transparent. It will 'fizzle out.' " Fifty-seven-year-old A. M. E. Bishop John W. Gaines put things in broader perspective. "Whenever the South will agree," he wrote, "that the negro [sic] shall deposit his ballot untrammelled and unmolested, then the first step toward political harmony shall have been taken."9 The Bishop's prescription had validity even though "political harmony" was a Utopian concept - very roughly retreated from by the impending campaign of '98. Meanwhile, comparatively small things meant a lot. Dr. John for instance (April 21, 1897 Carolinian), donated his sincere thanks and a ten dollar check to the colored Excelsior Hook & Ladder Company for their valuable help when much of his "five-story" (!) dwelling on "Sheppard street" burned. Secretary F. W. M. Butler printed the Company's thanks for John's thoughtfulness.

The week following (edition of April 28, 1897), there appeared in the North Carolinian a curious item of political methods and materials regarding First District Republicanism. Indirectly, it told something of the story behind Cale's national conventioneering, although the immediate contention had to do with two other men. This was the article (italics added):

HON. GEO. W. COBB FOR COLLECTOR.

Editor of the Carolinian: -- Permit me, through the columns of your paper, to express my surprise on learning that Mr. C. E. Duncan is an aspirant for the Collectorship of this District. I had been led to believe that he favored Mr. Geo. W. Cobb for the place. Indeed last summer [1896] before and at the Congressional Convention in Edenton he so expressed himself to me as well as to others. He was exceedingly anxious to be sent as a delegate to the National Convention, and it is a well known fact that but for the personal efforts and influence of Mr. Cobb and yourself he would have been overwhelmingly defeated. The rule in this District has been to send a white and colored delegate tot he National Convention, alternating them on each side of the [Albemarle]

sound. To the Chicago Convention [1888] a white delegate went from the other side and a colored one from this. To the last Convention the colored Republicans on the other side demanded [his italics] the delegate. To gratify the desire of Mr. Duncan, he being for McKinley, concessions and agreements were made, through the influence of Mr. Cobb and yourself, by which both delegates were given to the other side of the sound.

Republican.

Editor John answered on the same page, "The statement made by 'Republican,' in another column, we know to be true." (He continued by endorsing Cobb in the highest terms.)

The interesting thing here was the reported deviation from "Republican's" outline of how things were, in determining delegates to national conventions from North Carolina's First Congressional District. The pattern fitted nicely in 1888; Messrs. C. B. Bernard and Hugh Cale were the delegates to Chicago. The pattern fitted not at all in 1892, when Messrs. C. B. Bernard and Hugh Cale were delegates to Minneapolis. The design matched the grump concerning 1896 with Martin and Carteret counties producing the delegates to St. Louis - Pasquotank (Cale) and Chowan, the alternates. "Popocrats" and other political strands appeared not to be the sole sources of confusion amid First District Republican efforts during the mid-nineties.

Other interesting material could be found in the North Carolinian's issue of May 5, the week following that of "Republican." Besides prominent page-one coverage of the dedication of Grant's Tomb, and page-two advice from State Superintendent of Public Instruction Mebane that politics should not enter into election of county boards of education (advice largely ignored, then as now), page three had the following items: "The Democratic attempt to demoralize and split the colored vote has failed." Also: "Our colored citizens, native and to the manor born [!] resent the attempted leadership of a few 'carpet-baggers' of their race. When they feel that they need their advice they will call on them."
Use of "carpet-baggers" was diverting terminology in 1897. Use of the term in a newspaper founded by a Pennsylvania Republican, flourishing in the then-current North Carolina version of democracy and in reference to a Negro electorate, was indeed remarkable. "Our Colored People" merely noted in the same issue that "Mr. Hugh Cale is back again from Washington." Who was the "carpet-bagger"?

Cale's arrival may not have had anything to do with a Minute of the county commissioners for May 3, 1897:10 "Ordered that Hugh Cale be allowed $100 from school fund in accordance with Act It being a part of the Amount that he paid out to the County as Surety for J. T. Price, late Sheriff." The Commissioners' Record of Accounts for 1897 (p. 29) indicated: "May 8 Paid School Order No -- H Cale 1000." The transaction duly appeared in the published report of Pasquotank's Finance Committee (North Carolinian, edition of December 22, 1897, p. 2) which gave the identical date and amount. The 1897 Legislative directive apparently was carried out.

His departure unannounced for once, Mr. Cale had returned to Washington, quite likely during May, 1897. He did not come back to Elizabeth City until July (and thus missed a 30-second earthquake shock in town - reported in the June 2 Carolinian) and then stayed around for only a fleeting period. "Hon. Hugh Cale is home from Washington," the colored column reported in the July 7 North Carolinian, "but left on Monday to carry an insane woman to the Asylum at Goldsboro." After this, he had returned to Washington.

By the time Cale had gotten back to Elizabeth City (on Monday, September 6, according to the North Carolinian for the 8th), local Negroes had enjoyed a fair in Edenton instead of

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10 Book 4, p. 127.
Elizabeth City (Philip McDonald, manager; Colored Industrial Association, in Edenton, sponsor). Also, it was reported that Judge Charles C. Pool had died, and that Palemon John had become chairman of the City’s "Council" with another stint as Acting Mayor (vice the late Mayor Pool). The new mayor became Charles C. Banks. In addition, "Our Colored People" had said on August 25, "The question now being asked is ‘why aren’t we to have a home fair?’ The truth is we just don’t know." Perhaps changing times and different faces viewing other goals, had their effects on this and other events which once sparked some community interest.

And so, the people’s comings and goings continued, with a few directions seemingly altered. Yet, some things remained constant. Many persons continued to consider Elizabeth City as home, wherever they had been and however frequently they journeyed from the place. So it was with Mr. Cale and his family. He had come home - for a while at least; and on September 8, the colored column reported that "Mrs. Fannie Cale and daughter Nellie, returned from Washington" on September 3. Another constant was attention to education. The North Carolinian (September 29, 1897) commented that a September school opening "is somewhat new to us, yet it should be readily appreciated. The little ones, as well as the poorly clad, can much better attend now than during the unpleasant weather of winter, therefore let there be a full attendance." Two weeks earlier (September 14 edition) the Carolinian had announced the City Commission’s agreement to furnish pure city water; they would "place a drinking fountain at the White and Colored public School buildings."

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11 Pool was the first judge (1868-1872) of the newly-created (1868) District 1 Superior Court. He was a delegate to the 1868 Constitutional Convention (Cheyney, Government, pp. 574, 586 "Superior Court" n 2, 846.) The September 8, 1897 North Carolinian reported his death as August 14, 1897. His Honor was Elizabeth City’s Mayor, 1895-1897. Elizabeth City’s Weekly Transcript (July 6, 1867) reported Pool’s address at that time, for celebration of The Fourth. Wrote the Transcript, "He dwelt at some length in eulogistic terms of Abraham Lincoln, the great emancipationist, in whose lustre the holy shadow of Washington, ‘the Father of his county,’ could scarcely be discerned...." The same issue had a letter-to-the-editor from "L..." endorsing Pool’s candidacy for the Convention: "We feel, that the people of the County, white and colored, can with confidence, unite in sending Mr. Pool to the Convention."
Political education was also considered; Republican efforts to perpetuate Party strength was equally a constant of the times. First District faithfuls met in Edenton on September 10, 1897, and among other activities formed resolutions acceptable to their views. On the six-man Resolutions Committee which drew up statements endorsing George W. Cobb for Collector of Internal Revenue (Eastern District of North Carolina) were Junius Rooks and John Henry Manning Butler. Butler's presence in the vicinity might be explained more easily than that of Cale's nephew by marriage; Mr. Rooks only recently was reported as taking up residence in Greensboro. Butler taught in that town, meanwhile, but apparently maintained his residence in Elizabeth City. However it appeared to the naked eye, Party leaders evidently knew what they were doing; one may assume they baked their political cake with the proper mixture of ingredients. Furthermore, since they were in town, "Mr. and Mrs. Junies [sic] Rooks, former residents, but now of Greensboro, spent last week visiting relatives in this community," the colored column reported on September 15.

Still another person of local note had been to Edenton. In the same issue, the anonymous reporter of colored events said he noted various persons at that town's Fair, among them Hugh Cale; "all report a pleasant time." In addition, "Our Colored People" said on the 13th that "Mr. Scott Rooks, formerly of this place but now a resident of Greensboro, was in the city last week." This was one of Junius' nephews from the large Gates County family.12

Another event, reported in the North Carolinian's regular columns on November 17, was an unhappy one. Dr. Rufus K. Speed, Cale's opponent in Pasquotank's 1876 legislative race, died in the Asylum in Raleigh on Sunday morning, November 14, 1897. Dr. Speed had

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12 See Appendix 1, "Connections...," pp. __-__.
committed himself to the institution several years earlier. He was listed as age 88 but in an Odd Fellows resolution on November 26 (published in the North Carolinian for December 1) his age was given as 85. Dr. Speed, "for many years ... one of the most noted men in the Albemarle District," had been brought to Elizabeth City on November 16 with the Odd Fellows seeing to his final rites. He had been a member for a reported 49 years. Messrs. M. N. Sawyer, M. B. Culpepper, and N. G. Grandy were signators to the fraternal resolution in Speed's honor. Hugh Cale was surely sobered and sharply reminded of the passage of time.

From the North Carolinian's issue of December 8, 1897, one learns that Cale was still involved in local civic affairs. He was listed among jurors to serve at a forthcoming special term of Pasquotank's court. Nor was he less perambulatory. According to the edition of December 15, "Hugh Cale, who has been spending several months at Washington, is now attending a Trustee meeting of the A. & M. college at Greensboro, after which he will return home." In the meantime, Cale's nephew-in-law became an employee of the College in Greensboro, if he was not one earlier. "Our Colored People" reported on December 22: "Mr. Junius Rooks, of Greensboro, writes: 'I see by the North Carolinian that Mr. Benj. Gaskins holds the palm so far. We killed a hog at the A. & M. College, 14 months, old [sic] weighing 401 1/2 pounds after drying all day.'

13 Among other sources (see also, supra, p. 82 n 19), a brief description of "ardent Confederate" Speed is provided in Otto H. Olsen and Ellen Z. McGrew, eds., Prelude to Reconstruction: The Correspondence of State Senator Leander Sams Gash, 1866-1867, North Carolina Historical Review, 60 (1983), p. 220 n 47. Butchko, Shores, p. 310, cites Speed's dwelling ("1850s") - "demolished in 1967," "corner of Road and Speed streets." Dr. Speed and John Pool - gubernatorial aspirant (1860) and later, U.S. Senator - "spoke against resolutions" proposed in 1850 by an ad hoc "Pasquotank Southern Rights Association" (William A. Griffin, Ante-bellum Elizabeth City: the History of a Canal Town [Elizabeth City, NC: n. p., 1970], p. 132).

14 Mr. Rooks was listed as "Steward and Foreman of Farm"; Cale was listed with the Trustees, "1st Cong. Dist.," in Fourth Annual Catalogue of the Agricultural and Mechanical College for the Colored Race Greensboro, N.C. 1897-'98 (Greensboro: Reece & Elam, Power Book and Job Printers, 1898; hereinafter referred to as A & T
Negroes reported, "Hon. Hugh Cale was reaceed [sic; has reached] home from Washington, after a trip to Greensboro." Would he stay home?

Catalogue 1897-1898), respectively, pp. [4], [3]. John H. M. Butler appears (ibid., p. [4] as "Assistant Professor of English" and "Secretary of Faculty," with academic credentials cited as "Plymouth State Normal, 1891; A.M., Livingstone College 1896; Assistant Principal State Normal School, Elizabeth City, N.C. 1892-3; Principal Normal & Industrial Institute, Elizabeth City, N.C. 1893-5. Present position since 1895." (The Catalogue - 2 copies - is in the Elisha Overton Papers, ECSU Archives.) The North Carolinian announced Butler's appointment (February 6, 1895 edition). Butler was congratulated by the hometown journal for his honorary master's (Carolinian, May 13, 1896).
Winning the elections of 1898 loomed as the desirable goal for all political elements. Seasoned politicians knew better than to delay stirring up the electorate on so important an occasion. Dr. Palemon John was seasoned. He was a Republican. His Party had shaky footing. Accordingly, he sought to improve matters wherever possible and the First Congressional District was an obvious place to start.

One important element in the precincts was the vote potential of the minority - the Negro minority. Negroes could still cast votes, in the First District as elsewhere; it might do no harm either to remind them of their importance or totally negate it - depending on one's political stance. Perhaps the Negroes might be well advised, however, to note a squib in the *North Carolinian* for November 10, 1897: "flattery is a heroic dose of complimentary bosh."

A percentage of the laudatory notices given the black man (*i.e.*, the vote potential) was very well deserved. Nonetheless, whether written with an eye on the ballot box or resulting from true feelings, a steady increase of courteous and congratulatory column inches perfumed the local Republican newspaper. The pleasant aroma would be temporary. It was a question whether cautious sniffing or strong inhalation would better prepare local and other blacks for political interment.

The *North Carolinian* had defended its present method of vote influencing ahead of time - on November 10, 1897. Its platform: "We never use our columns to intentionally wrongfully attack or misrepresent any man. We sometimes indulge in sharp criticism, but its [sic] only in cases we think deserving it." Thereafter the approach varied. On December 8 (1897), the newspaper decided it would be the "greatest calamity" if the Democrats took over. "Our Colored People" enthused over President McKinley's appointment of former United States Senator
Blanche K. Bruce (a Negro) as Register of the Treasury (he had held the office in 1885). Readers could note on December 15 that Whitmel Lane had received $13.50 (on January 16, 1896) for an unnamed civic service. Also, the column for colored people continued urging preparations for a gala observance of the Emancipation Proclamation. P. W. Melick gave John a rocking chair as a Christmas present, the Editor reported on December 29, and the Negro column on January 19, 1898 also had news: "Kinston has a band and Concord [North Carolina] a cotton factory. The Afro-Americans of the Old North State do not mean to be left." Local citizens were free to take the hint.

Claude Bernard of Pitt County became United States Attorney for the First District, it was reported on January 26. The Daily Recorder of Norfolk was "said to be the only negro daily paper in the country," the Negro column advised on January 26. Senator Pritchard and Congressman Skinner introduced bills requesting a "public building" for Elizabeth City (its current federal building?) at a cost of $75,000 (issue of February 2) and the highly-regarded local Negro builder, Elisha Overton, who had been a justice of the peace in 1873, and later chief of Elizabeth City's Excelsior Hook & Ladder Company (a Negro outfit) was highlighted. Beamed the North Carolinian for February 9, "he knows exactly what to do at a fire." The same edition of the newspaper addressed itself directly to the point: "In reply to several inquirers, the North Carolinian will state that the great issue in the State this year will be: Shall the Bourbon Democrats obtain control of the Legislature? All other issues must be subordinate to this supreme one. If, by divisions and dissension and a failure of cooperation by Republicans and Populists the Democrats should be returned to power, a system of elections much more odious than that overthrown in 1894 will be established. This must not be. The principle by which the
united action of Republicans and Populists has been vitalized into law that every qualified voter
in the State shall have his ballot counted and returned as cast must be preserved." There it was.

The column for Negroes reminded readers that efforts to reimburse Freedmen's Saving
Bank depositors continued. It announced, also, "Hon. Hugh Cale is having his home on South
Road street renovated preparatory to moving into it." It appeared that the Gentleman from
Pasquotank now found good reason to spend more time in Pasquotank.

The Fisherman and Farmer, edited by A. H. Mitchell, was one of the Democratic papers
in Elizabeth City. Its issue for February 25, 1898, produced a curious page-one article
announcing the unfact that former United States Senator Hiram Revels of Mississippi was not
a Negro but a descendant of North Carolina's 'Lost Colony'.¹ The March 2 North Carolinian,
specifying no newspaper or individual, was impelled to warn, "The Bourbon campaign liar is now
at work."

The North Carolinian next urged that cooperation between Republicans and Populists be
fully supported (March 2, 1898 edition). It emphasized that this did not mean fusion. Quite
likely, not every reader was convinced of the distinction.

Negroes meanwhile continued to be usable copy. For example, Mr. Overton was praised
for his good construction of "Flora's stores" (Poindexter Street) and for beginning "Toxey's
dwelling" (West Main Street). Republicans also represented good copy. The North Carolinian
reported that chairmen of Republican precinct committees in the County had met at the Elizabeth
City courthouse, March 1, with every sub-division represented except Salem. The chairmen

¹ Many decades later, a Raleigh News & Observer article (May 7, 1967, Section 3, p. 9) took time to praise
Revels: "First Negro U. S. Senator Was Native of Fayetteville" it beamed; there followed about a half-page of
biography with Revel's photograph.
formed a county executive committee for the Party. The members: John T. Davis, Salem; William Gaskins Pool and Fred Daily, Nixonton; George W. Cobb, Robert Fearing, John P. Overman, and H. E. Sedgewick, Elizabeth City; Samuel Jenkins and John Taylor, Mt. Hermon; J. H. Beasly, Providence; and Prince Albert Hinton, Newland. As best as one could determine it, Daily, Fearing, and Hinton were Negroes, the latter gentleman having been next to the last man of color to represent Pasquotank in the North Carolina House (1887). As it turned out, the forces were gathering for a sort of last stand.

Mr. Pool was elected chairman of the executive committee. He was to authorize precinct chairmen to call precinct meetings, the chairmen to give fifteen days' notice. Mr. Overman served as chairman for the meeting and R. C. Barcliff as secretary. All this appeared in the March 2, 1898 North Carolinian. Also appearing, in the colored column, was implication that its anonymous writer (during most recent years if not throughout) was Joshua Royal Fleming, connected with the State Normal School off and on as student and teacher. Not implication, but clearly stated was advice to local Negroes: "... Let us send in our subscription to the only paper in town that devotes any space to us...." Also clearly stated but less explainable was news that "Mr. Hugh Cale has returned back to Washington."

March 9 found the North Carolinian joining others in heating up the campaign. "The Democrats are desperate - are going to make terrible fight, a 'last ditch' struggle to once more obtain control and power." The North Carolinian was in rare prophetic form. According to it, however, the Democrats still needed to develop their own form: "The Democrats do not agree as to how the campaign should be run. 'Nigger' seems about to be about the only issue they can all agree on." Other news (same edition) appeared in the colored column. "The Raleigh 'Gazette'
the leading race paper in the State, suspended publication on the 2nd inst. Hon. Jas. H. Young was editor propritor [sic]." The column did not state that the *Gazette* was notably sparse in mentioning, for instance, its Republican colleague, Hon. Hugh Cale. The column did report that Congressman George H. White, a Negro, had introduced a resolution requesting $1,000.00 for the family of Postmaster Baker; Mr. Baker was "recently murdered by a mob at Lake City, S. C."

On March 16, 1898, the *North Carolinian* showed that its political perspicacity outstripped its assessment of global developments. The Spanish-American War was imminent but the *North Carolinian* advised that "in its judgement there will be no war."

On March 23, the colored column reported that "Hon. Hugh Cale has returned from his recent trip to Washington." It also reported that "Hon. Blanche K. Bruce" died at his home in Washington "last Thursday." It listed offices held by Mr. Bruce and recalled that he had attended every national convention since 1868. That the column felt it gratuitous to specify which party's conventions Bruce attended, was not unworthy of notice. "Truly a leader has fallen," it said. It could have added with equal truth that an era was passing.

On April 16, 1898, the *North Carolinian* justifiably used much space on the blowing up of the battleship *Maine*. (On April 13, a local store had used the tragedy as a gimmick for its advertising.) War was brewing both with Spain and on American political (i.e., racial) fronts. Meanwhile (April 6), the newspaper had this advice for armchair admirals: "Without questioning the sincerity of the patriotism of certain of our townsman who are so loudly insisting on war, we beg leave to suggest that there are still vacancies in the Navy, and that the enlistments are a little slow."
Some of the Negroes were simultaneously pursuing a variety of endeavors at home, besides those who went to possible battle. A mock court was held for entertainment at the Samaritan’s Hall. "Mr. Hugh Cale was called to Gates last week on business," the Republican paper announced and also (April 13) that Armistead E. Williams of Mumford (Pasquotank County) had been appointed a notary public. Another April 13 local notice in the colored column was that the "Mt. Carmel Baptist Sunday School had specially interesting exercises on Easter Sunday. There was [sic] speaking and singing; also discourses by P. A. [Prince Albert] and J. H. Hinton. A. E. Williams is Superintendent." It was not impossible that former State Representative Hinton and Notary Public Williams, by their presence and prominence, helped encourage like-mindedness among the northern Pasquotank electorate - after church services, of course.

At April 20, the North Carolinian likened the nation’s situation, in terms of imminence of war, to that of Lincoln’s time; the reference was to pressures for precipitate action. It indicated that President McKinley was a true successor to President Lincoln in seeking moderation and "peace if possible." Furthermore, one could not be sure of the effects of war upon an election year. The nation, the State and the County would have opportunities to find out: page four of the May 4, 1898 North Carolinian provided ample coverage of the fact that the Spanish-American War was officially underway.

It would appear that war need not change one’s strategy immediately. This was not the jet age; political and other developments had more time and leeway to make changes in their course. After presenting a piece on page two concerning "DEWEY’S TRIUMPH," the North Carolinian on May 11 re-emphasized the difference between the cooperation of Republicans and
Populists, and their fusing. There was not, nor would be, a "fuse." The week following, John's paper announced: "Believing that it is only by continued Cooperation that the First District can be held and the Legislature controlled, we earnestly favor it."

A working solution to the *North Carolinian's* retaining people's divided attention seemed to be at hand. Keep track of the Nation's enemy on pages one, two, and four, and have at the political foe on pages two and three. In between, locate stories, other news, and advertisements. And so, on page two of the June 1, 1898 edition, the Republican newspaper exhibited its crystal ball - somewhat cloudy, viewed from the vantage point of hindsight: "The Democratic party in North Carolina will be defeated." On page three was something of a credo: "For thirty years the *North Carolinian* has been the exponent and advocate of the sound principles and wise policy of the Republican party in the First District, and its editor has always been in the thickest of the fight against the Bourbon Democracy. In the coming [!] campaign both he and his paper will continue to do their duty." Much of what Editor John said was true. Following that statement of policy, a visit from W. S. Mercer, chaplain of the Farmers Alliance, was acknowledged. Next came complimentary phrases on Elisha Overton's building ability and acknowledgements of other visitors: "On Friday we had calls from several of our Colored friends, among them A. J. Ferebee, of Shawboro, Abner Day, of Poplar Branch, O. E. Cartwright and C. B. Barnard, of Camden." One other person was among those noted. The colored column said that Cale had visited the State Normal School during its closing exercises the week previously, and had given the students a short address.

On June 15, the colored column reported a "called meeting" of the "Elizabeth City Cooperative and Industrial Association," scheduled for "to-night" at Mt. Lebanon Church. The
Association had met at the courthouse on June 13 (Monday) in an attempt to garner funds for a fence around the Negro cemetery. (If this was the same cemetery, Cale was one of the group to whom land for the burial place had been deeded in 1886.) The reporter felt he was "unable to say with what success" the meeting had been held. Unpleasant civic service was Cale's being a coroner's juryman during July, to review the death of W. H. Decker, "suddenly & accidentally killed" (June 30, 1898) while working for the Norfolk Southern Railroad.²

Politics meanwhile proceeded. July 6th brought words for the anxious. "Now and then we hear of a Republican who advocates a 'straight Republican ticket.' Satisfied, as we are, that the time has not yet come in this District to safely adopt that course, we feel it our duty to advise against it. If the Republican party was absolutely strong enough to carry the District from Congresman [sic] down to the members of the Legislature, we would feel different. But we are in position to know that this is not the case. There is danger - too much to take the risk. To save the Legislature, as we did in '96 - and that is the vital matter - there should be cooperation from top to bottom. It will make the whole thing secure; without it we may lose all. Personal ambition should not be permitted to interfere, and pride of opinion should yield for the common good" (italics as in original). The colored column contented itself with highlighting race pride, through announcing field and staff officers named for the Third Regiment of Volunteers for the Spanish-American War. "All are colored," it noted, and mentioned among others, James H. Young, colonel and E. E. Smith (of Goldsboro),

² Coroners' Records 1876, 1894-1898, folder in Pasquotank County, Miscellaneous Records 1703-1940, Division of Archives and History. Jurymen were allowed $1.50 for such service, as of July 30, 1898.
adjutant. The announcement also showed a cause for Young suspending his *Gazette* a few months earlier.³

"Our Flag Flies Over Santiago," was the welcome page-one announcement on July 27, 1898. Page two of the *North Carolinian* reported the feelings of the Republican State Convention, held in Raleigh on July 20. The Party condemned Grover Cleveland and the Civil Service Act of 1883. It praised and endorsed the Republican platform of 1896, and also President McKinley, Senator Pritchard, Chairman A. E. Holton, Secretary (of the State Committee) W. S. "Hyams esq." and top-level North Carolina administrators. The Convention also favored amending the State's Constitution regarding elections, and left it to the executive committee of the Party to nominate the candidates for superior court judges. It liked the Dingley tariff bill and urged "vigorous prosecution of the war to a triumphant conclusion...." "We send good cheer and greetings to our sailor and soldier boys wherever located." The colored column noted that George Mebane had attended the Convention. It also noted that "Mrs. Fannie Cale left to visit her friends in Philadelphia last week."

The August 3 edition brought the welcome news that the United States Flag had been raised in "Porto Rico" and that "Spain Sues for Peace." Page two editorialized on "Brave

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³ Suggs & Duncan, *Black Press* (pp. 260-262), provide enlightening summary of the *Gazette*’s genesis and subsequent growth (see also, Penn, *Afro Press*, pp. 180-183). Long-time state Representative John Hendrick Williamson (born a slave, 1844, in Covington, Georgia; North Carolina House, 1868, 1869, 1870, 1872, 1876, 1887; delegate to the 1868 Constitutional Convention) established the *Gazette* in 1884; it became a vocal advocate of civil rights; and Editor Williamson relinquished the editorial reins, in 1891, to State Representative/Senator James Henry Harris (‘68 Constitutional Convention; House 1868, 1869, 1883; Senate 1872). It appears that death ended Harris’ editorship (his dates are ca. 1830-1891). State Representative James Hunter Young (1858-1921; Sessions of 1895, 1897) became editor in 1894 and held the title until 1898 - during the interim enjoying heady successes. Suggs & Duncan observe (p. 262) that a "bitter feud" between Young’s *Gazette* and the Raleigh *News & Observer" temporarily disrupted" a local aura of "harmonious race relations." Haley, *Hunter, passim*, and especially p. 285, shows such inter-racial glow as thin veneer - properly measured in millimeters. (Legislative service for Williamson and Young, from present author’s *North Carolina’s Black Legislators*.):
Colored Soldiers" and included the opinion: "After the late war [i.e., Civil War] there was no reason to doubt that the negroes would fight, but the generation grown up since has lately expressed a lack of confidence in their soldierly qualities - a mis-giving that should now be done away with." Surely the Negroes appreciated such well-justified sentiments. Perhaps more people than should have needed to, hoped the feeling was genuine, especially those who recalled Negroes fighting with honor all the way from the French and Indian Wars, if not earlier, plus the unmerited vicissitudes of West Point's three black graduates\footnote{North Carolina Chief Justice Walter Clark also had measured but laudatory notice, twenty years later, for World War I ("Negro Soldiers," The North Carolina Booklet [North Carolina Society - Daughters of the (American) Revolution]. XVIII - I [July 1918], pp. 60, 61). "The conduct of the negro [sic] troops has generally been good in peace, as well as in War." He continued, "[t]he history of our Wars shows that colored men, when well led by competent officers, have always shown up as brave soldiers." (The Wake County jurist was Chief Justice from 1902 until his May 19, 1924 death [Cheyney, Government, pp. 571, 581 n 9].) For returning black troops of '98, Gatewood, "Negro Regiment," reports their disillusionment; race relations had no room for honoring blacks - veteran or no veteran; the thrust was to put all blacks solidly in their 'place'.} up to that point.

The campaign could be seen as getting into warm earnest. The Republican paper found it necessary to bang away at "insinuations" about "irregularities" during its Party's recent convention; "We believe them to be without foundation." Some girding with armor, some moralizing, was deemed appropriate. "Calumny is like a wasp, which annoys you," the newspaper advised, and warned, "... you must not attack unless you are quite sure of killing it for if you do not it will only return to the attack more furiously than ever." The idea had merit - unless one favored coercion with clubs, kerosene or cartridges. If so, 'calumny' might be a bit genteel.

There were those, even amid 1898 politics, who aimed for some degree of gentility. The North Carolinian (July 13, 1898) announced that S. L. Sheep opened the "Elizabeth City Library"

\footnote{Henry O. Flipper, 1877; John Hanks Alexander, 1887; Charles Young, 1889.}
at his Atlantic Collegiate Institute, to serve "all who comply with rules and regulations" - its hours, Mondays and Thursdays, 8 to 10 p.m. It was not indicated whether State Normal students could avail themselves of the opportunity provided by this, their Trustee.

On August 10, Republican State Chairman Holton's advice was quoted: "When the Democrats prefer charges demand of them that they specify and furnish proof." Editor John added his opinions on page three: "Our local Democrats are publicly howling about 'Negro rule,' but are secretly advising and urging the colored people of the county to demand a large share of the nominations. Intelligent colored men understand it all." They could.

The paper again praised Elisha Overton. He had completed the "Broughton stores on the West side of Poindexter street" and now was beginning construction of the brick store of J. W. Sharber, on the "East side" of the same street.

Negroes' brains received an August 24, 1898 salute: "When a thinking colored man is approached by Democrats encouraging them to demand nominations he don't have to consider long before understanding the motive prompting the Democratic advice. It is always safe not to do what the Democrats want done" (its italics). The regular columns thoughtfully included praise of Richard Etheridge, "veteran colored keeper of the Pea Island Life Saving Station." Mr. Etheridge had visited the North Carolinian's offices. The colored column likewise praised "Capt." Etheridge, but stated he was from "Body" instead of Pea Island. No one was confused. Page four announced, "Manila Taken by Merrit and Dewey." Some might be grateful to know the journals did not forget heroes of the Spanish-American War during the political battling. Meanwhile, the Democratic Fisherman and Farmer (August 26) adjured white men to get together for good government in North Carolina and took a shot at Populists.
As actual election time neared reality, it could be expected that seams would give away as charged up tempers (recte: ambitions?) reached explosive pressure-levels. The *Fisherman and Farmer* (September 2) shouted on page one: "A CRUSADE IS ON / To Restore Angle-Saxon [sic] Supremacy and Good Government in North Carolina." Suffrage had been "prostituted" by Republicans and Populists. For "eighteen" years, "1877-95," the Democrats had "sought to make better citizens of the blacks." Perhaps they failed; on page four the *Fisherman and Farmer* howled, "Greenville Negroized."

The September 7, 1898 *North Carolinian* addressed itself to the "Crusade" - mentioning how a white Congressman was elected earlier from the same district which had sent George H. White to Washington. (Mr. White came to represent the Negro's temporary swan song on Capitol Hill, but that would be a future development.) For the present, the Republican organ (page two) must shower the column with a real eruption of indignation.

First, I. M. Meekins rebutted in print certain Democratic charges - at length and with some earthiness. (One Democrat, in fact, put in his card repudiating any involvement with the affair in question.) Mr. Meekins had accepted nomination as solicitor and also collected a shellacking from the "Democratic Organ of Aug. 26, 1898" which, he claimed, sought to align him as an advocate of Negro supremacy. Meekin's answer was categorical denial. He then described some leg men for the Democrats. The men, "zoologically speaking," were "yaps and guinea pigs who are content to stand in front of bar counters and gaze at their 'mugs.'" Etc., etc.

That, for almost two columns, was quite readable. It was grape shot, however, compared with the atomic cloud raised by Palemon John on page three. The doctor had not enjoyed such printed anger in over twenty years.
John would not say he was positive that a certain editor was referring to him in print a week earlier, but if in fact he was, the said editor was a "malicious defamer, a despicable liar, a cowardly poltroon and a disgrace to journalism." So there! John commented on the "disreputably conducted sheet downtown" which allegedly continued its "lowdown abuse." The latter was to be expected, John felt; it was the particular editor's "method of conducting political campaigns, even going so far as to skulk behind innuendoes to escape personal chastisement and criminal prosecution." John claimed (his italics) that the "humblest negro in his [the other editor's] Ward contributed as much - many of them more - than he [the offending editor] to support the Town, County and State." John said he felt "fully justified in the use of these strong epithets" and invited citizens to judge for themselves. He then warned against continued or implied defamation of character and reputation; threatened that he would print items even more greatly "malodorous" if need be; then finished with a hint: "Much better men wear convict garb behind prison bars." That comment also may have unintentionally said something about the current administration of justice.

Contrasted with this, an explanation of another matter was tame. In this instance, the explanation came from the manager of Raleigh's asylum for deaf persons, the mute and the blind. The manager must clarify the role of Asylum Trustee James H. Young, a Negro, in reference to the institution's "white" department. A few cartoons had imputed rather interesting inspections of feminine accommodations by Trustee Young. Another column complained that the "outrageous rot" printed by a Negro paper in Wilmington was induced by Democrats. The journal in question had printed a "vile story about white women."
Still another column explained to Elizabeth City and Pasquotank Negroes, and others, about the often-alleged Democratic tactic of "howling Negro rule"; it was a way of splitting Republican-Populist vote-gathering. "Right thinking colored men will not be deceived," the Carolinian thought, but neglected to say, by who. It also pronounced: "The Republican party is right.... Determine to vote right, as every good citizen should, regardless of what others do or say" (its italics).

The September 9, 1898 Fisherman and Farmer carried a comment on Mr. Meekins by a certain M. L. Whedbee: "I fancy I shall be able to see later on Mr. Meekins and the negro Jim Young sitting side by side on the front seat of the Republican band wagon, leaving the field of battle singing the song of the season, 'All Coons Look Alike to Me.'"\(^6\)

From this point onward, the political slashing increased until November elections sounded "Taps" for some, "Reveille" for others. John’s journal on September 14 carried a political history of a Republican-turned-Democrat. In 1892, it said, "no man in the State, white or black, showed greater love and solicitude for the colored man." Yet here was the gentleman in the higher reaches of the State’s Democratic Party, whose platform "since 1868," said the Carolinian, has been ‘Nigger’ made to do duty as a Democratic platform.” The other party was different: "There is no intention, no effort, no design to place the State under ‘Negro rule.’ That the Republicans favor it is a wicked Democratic lie. Nor do the Colored people ask it. The howl is made to alarm the timid and influence the ignorant." Etc. The alleged erstwhile Republican,

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\(^6\) Ironically, the song was written by a Negro, Ernest Hogan. Meanwhile, the Meekins-Whedbee situation finally appeared to end on July 20, 1899, when Mr. Meekins placed his card (of July 19) in the North Carolinian. He said the court case between them had been "compromised and a non-suit ... entered." Mr. Meekins said his North Carolinian card of September 7, 1898 was "written in the heat of a political campaign, and in it I did not intend, nor do I intend, directly or indirectly, to charge Mr. Whedbee with any crime or theft."
meanwhile, had "canvassed his district and urged the election of several colored men, among them J. E. O'Hara, H. P. Cheatham and Geo. H. White." (The latter two came to be in-laws.)

Each of those Negro Congressmen from North Carolina presently seemed to be a sepia-toned albatross around neck of whichever Party had sent them to Capitol Hill. Advice in the column for Negroes was appropriate for assorted reasons: "If you would be informed upon the political situation, local and otherwise, subscribe for the Carolinian." Meanwhile, considering the political heat over a 30-year period, Palemon John was fortunate to be able to recall but two personal assaults during his journalistic career. And in fairness, it can be accurately said that his journal did a superior job of portraying local Negroes very often at their best moments. Much of their history would have been lost to posterity otherwise.

The Fisherman and Farmer (September 16, 1898) had its own story - an interesting version of the local Republican senatorial convention with full Negro participation. "Cuss words flew thick and fast," it said. "... Ferebee, of color, ... said Dr. John had been gagging the negroes [sic] ... for the last twenty years."7

September 28 brought more Republican complaints. This time, the Carolinian called Democrats to task for sundry urgings that Negroes in various parts of North Carolina should seek to bask in the political sunshine. Such items were culled from events in Madison County and the town of Weldon; from an office-holder of 1870 and 1871 elected by the "Democratic State Senate" - the Negro elected winning consideration over a "disabled confederate soldier." Democratic treasurers of six states were accused of having "embezzled hundreds of dollars ... and some of them are fugitives today. Shame upon these Democratic scoundrels!" Also investigated

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7 Appendix 2, pp. 464-465, has the full text.
was the "Hand Book" of the State's Democrats. This allegedly omitted various allegedly unsavory and savory Negro office-holders. It was claimed to have left out other morsels: "It don't have Fred. Douglass and his white wife in it, sitting at the table of President Cleveland...."

Naturally the Spanish-American War was touched upon: "Some of the Democratic papers say it was sheer luck that won in the recent war. Even that is better than to be mixed up with a party that is neither capable nor lucky." Quite interesting, then, was the Carolinian's page-three advice: "Inflammatory appeals to prejudice and passion are dangerous." The colored column (September 28) dealt with practicalities: "See to it that all are properly registered and in the time prescribed." The same column advised that Mrs. Elisha Overton feted her sister, Miss Pocahontas Lane, who then returned to Maryland to resume teaching there.

In October, it appeared that the verbal arsenal had been fairly well depleted. The Republican journal continued to emphasize that without the "'nigger'" the opposing party had no issue. Readers were given a "Democratic Catechism Up to Date / With apology for [John? Charles?] Wesley." Samples: "Who made the Democratic party" "The 'nigger.'" "Does the Democratic party love the 'nigger'?" "Yes, the Democratic party loves all negroes."" "What is the cardinal principle of the Democratic party of North Carolina?" "The 'nigger.'" "Has the Democratic party ever made a campaign in the State in which this cardinal principle was not the only one discussed?" "Yes." "How has the Democratic party of the State expressed its apology to the 'nigger' for ignoring him in the campaign of 1896?" "By doubling their attention to him in 1898." Democratic or Republican, there was more than one way to call a man a "nigger." (Way back in its December 12, 1874 issue, the San Francisco Elevator had cracked, "The Negro, the Democratic Hobby.")
Not neglected was a column entitled, "Insincere." This dealt with Democratic endorsement of the Durham Negro educator, James E. Shepard. The journal claimed that the most prominent man among those endorsing him was the "owner of the majority of the capital stock of the News and Observer, and has contributed largely to the campaign to destroy what he calls 'negro domination,' and the principal line of attack has been upon this same man Shepherd [sic], by cartoons and vile epithets in the News and Observer."

Into this welter (besides the colored column's October 5 notice that President Norman had begun the third session of Roanoke Institute) came nominations of men to represent Pasquotank in North Carolina's House of Representatives. The North Carolinian assessed the two nominees but seemed a little less enthusiastic for its own Party's man than months of printed pyrotechnics would warrant. "J. Bush Leigh, late of Tyrrell [County], the nominee for Representative, is a clever gentleman and a good lawyer, but he is a 'wool-dyed' Democrat and a bitter partisan, and every Republican knows what that means." As for the proper candidates, the "Republican nominees of Pasquotank are men of good character and fair ability. Hugh Cale, the nominee for Representative, has already served four terms, and at each won the respect and confidence of his fellow members of both parties. His experience has familiarized him with legislative work and he will go back the fifth time better fitted for the duties required."

The North Carolinian in another column then proceeded to fire away at Democrats in a manner which could injure its own Party's legislative nominee. "The Legislature of 1876-77 was Democratic. Then the magistrates were appointed by the Legislature. Among those appointed were 107 negroes" (its italics). Thus, aside from doing a little "nigger-rule" growling itself, John's journal perhaps overlooked Hugh Cale being among those one hundred and seven
magistrates, as well as a legislator (the same Mr. Cale) whose vote first objected to having such a measure, but that failing, later added to the big majority by which those same justices of the peace were "appointed" by the General Assembly. Perhaps the electorate addressed also overlooked that fact (or political flub); perhaps not. Next came restrained bragging: "Hugh Cale has represented Pasquotank four times in the Legislature. The first time he defeated R. K. Speed; the second time Cader Perry;\(^8\) the third time F. M. Godfrey, and the last time J. M. Weeks. This time he will defeat J. Bush Lee" (sic; Leigh). Cale actually won over eleven opponents for Pasquotank’s House seat, 1876-1890; he was surely working in earnest in this bid for the House.

Reassurance from the *Carolinian* followed, should a Negro win election - which translated as the possibility that Mr. Cale would go back to Raleigh: "It is passing strange that any white man should be afraid of a negro! The negro couldn’t rule in this State if he would, and he wouldn’t if he could. But being a voter and a taxpayer, he simply asks some recognition. But it isn’t any fear of the negro that is prompting the gang that is howling 'nigger.' Not at all. It is simply to alarm the people as to place them back in power and office" (its italics). Such faint praise of Candidate Cale may have been intended to get him in - by way of the back door if need be - but *in*. What it probably did, more effectively, was damn him.

The colored column again dealt with practicalities. "Don’t fail to register," it adjured. "If you have not registered don’t fail to do so Saturday, which is the last day for registration. If you do not register you cannot vote, and your vote may mean much to you and to others."

\(^8\) Actually he defeated the Reverend Samuel J. Halstead - 535 votes versus Perry’s 221. Cale had 981 votes. The January 16, 1875 *North Carolinian* reported Halstead returning from Norfolk, to live in Elizabeth City. He served as Clerk of First Baptist Church, 1877-1884 (Outlaw, *First Baptist*, p. 93).
Though it all had a familiar ring, the column seemed unable to get in mention of Mr. Cale. Instead (but quite properly), it mentioned his family: "Mrs. Fannie Cale, who has been undergoing medical treatment in Philadelphia for several weeks, has returned home." She could be a comfort to the Candidate, and vice versa. Beyond the hearth, perhaps C. S. Brown had managed to mention the Republican candidate. He spoke in the "Public School House last night." His address was a "good one, touching upon political issues, and enlivened throughout with wit and humor which seemed to be natural characteristics of the speaker."

That edition (which contained the foregoing) closed with a four-page supplement. Page one of it screamed: "COMPLETE EXPOSURE OF DEMOCRATIC MISREPRESENTATION OF EASTERN COUNTIES .... DEMOCRATS ALWAYS APPOINTED OR ELECTED NEGROES WHEN THEY COULD USE THEM / As a Rule Negroes Hold Only Subordinate Places, and the Negroes, Including those Holding Office, are Humble, Quiet and Submissive, and Feel their Dependence and Inferiority as Much as ever in Their History." Hugh Cale must have been embarrassed - even if given a broad wink by politicos. It was the lowest level - depending upon one's viewpoint, of course - yet reached by the North Carolinian.

All these things in the North Carolinian's issue for October 26, 1898, must have left their remembrance. The problem was who would remember what, and what effect, if any, it had upon the voting process. The issue of November 2, 1898, five days before the election, contained a two-column appeal "To the People of North Carolina" by Republican Chairman Holton and Populist Chairman Cyrus Thompson. It also contained a statement "To the Colored Voters" by Calvin S. Brown and "A Few Closing Words" by the North Carolinian's editorial writer(s). The
closing words included the sentiment, "We have indulged in no vulgar tirades against nor personal abuse of opposing candidates." The Reverend Mr. Brown's words gave the following adjuration:

**TO THE COLORED VOTERS**

Great issues are involved in the present political struggles which will affect materially the condition of the colored people, my people, for years to come as citizens of the common wealth [sic] of North Carolina. It is not a question of offices; but greater, a question of principle and liberty. Office is an honor; but the privilege to live and enjoy undisturbed our citizens rights are the highest importance. An office-holder is a servant; the voter is the sovereign.

No thoughtful colored man can observe the present situation - the lines are distinctly drawn - without recognizing his supreme duty. The opposition has unjustly forced into the campaign, the race question, and is maliciously using every argument, device, and craft to enrage the whites against the blacks, in order that they may obtain once more the opportunity to abridge the civil liberties of the colored man. Nothing to my mind is plainer than this fact. They print this in their papers, and their speakers declare it on the stump - what more warning of danger do we need? Democracy denounces fusion because it has greatly enlarged the opportunities of the colored race. The Populfists [sic] have shown their friendship by service rendered the republican party. Our party leaders plead with us to be loyal to co-operation that we may hold what we have so signally gained. The supreme duty of the hour is loyalty to co-operation. Bolting simply helps the opposition and endangers your own freedom. We appeal to the colored voters of the district; in the name of truth and honor, to stand by the party which promises you protection, freedom and right to vote. Lay aside bickerings; rally like men; go to the polls November 8th, and stand by the will of our grand old party by supporting as a unit co-operation.

Winston [sic] N.C.
C. S. Brown

Candidate Cale, nearing what one assumes to be his 63rd birthday, had much to ponder as Tuesday, November 7, 1898, dawned. What assessment of his chances might he have made? What reflections over his past civic career might he have indulged in? What might have been his evaluation of Republican and other support; did his own Party really intend to give him every boost? Was even the black electorate of Pasquotank inclined to give him its solid support? Had Republicans cajoled his being their candidate, as the best they could do? How deeply had the
Democrats made inroads? "Fair ability" and other half-hearted compliments may have rung in his mind. Such faint praise would do little for a person's ego even if the person understood the *North Carolinian* (the other papers were only too well understood) diminishing Cale's and other similar candidates' stature for political (i.e., vote-gathering) purposes. That his wife was convalescent could ease some of the tension but only ballot box results would settle the entire matter.

The Republican organ told the ballot-box story: "Well, we are defeated." The *Fisherman and Farmer* did not disagree. The *North Carolinian* assumed a philosophic posture; it spoke of bogus ballots: "Republican" tickets carrying Democratic names and wrongly-spelled Republican names. It also reported a "quiet and orderly election."

The *North Carolinian* then slapped the Negroes: "Perhaps the colored delegates to the late County Convention now realize the mistake they made in refusing to heed the warning and take the advice of the white delegates." It sounded as if someone had told someone else not to run. It also sounded like the grumble put forth a quarter-century earlier, when a Negro (and Republican) candidate for Sheriff of Pasquotank lost his bid and allegedly lost votes for the Party. "Is this honest politics" may have been an appropriate question - not only for the query to the newspaper referring to the bogus 1898 tickets, but also for fixing the blame for political loss upon the very objects of all the preceding months' contumely.

The November 11, 1898 *Fisherman and Farmer* was unconcerned with the why; ignored the how; whooped the fact: "CROW! Democrats, CROW! / State Swept by the White Man's Ticket" (perhaps true in more than one sense). This pleasantry framed a five-column-wide rooster "Engraved by F. H. Zeigler," prominent local funeral director. "No more Fred Douglas
[sic] Legislatures," the newspaper chortled. "For the first time in 30 years Pasquotank county will be represented by a Democratic Representative ..., who was selected and elected by white men.\textsuperscript{9} J. B. Leigh is an able man, and has not only buried Republicanism in Pasquotank ... but goes to the Legislature with a Democratic majority of 127." The burial part was true - until late 1980s exhuming; the vote tally may have been. Every election had its irregularities and certainly they could be found in abundance for the contest of 1898.

Considering, however, the awesome energy put forth by Democrats to win, Candidate Hugh Cale merited apologia for his 1898 bid for the Legislature. (At any rate, someone ought to rationalize his defeat, rather than junking the used human.) He lost his bid; that was cold fact. But in that campaign, his capturing 47.6\% of 2,751 votes cast for State Representative was a solid indication of his political stature - particularly under the circumstances: Cale went to the 1885 Legislature with a lower percentage. Further, in county-wide contests, 1876-1898, this was the only such contest that he lost. That, too, was cold fact. Nonetheless, he lost in 1898 by 127 votes. John Bushrod Leigh won 1,439 votes; Hugh Cale, 1,312. That was a frigid fact.

Cale carried Newland, Nixonton, and Pool's School House voting precincts; and in the only instance when he lost Elizabeth City - the '98 election - he yet carried the First, Third, Fourth, and Fifth Wards there. His worst showing was in Providence Township which he lost in all five bids for the Legislature. Yet this was a curious precinct in a manner of speaking. It

\textsuperscript{9} This made joyous but unfactual copy - rather like a latter-day announcement that a Republican candidate in 1964 for Pasquotank's Representative lost to the Democratic nominee "by a two-to-one margin, the best run made by a GOP candidate here in a century" (Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, September 15, 1966, p. 37).
gave Rooks Turner more votes in 1884 than it did Cale. On the other hand, Nixonton and Pool
precincts voted for Cale in all five of his legislative candidacies.\footnote{The only discrepancy between the County's MS Election Book tallies and that of the North Carolinian (November 17, 1898) was in crediting Cale with 56 votes in Mt. Hermon precinct instead of the 55 recorded in the manuscript document. The Fisherman and Farmer (November 11, 1898) tallies with the Election Book except for Elizabeth City's Second Ward: it gives Cale 47 instead of 57 votes; Leigh, 394 instead of 396 votes. Appendix 1, pp. 446-449, charts a summary of voting in all five of Cale's legislative candidacies. Representative Leigh became Elizabeth City's Mayor (1905-1907).}

The curtain was down on political maneuvering, whatever the vote tallies. Veteran Cale had lost.

Excepting party caucus instances within his County, Cale by 1898 had won elections or appointments for some thirty years. But times had changed. Old victories may have been dim in the public memory. They may have been of diminished consequence to an electorate perhaps tired of that recurrent surname, Cale, and an electorate assaulted to vote non-Republican. Perhaps this might also rationalize the laconic comment in the North Carolinian's colored column for November 9, "Well, it is done." It was also possible that the comment was merely a resigned but accurate summation of the situation.

There was no room for interpretation (unless one queried whom the Republican organ had in mind) in post facto comments by the North Carolinian. On November 17, 1898, it asserted that 100 Negroes who did not cast votes were "effective assistant Democrats." It also took another swat at alleged obduracy among the black electorate: "The gang of colored men in this town who refused to listen to reason, who spurned advice, who acted as though they felt the negro was on top, are about to find themselves low down at the bottom." Then John's newspaper gave advice for the future: "The colored people of Elizabeth City are showing the right spirit. Their feeling was voiced by an influential colored man the other day who said: "The
Democratic party is going to be in power and it becomes all negroes to accept the situation, and
go quietly to work and try to live in peace with their white neighbor.' It is the right thing to
do." Following this was deserved cheer that M. B. Culpepper was the only Republican whom
the "tornado did not demolish"; advice to "never shed tears over spilled milk"; and lastly a swipe
at losers: "The defeated candidates now realize how unpleasant that tired, Spanish feeling is."

Mr. Cale might well wonder who the Negro's political friend was - especially when the
colored gentleman lost a candidacy. Certainly not the "prominent" Negro minister in Raleigh
whose "Advice to the Colored People" in the November 24th North Carolinian was to consider
politics "rolling sand." The Reverend Mr. Joseph Perry advised: "Let us direct our attention to
true education, true industry and good morals. Let the white people have the campaigns and
offices and we get what of education, money and Christ we can. This I am sure will bring no
trouble. Men and measures and not party for the negro any more."11 The local Republican
journal said, "The advice given to the Colored People, in another column, is pertinent and
timely, and it will be wise for them to heed it. We believe they will." Some of the statements
had merit. Meanwhile, on December 1, the paper cracked, "The path of ambition leads to a great
many political graves." If Loser John would knock Loser Cale and company, as he did Cardozo
many years ago, had he forgotten so quickly that all three lost?

The political litany could continue. Mr. Cale might also ponder just who the Negro's
political friend was - especially when the colored gentleman lost an election. Apparently not the
local Republican organ, which politely advised on December 8, "Fossils to the rear." "Men of
progress to the front."

11 Haley, Hunter, p. 116, cites Perry's admonition and (loc. cit.) presents "evidence" of "how quickly blacks
[stic] got back into line...."
Again Cale might wonder who the Negro's political friend was - especially when the
colored gentleman no longer had support for his holding office. Certainly not office-holders in
Wilmington, North Carolina. Page four of the *North Carolinian* on November 17, 1898 had
headlines: "Mob Law Rules a City / A Day of Bloodshed and Turmoil at Wilmington, N. C. /
Vengeance of White Citizens / Wilmington Negro Officials Forced to Resign ... / Six Deaths."\(^{12}\)

Mr. Cale certainly knew one specific person who was not his political friend. A
gentleman's notice appeared on page two of the November 18th *Fisherman and Farmer*: "Hugh
Cale has lost his election, and the man who says G. H. Sexton voted for him has lost his honor
and is a liar."

"Our Colored People" for December 8, 1898 reported that "Mr. Hugh Cale left Saturday
for a trip to Washington and Greensboro." The remaining editions of the *North Carolinian* for
1898 gave but hollow echoes of the Pasquotank Gentleman's previous civic service. The
County's Finance Committee reported in the December 15 issue that "Hugh Cale" was paid his
jury ticket on February 5, 1898; the edition of December 22, continuing the report, cited another
payment to him, on July 23, 1898. The readership on December 22, 1898 was wished a Merry
Christmas.

If 1898 was basically the close of a roughly 30-year period of rather extraordinary events
in the South's and Nation's history, it could also be a summation point for the hundreds of
extraordinary people involved - the black office-holders. Loren Schweninger provided one such

\(^{12}\) Among many sources examining the pivotal Wilmington Riot of '98 are Aptherer, *Documentary History*,
II, pp. 813-815; and former ECSU faculty member, H. Leon Prather, Jr., *We have Taken a City: Wilmington Racial
points out that Wilmington was pre-planned and selected as the site to give blacks "an object lesson in white power
that would put them in their place once and for all." He states (p. 113) that "not a single white man in the state
publicly condemned the incident." The November 17, 1898 *North Carolinian*, is thus an overlooked and welcome
exception to that generality.
summary by describing "most of them" as "hard-headed, sometimes opportunistic businessmen who entered the political arena to advance their own cause as well as to improve conditions among fellow blacks." He felt that "[t]heir prominence in the Republican party and the prestige of the offices they held" provided distinct economic advantages, with some maintaining financial good fortune, post-politics; "but a number of others ... died in poverty."\textsuperscript{13} Sad to say, Hugh Cale illustrated the latter circumstance.

Although the year 1898 and whatever legislative dreams a certain candidate may have had were over, it was not the end for Mr. Cale - although some infested with ‘98 Fever may have wished it was. Despite that possibility, the Gentleman’s activities would extend into the twentieth century; Mr. Cale was not yet forgotten altogether.

\footnote{13 Loren Schweninger, \textit{Black Property Owners in the South 1790-1915} (University of Illinois, 1990), p. 225.}
CHAPTER 24: A TALE OF THREE NORMALS

Charles Dickens' title, 'a tale of two cities,' induced this paraphrase for stories of three normal schools generated by Pasquotank citizens and others, some three decades later. These 'tales' may provide counterpoint to political upheavals and vociferation in Pasquotank County and elsewhere during the Nineties - especially 1898. Considerable local activity surrounding normal schools illustrates more varied interests. On the other hand, the plural - "normal schools" - might indicate politics being not that far away, after all.

Local educational opportunities for blacks was among apparent complexities of the Nineties. A "State Normal" began - operating for most of the decade in a 20-year-old "Colored Normal" building, which seems to have become a site for others' educational activities rather than one hosting its own. Interest in added variety resulted in a "Normal and Industrial Institute." Now there were two "normals" in operation. In the mid Nineties, a "Roanoke Institute" began. Now there were three schools - all in addition to the local public school apparatus for blacks. Growing DuBois/Washington-inspired allegiances to 'liberal education' vs. 'practical training' curricula for blacks increased adherents' contentiousness and middle-grounders' brow wrinkling.

Although this Chapter highlights these "Normals" and "Institutes" during the 1890s, the oldest of them - the "Colored Normal" - had been in place for twenty years. Elizabeth City did not yet have its state-supported normal school like, for example, Plymouth and Fayetteville, but it did join area places like Edenton, Windsor, and Winton in having its own private "academy." Unfortunately, the town's black "Normal School" dating from 1869-1870 and the days of the
Cardozos, seemed to generate problems in later decades among its colored controllers. It may have been that a thirst for control came uncomfortably close to being more important than providing for education. The rather promising situation which had evolved by the early 1870s, did not appear to be as promising from the latter part of the decade, on into the next one.

Illustrative of the bright side - the promise - were various activities reported by the local Republican journal; a "select school" conducted in the "Colored Academy" under direction of "Mr. Gardner from Massachusetts" (December 14, 1871 edition); praise for the closing exercises of the "Colored Normal School" under the direction of "Miss Gardner" (March 7, 1872); a "Colored Free School" opening Monday, October 7, 1872, with "about" 50 pupils under Miss Lizzie Thompson - once Cardozo's assistant (October 9 edition). Also, local people lent their support to neighboring communities. John and Wiley Lane, Cardozo's pupils along with Rooks Turner, were among speakers at a July 15, 1873 colored educational mass meeting in Hertford (Perquimans County) at its A. M. E. Zion church. Negro ministers and white politicians joined John and Wiley in underlining the necessity for education. The July 23 North Carolinian, reporting the event, dubbed the Lane brothers as "two colored young gentlemen" who provided "able and telling" addresses and "have for sometime past been students at Howard University."

The problem was that educational notices began coming to the attention of parties in addition to the Republican newspaper - aside from the jailing of a teacher in a Nixonton Township colored school, charged with forging a school order\(^1\) For example, Normal School Trustee Whitmel Lane\(^2\) (Wiley's and John's father), in contest with Pasquotank County Commissioners, won and received judgement of $16.00 damages on December 19, 1878,

\(^1\) North Carolinian, January 4, 1874.

\(^2\) See also Appendix 1, "Connections...," pp. ___.
according to an order by Justice of the Peace M. B. Culpepper. This a bit confusing since the County Commissioners had allowed him $16.00 - four months' rent on the "Normal School House," as well as $6.30 for furnishing wood to the public schools plus $1.50, for serving as a witness before the County Finance Committee (along with Trustee Selim Sutton - also $1.50). These four payments were November 3, 1878. However, the "damages" business a month later seemed to begin an era when Normal School problems became public. The Normal School once again became the focus for non-educational problem resolution. On November 21, 1879, Pasquotank's Superior Court. In this instance, Jordan Close was in contest with Jesse R. Brown, "Whitman" Lane, Jacob Spellman, Calvin Suffron, and Harry Messenger - all blacks, like Mr. Close, and all except Suffron and Messenger, original trustees of the School. Results: land and "tenements" sold on Monday, January 5, 1880. On the same day, Trustees Brown, Lane and Spellman retrieved this ten-year-old educational adornment, by their $85.00 being "last and highest bidders."

Two years later, Jesse and his wife, Mrs. Araminta Brown, and Mr. Lane, conveyed the property to the Public School Committee for District 14. The Committee: W. W. Kennedy, George W. Bell, and Hugh Cale; the date: March 18, 1882.

Still once again - between 1882 and 1890 - the Normal School building came back to original sponsorship and once again, problems became public. The North Carolinian (February 19, 26; March 5, 12, 19, 26 - all 1890) had the following unhappy information:

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3 Mr. Close had various unpleasant episodes: he had pressed charges against a young girl in 1870; the February 6, 1895 North Carolinian reported that a visitor, alleged to be a reverend, lodged with Close, took his overcoat pawned it for 10 cents, and left town. Someone chose a Sunday to pilfer his paint and brushes (North Carolinian, January 29, 1896).

4 Deed Book 2 p. 160 (Pasquotank Register of Deeds' office).

5 Deed Book 4, p. 397 (Pasquotank Register of Deeds' office).
SHERIFF'S SALE.

North Carolina - Pasquotank County
In the Superior Court:

J.R. Brown and others, Plaintiffs, vs Selim Sutton and others, Trustees of Colored Normal School Defendants,

By virtue of an execution directed to the undersigned from the Superior Court of Pasquotank County, in the above entitled action, I will on Monday the 3d day of March, 1890, at 12 o'clock, at the Court House door of said county, sell to the highest bidder for cash, to satisfy said execution, the following described lot, to-wit: Situated on Brown street on the south and Gaskin's street on the west, in [sic, in] Elizabeth City, N.C., known as the Colored Normal School lot and Building.

This January 29th, 1890.

T. P. Wilcox
Sheriff Pasquotank Co

Such upheavals did not deter the efforts of a Rooks Turner, who used his energy and resources for teacher-upgrading opportunities, either solo or with other proven educators. Pasquotank's Commissioners (as a Board of Education) allowed Turner $60 on August 6, 1883, "for services as teacher of the colored Teachers Institute," the sum to be paid from the "Gen'l" school fund for the "Col'd race." Subsequent, similar events were noticed by the Carolinian, which reported summer and other sessions (via editions cited) conducted by Turner and A. C. "McNeal" (edition of July 14, 1886); by Turner and Plymouth Normal School Principal Crosby (July 13, 1887); Turner and Waters "Academy" Principal C. S. Brown (August 22, 1888); and by Turner and former State Senator George A. Mebane (December 11, 1889) - who would later

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7 Pasquotank, Minutes, Board of Education 1872-1885, Division of Archives and History.

8 The Reverend Levi Branson's North Carolina Business Directory for 1890 (Raleigh, 1889) apparently was referring to this session, in his report (pp. 510, 511) that Turner had maintained a three-week "County Institute" for teachers.
head up the town's Normal & Industrial Institute. There were also activities via "Turner's Farmers & Normal Agricultural Institute" (October 28, 1890 North Carolinian). These educational events occurred on his premises, known to Harry T. Greenleaf's 1893 map of Elizabeth City as "Turner's Academy," and to a July 19, 1886 deed as "Turner's Normal school." The deed conveyed one acre and its improvements to the Roanoke Missionary Baptist Association, which would establish its Roanoke Institute on this site, and where the State Normal would begin.

These developments describe one school's vicissitudes and set the stage for two others. Yet another institution, however, appears to have had a more convoluted evolution. This was the comparatively short-lived Normal & Industrial Institute.

This Institute probably resulted from the Colored Educational Mass Meetings in 1890, mentioned in an earlier Chapter; the purpose of those meetings seemed to be creation of a private school. The Institute had many activities during the 1890s, duly noticed in the columns of the Republican journal, but was ill-starred. It came to be controversial, like the Colored Normal School - the controversy generating an article by a principal; a "Card" in reply by the Executive Committee chairman - a minister; and finally a lengthy blast by its Superintendent - all, appearing in 1898 editions of the Carolinian. As if these problems were not enough, two of the Trustee chairmen died a month apart in 1897; the Institute had a "slight" non-damaging fire in 1899 (North Carolinian, May 4, 1899); and it was destroyed by fire (arson?) at about 1901. That misfortune helped precipitate 1903 repeal of Legislative support\(^9\) which had been authorized in 1897.

\(^9\) Deed Book 8, p. 43 (Pasquotank Register of Deeds' office).

\(^{10}\) The Act to repeal was ratified and effective January 24, 1903, and appeared as Chapter 31, Public Laws, 1903, p. 55.
Apparently the Institute first came to the attention of the General Assembly nearly a
decade earlier - in 1893 - when on January 17, Representative H. M. Pritchard (Cale's immediate
successor from Pasquotank) introduced HB 305, "to establish a Normal School for the Colored
Race in the town of Elizabeth City." Fellow legislators understandably may have been confused
by this Bill: they had just established one for the town two years earlier. That problem was
solved on February 22 with HB 1,200 (also introduced by Mr. Pritchard), which would
incorporate - rather than establish - an Elizabeth City Normal and Industrial Institute. This
legislation was ratified and effective March 6, 1893, and appeared as Chapter 282 of the 1893
Private Laws.11

The first of this Act's five sections listed twenty-five incorporators, who presumably
equalled the Institute's Trustees. These persons included Emanuel M. Davis, "W[illiam?] C. Butler."
become Superintendent and Agent; Messrs. Davis and Close would become Trustee chairmen - both
also prominent in Colored Normal School trusteeship (i.e., the one begun in 1870).

In February 1897, the local Republican journal advised readers that a bill to aid the
Institute had been introduced. That Bill reached ratification and was effective March 9, 1897.
It directed annual State appropriation of $500 in support of the school, but its Trustees must
"raise" $1,500 to get that support. Furthermore, it constituted a "local board of managers on
the part of the state to co-operate with the present board of managers." The State's men were

11 House Journal, 1893, pp. 114 (HB 305 introduced), 585 (HB 1200 introduced), 892, 1,048; Senate

Clark, D. Holliday, Charles H. Marshall, Rowland Hazzard, Andrew Comstock, Albert A. Pope, William H. Allen,
William Lee Church, Joseph Sawyer, Martin Brimmer, H. L. Pickman, Nathan Appleton, Charles J. Pickford, J. N.
Smith, James Phillips, Jr., C. T. Christenson, and William T. "Wardwell" (Waddell?). It does not appear that the
last person listed was Representative William H. Waddell of New Hanover County, who served in the 1879, 1881,
and 1883 Sessions.
George W. Cobb, M. N. Sawyer, Peter S. Shipp, Willoughby Lynch, W. H. Stark, W. T. Johnson, and E. M. Davis. Cobb was designated treasurer. This was the Act repealed in 1903. Meanwhile, the faculty's thanks to the public and especially the "Vandeville [sic; Vaudeville] Troupe" for bringing in $15.30 "last week" (North Carolinian, May 5, 1897) may well have represented fundraising efforts pursuant to the 1897 legislation.

All this shows the school in operation but it may help to backtrack and get it going in the first place - which leads to when and where being another of the Nineties' minor mysteries. The November 4, 1896 North Carolinian's announcement that the Institute's "fifth session" would begin "next Monday" (November 9) places initial operations at 1891 or 1892 - nearly identical with the State Normal's opening term. This partially addresses the "when" part; the "where" is perhaps more significant.

On March 2, 1873, Elizabeth City's District 6 School Committee paid one dollar for a half-acre tract "on Dawson Lane and school house thereon," this tract bounded on the north by "Poor House Road" with forty-foot frontage on it, and running two hundred feet from that Road. The grantors were the Reverend Dr. William Yost and wife, Mary, plus Yost's son-in-law, Robert O. Preyer and wife, Ella J., the tract representing part of Lot #20 of Yost's and Preyer's allotment near Elizabeth City.

An adjacent tract, site of the Institute, was much larger and also came from the Yost and Preyer families. Deeded on October 10, 1903, this five-acre parcel fronting 102 feet on the west

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14 Deed Book 14, p. 46 (Pasquotank Register of Deeds' office). The deed was not registered until May 6, 1893. The Preyer's Elizabeth City residence on Riverside Avenue was "Seven Pines" built by Elisha Overton (see above, p. 286). The house ("Preyer-Cropsey-Outlaw") is described pp. 15f, Section 7 of National Register of Historic Places Registration Form for Riverside Historic District. Thomas Russell Butchko, its author, terms it "one of the city's finest Queen Anne [style] residences" (ibid., Section 7, p. 3). See also ibid., Section 8, pp. 3-4. (Copy in ECSU Archives.)
side of the "Road from Elizabeth City past [the] Home for Aged and Infirm," was bounded on
the south by the District 6 tract just described; on the east by the Poor House Road; on the north
by land of Culpepper and C. B. Mason; and on the west by "William Root [sic] Land." The
transaction involved $125; occurred because grantors were "desirous of aiding the colored youth
of North Carolina in getting an industrial education and training"; and represented the "same tract
formerly devoted to Normal & Industrial [School] whereon the building was burned about two
years ago, the same having reverted back to donors on account of conditions broken in deed to
same." 15 The grantees were the State Board of Education16 and Trustees in Elizabeth City, viz:
Messrs. Yost and Preyer, M. B. Culpepper, State Normal Principal Peter Weddick Moore, and
Elisha Overton.

The "conditions broken," thus causing the 1903 land reversion, was obvious inability to
"keep" school at least three months per year, since fire had eradicated or very seriously damaged
the structure. This term length requirement had appeared in a September 24, 1896 deed between
Yost/Preyer and Trustees of the Normal and Industrial Institute. In consideration of five dollars
paid by the Trustees at that time, grantors quitclaimed Farm #6, "as per Zenus Fearing farm," this
land adjoining "Dawson Lane." 17 The Trustees seemed to have little or no rebuilding interest
and/or ability during the 1901-1903 period.

15 Deed Book 27, p. 20; plat showing 1896 dimensions, Deed Book 21, p. 614 (Pasquotank Register of
Deeds’ office).

16 Governor Charles Brantley Aycock, Secretary of State John Bryan Grimes, Treasurer Benjamin R. Lacy,
Attorney General Robert D. Gilmer, Auditor Benjamin E. Dixon, Lieutenant Governor Wilfred D. Turner,
Superintendent of Public Instruction James Y. Joyner.

17 Deed Book 17, p. 390 (Pasquotank Register of Deeds’ office).
As already indicated, the people who conducted the Institute and illustrations of its activities made frequent *North Carolinian* appearances. A "Parker Literary Circle" was organized Friday, January 11, 1895, and a "large audience" attended the Friday, April 12 closing exercises (*Carolinian*, respectively, April 3 and 7, 1895). Meanwhile, new housing for the Institute was apparently underway - located on the five-acre Yost/Preyer tract.\(^8\) The November 27, 1895 *North Carolinian* announced that work on the Institute's building was "vigorously prosecuted" with aim for completion by January 1, 1896. The journal had also reported an anticipated Monday, January 27 opening, ostensibly in the new building (*Carolinian*, January 29, 1896).

The faculty/staff - *ca.* 1896-1898 (and as cited in various *Carolinian* editions) included Principal C. A. Whitehead of Goldsboro and Charlotte, succeeded by a certain Reverend S. P. Smith (*Carolinian*, November 2, 1898); and at least these faculty members: Mrs. L. A. O'Kelly Brown, Miss L. B. Crews - a musician from Oxford, "Professor" H. E. Earle of Philadelphia, ex-Senator Mebane, Mrs. S. F. Riddick, Miss Abbie C. Ritter - an organist from Springfield, Massachusetts, and in 1899, Miss M. E. Silva of Providence, Rhode Island.\(^9\) The diversity of origin could reflect rather impressive recruiting; Elizabeth City-Pasco County in the Nineties was not the most flocked-to area in the State. Of course, the Institute's staff did not have to rely solely on imported personnel. Its Principal, 1893-1895, was none other than John Henry

\(^8\) The *North Carolinian* (March 31, 1897) reported a "successful entertainment" at the School, "[n]otwithstanding the distance" to get to it. Even in the 1990s, ECSU - situated on the Institute's former site - is referred to by many non-blacks and some blacks as "out there." Much housing, some of it definitely affluent, is even further "out there" past the present institution, but is not so designated.

\(^9\) Names, hometowns and various personal tidbits for these persons are in the *North Carolinian*’s editions of January 29, May 6 and 27, November 18, December 23, 1896; March 3, April 28, May 26, June 30, November 3, 10, 24, 1897; January 5 and 19, May 11, July 6, 1898; June 8, 1899.
Manning Butler. Mr. Butler was the State Normal’s initial "First Assistant," beginning 1891 and ending 1893. Might he have shifted his ideology on educational focus? Perhaps he merely took advantage of an opportunity for promotion.

Assorted activities by Institute personnel included the school’s being credited with 85 students as its 1897-1898 term began (Carolinian, November 3, 1897). It observed Thanksgiving with creditable notices thereof; had closing exercises at such places as the Courthouse, Mt. Lebanon Church, and Samaritans’ Hall; had student serenades for a teacher and principal; and produced “music and literary” events. Such educational activities among local blacks during the mid-Nineties, which included a State Normal already in operation and a Roanoke Institute begun in 1896, had led the Carolinian’s reporter to give a collective pat on the back (December 2, 1896):

We venture to say that at present Elizabeth City is enjoying educational advantages and facilities that are unsurpassed by any town of equal size in the State. It is slowly but surely becoming the “mecca” of Eastern North Carolina, to which some of our foremost spiritual and literary workers have already come and others are soon to follow.

Given such praise, it could be helpful to fill in contributions by the other schools. One such was located not far from the twenty-six-year-old Colored Normal Building. This was Elizabeth City’s "Roanoke Normal Industrial and Theological Institute" (its original name) which

20 A & T Catalogue 1897-1898, p. 4.

21 The late Miss Isabella Hollowell recalled that, at the turn of the century, State Normal Principal Moore was "trying to get land where George Mebane had an industrial school”; that it "didn’t come out well”; and that, "somewhat before ‘99, Moore didn’t favor Negroes getting industrial education." She paraphrased Dr. Moore as saying "we don’t want to start a school to go to work. Who cut the forests for present people to live in pomp and splendor!" The Principal’s ideas changed - or were changed for him. As of the State Normal’s Catalogue for 1912-1913, there was an “industrial Department” providing “Manual Training for Boys” with “Domestic Science” and “Domestic Art” for “girls.” Photo of a new “Industrial Building” (razed ca. 1982) faces p. 32 of the 1918-1919 Catalogue of the “State Colored Normal and Industrial [!] School.” The curricular rationale: “There is a greater awakening in favor of efficient manual service than ever before. Therefore a knowledge of the theory and practice of hand work is necessary for the young people who are going out into the world expecting success to crown their efforts” (1912-1913 Catalogue, p. 20).

22 North Carolinian, November 25, 1896 (Thanksgiving); May 27, 1896, May 12, 1897; May 4, 1899 (Closing); November 24, 1897; February 2, 1898 (musical events).
inaugurated its activities on "Body Road" (now Roanoke Avenue); the date: May 1896. "It was begun in a very humble way on its present sit [sic; site] in a small delapidated 2 story [sic] wooden building under Rooks Turner and with one teacher and a handful of pupils."23 That was not the kindest reference - even if accurate - to "Turner's Normal School," acquired by the Roanoke Missionary Baptist Association,24 ultimately renamed Roanoke Collegiate Institute, and in a sense continuing Turner's yeoman efforts.

Mr. Turner had been working a long time to improve local educational opportunities for blacks - efforts languishing in history's shadows. His "delapidated" school quite probably reflected scant finances for upkeep via minimal tuition income (no fee structure has been seen, thus far). Thus, in less than pristine condition or not, by the time the Roanoke Association started its Institute in Turner's school building, the structure had already housed various of his Summer Institutes and allied endeavors, and at January 4, 1892, was home for the brand new State Normal School's first session.25 As Carrie Ester (Stallings) Fleming (State Normal '99) put it eighteen years later in 1910, it began in what "was known as the 'Turner Building,' now a part of Roanoke Institute" where "three rooms sufficed for all purposes."26

23 School name, date, and description from Catalog of Roanoke Collegiate Institute ... 1912 (n.p., n.d.; hereinafter referred to as Roanoke Catalog 1912), p. 1. A Daily Advance feature (June 19, 1983) dates the Institute at 1866, probably because the write-up highlighted night-time theological training conducted there, as a Shaw University division - the University itself dating from 1865.

24 See above, p. 26, for the Association's concern for education.

25 Johnson, History, p. 9. Thomas Russell Butchko, however, has the novel assignment of the town's Samaritans' Hall (at what is now 701 South Road Street with different usage) as the State Normal's first location (Section 8, p. 2, Elizabethtown State Teacher's College Historic District nomination form to the National Register of Historic Places, 1992; copy in ECSU Archives). That South Road Street site is described by Butchko in Section 7, p. 21 of his Shepard Street-South Martin Street nomination to the Register (copy in ECSU Archives). The same nomination (Section 7, p. 17) assigns ECSU's first site to "tradition"; it was "in Turner's store [!] on ... [the Roanoke Institute] lot that classes were first held in 1892 for the State Colored Normal School...."

Rooks Turner’s activities were a bit broader than Education, of course. He appeared in political contexts - being an August 1873 elections inspector for Cartwright’s Precinct ($4.00 honorarium) for one example; an 1885 House race contestant, for another. He also appeared with some frequency in Pasquotank’s deed records and other land matters. For the latter, he surfaced on December 3, 1875 as grantor of a $500 parcel to "Dempsy" and Susan Turner.\textsuperscript{27} On September 17, 1879, he was grantee for three acres from William and Margaret P. Shannon.\textsuperscript{28} On July 19, 1886, Turner and his wife, Elizabeth, sold one acre of this land to the Roanoke Association - the parcel bearing "Turner’s Normal School" and a house.\textsuperscript{29} Turner, grantor, and the Association, grantee, were involved again on July 28, 1892, this time two acres being transferred for $950\textsuperscript{30} - just one of many 1890s transactions for the tract.\textsuperscript{31}

Meanwhile, Turner was otherwise engaged. During late Spring 1895, he was dubbed an "expert in raising string beans. He laid a bunch of the first of the season on our table the other day," the \textit{North Carolinian} reported (May 5, 1895 issue). More urgent was Pasquotank’s sheriff advertising Turner’s Boston Avenue lot that same month; there was an $8.28 tax matter.\textsuperscript{32} Such

\textsuperscript{27} \textit{Book UU}, p. 353 (Pasquotank Register of Deed’s office).

\textsuperscript{28} \textit{Book 2}, p. 78 (Pasquotank Register of Deed’s office). The transaction involved $250.

\textsuperscript{29} \textit{Book 8}, p. 43 (Pasquotank Register of Deed’s office). Trustees included Elders Ivey B. Roach and Joshua A. Fleming. The Association was to install a lightning rod for $16.

\textsuperscript{30} \textit{Book 13}, p. 369 (Pasquotank Register of Deed’s office.)

\textsuperscript{31} E.g., \textit{Book 16}, p. 116; \textit{Book 20}, p. 588 (Pasquotank Register of Deed’s office).

\textsuperscript{32} \textit{Minutes of Justices of Peace}, May 6, 1895 (Division of Archives and History). There was good reason for the often repeated statement that ‘education was something the sheriff couldn’t get.’ School Committeeman A. A. Small, agent for a gentleman, was another citizen who must attend to a sheriff’s sale, for taxes of $2.71 (\textit{North Carolinian}, April 17, 1895).
publicity, however, did not negate the farmer-educator's credibility: he was scheduled speaker for a Friday, May 31 Memorial Day address for Fletcher Post #20, Grand Army of the Republic \((\text{Carolinian, May 25, 1895})\). Furthermore, he had been the Roanoke Association's third Secretary in its history (1890-1892)\(^{33}\) and was scheduled to give a June 2, 1892 "Annual Oration" at Plymouth Normal School \((\text{Carolinian, May 4, 1892})\). He opened school in Nixonton, Pasquotank County (1895) and the following year, taught school in Pasquotank's Okisko section. Regrettably, in 1897 he was reported ill for a while.\(^{34}\)

By 1897, of course, Principal Moore and his Trustees had moved the State Normal from Turner's school building to its new location in the old Colored Normal Building, where it would remain until its 1912 move to the Normal and Industrial Institute's former Yost/Preyer site. Whether the Normal and Industrial Institute itself used (rented?) Turner's school quarters at some point between State Normal occupancy (1892-1897) and the Institute's move to Yost/Preyer land (apparently January 1896) is not clear; the author conjectures Normal & Industrial in Colored Normal building, 1892 or 1893, to 1896; State Normal in Colored Normal building, beginning ca. 1896. The Roanoke Collegiate Institute stayed put on the Turner Normal site, from inception (May 1896) until now.\(^{35}\)

\(^{33}\) "Roanoke Historical Table," p. 43.

\(^{34}\) \textit{North Carolinian}, December 11, 1895 (Nixonton), July 15, 1896 (Okisko), March 10, 1897 (illness).

\(^{35}\) The current building is described in Butchko, \textit{Shepard Street-South Road Street Historic District} nomination to the National Register (Section 7, p. 17). Dated at 1937, it replaced "ca. [sic] 1896 frame Roanoke Institute which burned February 22, 1935 along with numerous rental houses immediately to east ...." This may refer to the second and larger of the Institute's two buildings - the "very handsome new building Roanoke Hall 48 x 56 ... used as a recitation hall and Chapel" \((\text{Roanoke Catalog 1912, p. 2; photo, p. 6})\). The smaller building, quite probably Rooks Turner's original, was Roach Hall, 30' x 30' \((\text{ibid., p. 2})\), named for Elder I. B. Roach, who was credited with being the prime force inducing the Roanoke Association to initiate the school \((\text{ibid., p. 1})\). Butchko \((\text{loc. cit.})\) notes Roanoke Theological Seminary being there since 1988, as well as day care facilities. To avoid confusion, the Seminary occupies Roanoke Collegiate Institute space on Saturdays but does not rename the structure (interview with the Reverend Dr. John Ervin Trotman, Seminary Provost). Trotman's extensive ministerial connections include: Pastor of Corner Stone Baptist Church; University Minister at ECSU; provider of the Roanoke
The Reverend Dr. Moses W. D. Norman of Washington, D.C. — formerly a Shaw University faculty member, deliverer of the Roanoke Association's Annual Sermon (1888) and its Moderator (1894) — had been elected the first "President" of the Institute in time for announcement thereof to appear in the July 8, 1896 North Carolinian. The journal praised the new President the following week (July 15 edition) and reminded readers that the Institute was under Roanoke Association auspices and that its curriculum included special attention to vocal and instrumental music. In 1896, "Miss M. Kelley," of Norfolk, joined the faculty, according to the November 25, 1896 Carolinian, followed by "Miss Payte" (December 2 edition). The "Hon. H. Cale" addressed its 120 students the following month (Carolinian, December 2, 1896; see also, p. 334, above).

The Institute also came to the Legislature's attention. The February 24, 1897 North Carolinian reported that, in addition to the University of North Carolina deciding to allow women into its "post graduate" curricula (Negroes would gain admission a bit later), Pasquotank's Representative William G. Pool introduced a bill to incorporate the Roanoke Institute and "the Liberal Agricultural and Industrial Institute" in Elizabeth City. This was the Association's school, of course, but it is not clear whether more of a title was initially proposed or another school (Normal and Industrial Institute?) was also targeted. Whichever, the "Roanoke Institute"

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36 Association titles/dates from "Roanoke Historical Table," p. 43. "Dr." for Norman is Roanoke Institute Catalog 1912, p. 1. Successor Principals included the Reverends A. S. Dunstan and W. T. Askew of Harrellsville — the latter directing Rich Square Academy in 1899 (Carolinian, October 6, 1897, June 1, 1899).
gained incorporation, followed in 1907 with Legislative renewal of the school's charter under the designation, "Roanoke Collegiate Institute," its present name.

Earlier, in its January 14, 1897 edition, the North Carolinian reported that a "hardhearted tell" had "appropriated" the Institute's axe "a few nights ago." Nothing daunted, President Norman addressed the Baptist Sunday School Convention "last week" (Carolinian, March 3, 1897). Closing Exercises were announced to be at the Courthouse (Carolinian, April 28, 1897) and they were "entertaining and decidedly commendable," the journal reported on May 5. The same edition noted that the Exercises included Elder Zion Hall Berry preaching to Institute students at Corner Stone Church; that Plymouth Normal Principal Crosby was a speaker; and that State Normal Principal Moore presented medals.

The "second annual session" would begin "next Tuesday morning," the September 9, 1897 Carolinian announced. That session included student production of an operetta and cantata (Carolinian, December 22, 1897); and via that edition of the journal’s regular columns as opposed to its "Colored" column, it was announced that the Christian Eagle was a "new venture in journalism by the colored people." It was edited by the Reverend Mr. Norman, still Institute President; was devoted to "Education, Morals and Religion"; was "neatly gotten up and creditably edited"; and cost fifty cents per annum. The following Spring, the Reverend Calvin Scott Brown

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37 Roanoke Institute Catalog 1912, p. 1.

38 The Elizabeth City Tar Heel provided rather extensive write-up of the Reverend Mr. Berry's funeral (Friday, June 19, 1903 edition). The minister was the Roanoke Association's third Moderator, 1881-1883; had given its "Annual Sermon," 1871, 1880 ("Roanoke Historical Table," p. 43); and was Corner Stone's first pastor, 1889-1903 (Church Archives). Crosby had much less time remaining: "Prof. H. C. Crosby, late Principal of the Plymouth Normal School and who conducted an Institute here a few years ago, died in Raleigh last week. Prof. Crosby was one of the foremost educators of the State and his death is a great loss to the race as well as to the cause of education." Crosby willed $7,000 to Shaw University, "to establish a scholarship" (North Carolinian, December 8 [obituary notice] and 15 [sum bequeathed], 1897).
- minister, principal, editor, politician - gave the Institute's May 1898 Closing speech; his topic: "Fools" (Carolinian, May 11, 1898).

A new school year brought faculty change. The January 26, 1899 North Carolinian announced the resignation of Mrs. L. V. Mebane; that her successor was Miss "L. V." Fleming. Also, during the 1898-1899 term, the "Boone Literary" - commemorating the nearly legendary minister - had its first session.39

The Roanoke Collegiate Institute had rather steady progress during the Nineties and has proven its longevity - as has its space predecessor, the State Normal. Unfortunately, neither the Colored Normal building or the Normal and Industrial Institute could enjoy the same characterizations.

First, some Colored Normal/State Normal circumstances may be addressed. The State Normal conducted its operations with State-appropriated dollars and a State-appointed "Local Board of Managers" in the Colored Normal building. However, its operating revenue did not appear to eliminate recurring, burdensome building upkeep efforts by Colored Normal Trustees. State Normal students and faculty sought to assist via various fundraisers, but it could appear that

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39 North Carolinian, November 2, 1898 (Boone Literary). The Carolinian (October 1, 1901) reported "Miss Lizee C." Fleming returning to Edenton's Albemarle Training School. She was almost certainly Elizabeth, daughter of Elder and Mrs. Joshua A. Fleming. The Roanoke Institute Catalog 1912 has illustrations of operations up to that point: 257 students from 17 counties closed the 1911-1912 session; there were five teachers and eleven "Student Assistants in Primary Instruction," who included Miss Maggie Evelyn Sykes '12 of Elizabeth City (respectively, pp. 37 [enrollment], iii [faculty, student assistants], 36 [full name of Miss Sykes and indication of her graduation]). The Boone Literary was an organization for "young men of the English and academic course"; women had a cognate "Victorian Literary Society" (ibid., p. 4). A half-century later (1962), the Roanoke Association had its Annual Conference at the "Roanoke School" ("Roanoke Historical Table," p. 44). In 1966, all graduates and students were invited to meet "Wednesday night" at Corner Stone Church, upon the invitation of its Pastor, the Reverend Dr. John Robert Rudolph McRay (Daily Advance, October 17, 1966). McRay (1891-1983; State Normal, 1912) provided the Roanoke Association's Annual Sermon, 1928; was its Moderator, 1967-1973 ("Roanoke Historical Table," respectively, pp. 43, 44); and was called to Corner Stone via Assistant Church Clerk Joshua Royal Fleming's January 6, 1923 letter (Corner Stone Archives Room). (The Room was donated by church Trustee James Roscoe Spence, ECSU '56, and his Alma Mater's retired Assistant Vice Chancellor for Development.)
repairs were only part of the problem. An example is the *North Carolinian*’s September 25, 1895 report that "Pasquotank’s Court ruled in the case of Robert Bowe and others versus W. C. Butler and others, trustees of the colored Normal School building: judgement that Elisha Overton, James "E." Brown, John Burden, Charles Harvey and Charles Norfleet be added as trustees, and that an amount in the hands of the treasurer be set aside to pay certain debts."

Two years later, financial pressure had continued although contention may have lessened. The May 5, 1897 *Carolinian* announced the Trustees scheduling a fundraiser for Friday, May 7, to "liquidate some indebtedness." The vehicle would be State Normal students producing entertainment and a "short literary program." The journal felt need to urge support: "Since this property belongs to the people all should cheerfully respond and aid the Trustees in their efforts."

Similar efforts and urgency punctuated the remainder of 1897, on into 1898. Trustees called a meeting for Thursday night, July 15, 1897, "desiring citizens to be present." The "work of repairing Normal School building has begun" (August); "Dr. Gilliam" gave a "concert" in the building (September) - "[p]roceeds" to help "liquidate the indebtedness consequent upon the recent repairs to the property"; Miss A. M. Brochies, State Normal faculty member and elocutionist, would lend her "rare" talents and "exceptional ability" for a State Normal Literary (December) - "[p]roceeds to liquidate the repairs indebtedness."40

The March 16, 1898 *Carolinian* went into some detail about Colored Normal repairs and assessed their value. Trustees had put on a new roof and did some ceiling work "[d]uring last summer," it said. "[S]ince then," it continued, they had accomplished "other needed work" which included flooring and changing the chimney. The journal said that "taken together, [repair work]

40 *North Carolinian*, July 14, August 11, September 15 December 22, 1897.
has added very much to the comfort of all therein [i.e., the State Normal School] and at the same
time has greatly improved the property." It then reminded readers that "expenses thereby
incurred have not been entirely liquidated." Accordingly on Friday night (March 18) students
would hold "an entertainment" - another literary and musical event. Resultant funds, of course,
would apply to the repairs debt. The March 23 edition reported an "interesting" program but that,
as a fundraiser, it was only "fairly successful."

It was not impossible that citizen supporters wondered about apparent absence - but
manifest insufficiency - of State assistance for adequate building maintenance. The State Normal
seemingly rented the Colored Normal but such revenue did not render the foregoing efforts
unnecessary.

As important as building upkeep was, there were obviously other matters of moment.
Once such was corralling the presence of prestigious future Congressman (1897-1901) George
Henry White - State Representative (1881), State Senator (1885), but then "ex-Solicitor ... of
[from] Newberne" - to be among the State Normal's 1896 Commencement speakers (Thursday,
May 28). His topic was "Barriers to be Removed." His delivery was "able, eloquent and
suggestively practical."41

Another circumstance was the succession of the State Normal's early and rather historic
"First Assistants" (Vice Principals). The initial incumbent (1891-1893), was John H. M. Butler
who ultimately left Elizabeth City for the Philippines - via Greensboro, and principalship of
Courtland, Virginia's Normal & Industrial Institute (cited, Carolinian, October 1, 1901). His

41 Announced/reported in the North Carolinian, respectively, May 27 and June 3, 1896. Rhees,
Congressman White, included in his February 1993 "Addendum" the fact that White's brother, John, was the paternal
grandfather of the retired Elizabeth City dentist, Kermit Earle White, DDS, first black chairman of the ECSU Trustee
Board (1976-1981). The Chairman is honored with a campus building named for him (Graduate and Continuing
Education Center, 1982). His office building is described, Section 7, p. 11 of Butchko's Shepard Street-South Road
Street Historic District nomination to the National Register.
successor (1893-1896) was James Walter Brown, son of the Jesse R. Browns, and later an A. M. E. Zion bishop. Past public school principal and future Roanoke Association Secretary (1898)\textsuperscript{42} Joshua Royal Fleming served from 1896 to at least 1898 and may well have authored the \textit{Carolinian}'s data-crammed "Our Colored People" columns.

Then there were the State Normal's alumni - many of them making marks during the Nineties. In addition to Waters Normal Vice Principal Charles Yeates, cited earlier, and Attorney Daniel Webster Perkins '97,\textsuperscript{43} there was a normal school staffer afar who was the local State Normal's first "graduate" - even though Principal Moore began designating alumni by name, and as such, with the six-person Class of 1896 (Yeates a member).\textsuperscript{44} This "first" actual graduate was Miss Mattie A. Newby '92 of Elizabeth City,\textsuperscript{45} who was announced by the September 1, 1897 \textit{North Carolinian} as "elected to a position in the Slater Normal and Industrial School at Winston" - currently known as Winston-Salem State University. Regrettably, Miss Newby was reported "seriously ill" a year later (\textit{Carolinian}, November 17, 1898).

\textsuperscript{42} "Roanoke Historical Table," p. 43 (Fleming). James Brown was thanked for an invitation sent the \textit{Carolinian} (reported, May 10, 1893 edition), to attend his graduation from Shaw University, scheduled for May 18, 1893.

\textsuperscript{43} Perkins, from Pasquotank, was a member of the State Normal's second ever "Middle" Class (Catalogue, 1893-1894, pp. 7, 10). He was an attorney by 1907 and practiced in Jacksonville, Florida, among other places. He died during April 1972.

\textsuperscript{44} The first Commencement was May 18-20, 1892 (described, pp. 294-296 above). Remaining five 1896 graduates: Ernie Coleman Cooper, James Edward Felton, Richard Copeland Jacocks, Charles Edward Physic, Joanna Outlaw Rayner. Isabella Hollowell, among first attendees, was an 1896 Commencement participant, but never appeared as an alumna.

\textsuperscript{45} Principal Moore, for some reason, never identified Miss Newby by name as an alumna; she is represented by the statistic, "1," in Moore's Catalogue tallies of total graduates through the '90s. She was the sole "Post-Graduate" enrollee, 1891-1892 (Catalogue, 1892, p. 4) and that enrollee represented the singleton in alumni tallies, since no other student appeared similarly. Miss Newby was also absent from Catalogue rosters of "Graduates and What They Do" appearing in at least 1906-1928 editions of the State Normal Catalogues.
Lastly, five non-students may also illustrate events affecting the life of the State Normal. The first three of these persons were the first Chairman of the Board of Managers (1891-1896; Secretary, 1896-1897) - former State Senator William Joseph Griffin - and his two companions, Clarence Minson Winder and "- - - Sawyer," a black. All three men drowned when a "terrific gale" in Albemarle Sound swept them from their boat during the evening of September 2, 1897, while apparently on a fishing expedition with Nags Head a destination. The *Carolinian* (editions of September 8 and 22) devoted many column inches to this triple tragedy, noting Mr. Winder but especially detailing Mr. Griffin's many accomplishments and the posthumous honors accorded him. Somehow, though, *Carolinian* Editor and State Normal Board chairman John's newspaper omitted past Chairman Griffin's State Normal connection; also, Mr. Sawyer's surname, race, and his being on the boat, were the totality of his own *Carolinian* citations.46

The fourth and fifth persons were State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Charles H. Mebane, and former Governor Thomas J. Jarvis. They were visiting during the town's Fall 1897 Fair. Both spoke at the event, the *Carolinian* reported in its October 27 edition. It also noted that Mebane put $500 in the hands of State Normal Board Treasurer C. E. Kramer, and "expressed himself very favorably impressed with what he saw of [the School's] management and work." As for Governor Jarvis, the tenor of his Fair remarks may be imagined. Back in 1871, Palermon John had already regretted Jarvis' politics47 while admiring the man; and, of course, the campaign of 1898 drew closer.

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46 Five years earlier (June 6, 1892), Pasquotank's Commissioners nominated Griffin and S. L. Sheep as Superintendent of Public Instruction. Griffin was elected and resigned as a member of the Board of Elections (*Minute Book* 3, p. 548). Understandably, there was no mention of their being two of the first five Trustees of the State Normal (1891).

47 It is unlikely that Jarvis' 1897 opinions differed radically from those he expressed on July 5, 1882, when he told the Democratic State Convention (in Raleigh): "Empanel a jury of any twelve honest colored Republicans and in their hearts they would find it to declare that it was to the interest of North Carolina that the Democratic party
"Out there" on Poor House Road, a different sort of 1897-98 cloud gathered. The Normal and Industrial Institute, despite its progress, almost seemed destined for troubles.

The Marshal of the January 1, 1897 Emancipation Day parade rode a "noble steed," in the estimation of the January 6 North Carolinian. But Marshal Emanuel Davis' pride in that honor surely gave way to different feelings when he was named Chairman of the Normal and Industrial Institute's Trustees, four months later. He assumed that office because his predecessor, Chairman Jordan Close, had succumbed.

Mr. Close was remembered in the April 28, 1897 North Carolinian as one of the "old and respected residents of the town." The journal reported that his death occurred Tuesday, April 21, 1897, during the morning hours. He was "about 70 years" (with makes has dates ca 1827-1897). The Carolinian recalled that Close was "well-known" and active in church and social affairs - including the Masonic organization. He was a "consistent member" of Corner Stone Baptist Church, it said and reported he was funeralized from that edifice at 3 p.m., April 28.

The Institute's Trustees may have felt a little less tension, having asked Mr. Davis to succeed Chairman Close. It was short-lived: death struck taking Chairman Davis in 1873, a Pasquotank Commissioner - less than a month after his predecessor's burial. The North Carolinian (May 26, 1897) reported Davis' Sunday, May 23, 1897 death at his "Sheppard street" residence. The newspaper called him a "leading Brick mason here" for more than twenty-five years and credited Mr. Davis with having "charge of the erection of nearly every brick building of importance in the city." Indicating Davis being in his 60th year (thus his dates, ca.

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38  He do not appear in Butchko, Shores, "Appendix" listing architects and builders.

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48  Indicating Davis being in his 60th year (thus his dates, ca.

49  He do not appear in Butchko, Shores, "Appendix" listing architects and builders.
1838-1897), the Carolinian said the Chairman was active with the Masons and with the Love and Charity organization, and that he was funeralized from Mt. Lebanon A. M. E. Zion Church on Monday, May 24, the Reverend Mr. P. R. Anderson officiating.

Many people were reminded of mortality - not insignificantly including the aging Mr. Cale who, as often shown, had frequent contacts over the years with both Chairmen Close and Davis. And as if the temporary nature of life had not been starkly demonstrated already, just a year after Close's demise, the Reverend Mr. Anderson funeralized the Chairman's widow, Margaret (1828-1898). The North Carolinian (May 4, 1898) indicated that she died at her Road Street residence on May 1, at age 70, with her services on May 2.\footnote{Mrs. Close's brother was Professor I. C. Norcom of Portsmouth, Virginia (Carolinian, May 4, 1898) who attended her services and had been in town a year earlier for her husband's sad occasion (ibid., May 5, 1897). See also, "The Fleming Family...," Appendix 1, pp. _____.

The situation did not improve. Earlier in 1898, the Carolinian (January 12) reported that the Institute's Trustees met "last week" and that "[m]atters materially affecting the status of the institution were considered." The implication that there may have been problems became clearer when the February 8, 1898 Carolinian regretted that Principal Whitehead resigned; he intended going to Greensboro later that month, it reported. The same issue of the North Carolinian had even more details, via Whitehead's statement "To the Public":

Disgusted at the financial management of the Normal and Industrial Institute, the chairman of the Executive Committee, Rev. P. R. Anderson, and the Principal both have resigned. I took charge of said school in November, 1896.\footnote{It can be recalled that the Carolinian announced Whitehead's election as President in July 1896.} I was assisted by four ladies. Our enrollment last session was over 200 pupils; this one 192. I have reasons to believe that not one dollar out of five contributed for the benefit of the school has been used to that end for the past fifteen months. Drs. J. Newton Perkins and James H. Darlington requested a financial report and the Agent refused to let the report be published. The Agent charged $100 per month from August 21, 1897, to some time in December, 1897, and expenses. During that time he collected $642; his expenses were
$405.45; the remainder, $236.55, he took and claims that the board owes him over $200. He is collecting for half now. If the State Treasurer had consulted Hon. G. W. Cobb and Hon. M. N. Sawyer, Treasurers of the School, he would have found that $1,500 never passed through their hands [sic] after the bill passed before the $500 was drawn. The Secretary, the common henchman for the Agent, is in possession of money belonging to the school. I write this to let the Northern contributors know that the money they donate is not used for the purpose intended. The management is rotten and a fraud from start to finish. If you want to fully understand the working of the school, consult the Treasurer, Hon. M. N. Sawyer.

C. A. Whitehead,
Ex-Principal.

Elizabeth City, Feb. 8, 1898.

Executive Committee Chairman Anderson sought to distance himself from the main thrust of Mr. Whitehead’s sentiments. The minister’s "Card" of disassociation appeared in the February 16, 1898 *North Carolinian*:

In last week’s *Carolinian* I notice an article headed ‘To the Public,’ relative to the Normal and Industrial Institute of this city, say that I resigned on account of its financial management. I wish to say that there was another cause. Having been connected with the Institute but a very short time, I know very little about its financial management.

Feb. 12, 1898.

P. R. Anderson.

These polite sentiments were followed by advice in the "Colored" column, on February 23: "It is announced that the Normal and Industrial Institute has been transferred to the A. M. E. Z. connection." Then, in the March 2, 1898 edition, it became the turn of the "Agent" to divest himself of a few thoughts on the matter - a reply occupying almost an entire column of typesetting (italics as in source):

**A CARD TO THE PUBLIC**

In Relation to the Normal and Industrial Institute.

Unfortunately for the Normal and Industrial Institute, a man dubbed Prof. (?) C. A. Whitehead, was elected its principal in 1896. Notwithstanding his unfitness for the position, he was again elected in 1897, but over the protest of a part of the managers. A recent letter addressed to the Public in the *North Carolinian* over his signature informs us of his resignation as principal of said Institution. He has resigned, but was forced to do so. Unlike the dragon of scriptural [sic] fame, his resignation failing to have the
desired effect, he has attempted to malign and discredit the managers. The letter is not the work of Prof. Whitehead, but it exhibits the tactful resources of an expert schemer and wrecker, whose life work has been one of immorality and dissipation -- poisoning every thing [sic] with which it has come in contact. It is a prolongation of a deep laid conspiracy formed several years ago against the Institution, and its consummation is hoped by those, who, having robbed it of many dollars, and being klecked [sic; kicked?] out, seek its ruin. Specifications will be given at the proper time. But Whitehead fathers the letter and he alone is responsible, [sic punctuation] It is a cowardly thrust at the existence of an Institution that gave him bread for two years, whose interests he had not the ability to advance, but was simply a figurehead. He takes occasion to call attention to the resignation of Rev. P. R. Anderson as chairman of the Ex. Committee, claiming that both were caused on account of the bad financial management. The assertion is absolutely false. He misstates the facts and means to wilfully deceive the public when he says that he has reasons to believe that not one dollar in five contributed is properly used or paid over to the Institution. If he knows of a single dollar collected and not accounted for, the public is entitled to the information. Let him make specifications. The public has no interest in insinuations. Reference is made to an Agent and a refusal to publish a financial report. Within the scholastic year there have been four agents, he himself being one of them. A comparison of the work done and the reports by the agents may serve the curiosity of the public. Will he make them?

No agent has refused to let a financial report be published. He or she could not do so without with-holding such report from the managers. Drs. Perkins and Darlington have seen and have the report of our agent and Whitehead is aware of the fact that the agent has asked that the report be published.

The Northern contributors whom the deposed professor essays to inform as to the improper use of their money doubtless will pay about as much heed to his advice as they did to his appeal for aid last summer, when he reported that he could not collect enough money to pay his travelling expenses.

It may be that he is able and will consent to inform the public of the whereabouts of the unaccounted for money of which he writes. Evidently the management is rotten, at least a part of it, because it refused to pay him $40 per month and offered him $30 per month, this being considered an extraordinary high salary for inertia and dummyism. And, too, the employment of Whitehead a second term as principal, and he and others as agents, certainly indicates a stupidity if [sic; if] not rottenness for which there is no reasonable excuse or palliation.

Mr. M. N. Sawyer, the Treasurer of the Institution, who is referred to for information, would not, as a businessman, have collected the money due from the State without being satisfied that it was due. It certainly was not forced into his hands. And the eminent professor ‘forgot to remember’ to inform the public that Drs. Perkins and Darlington questioned his ability to properly teach elementary arithmetic.

The Institution has lived and steadily progressed against all outside opposition. And its managers do not now fear the attacks of the cormorants nor vultures which, having picked their last bit of flesh, now mourn because they cannot devour and digest
the bones. The Institution is one of the fixtures of the community and will continue to prosecute its work of elevating the colored people in spite of and paying no heed to the vanishing wolves that howl at its base.

Finally the letter is a tissue of falsehood instigated by malice, with an ingenious evasion of known facts that stamp the writer as a hypocritical defamer and falsifier.

George Allen Mebane,

Elizabeth City, N.C., Feb, 15, '98.

The former legislator appears to have continued as Superintendent and Agent until 1900, but he seldom appeared in the local press after his 1898 "Card." Meanwhile, the gales of discontent continued with still more problems besetting the Institute during 1898, and showing that all was not politics - or was it?

Documents in the Office of the Clerk of Pasquotank's Superior Court indicated that in the case of L. A. O'Kelly Brown versus the school, she won judgement and costs. In the case of F. W. M. Butler versus the school, the institution was also the loser. For both cases, levy was made on one piano, one organ, one "Globe," four stoves, one clock, three sewing machines, fifty desks, four writing desks, and a house and lot "situated in Nixonton." The total of judgements and costs amounted to less than $100.00. That figure, however, was a precious amount to a school struggling for existence in the Elizabeth City of the late 1890s.

Given such unhappy occurrences, it is no surprise that, by 1903, persons responsible for the Institute apparently demonstrated little initiative for its continuance. The fire which may have levelled its building also may have burned out any remaining zeal for the school. And if the A. M. E. Zion "connection" was fact, that hierarchy may have concluded that a Zion Wesley

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81 See Appendix 1, pp. ___-___, for a sketch of the Senator.
Institute which became Livingstone College, and allied efforts, was a better place for support than the local educational idea.

Other citizens also desired transfer of responsibility, the Colored Normal Building's Trustees noticeably among them. Again, the seeming confusion of the Nineties: Messrs. E. M. Davis and W. C. Butler, Colored Normal Trustees, had granted the building to the State Board of Education, May 28, 1891, but custody later returned to original provenance (successors). Continuing upkeep problems, however, and probably other exacerbating factors led to the building's latest successor stewards commending the structure for the last time to others' care. Trustees James "E." Brown, Elisha Overton, Robert Bowe, A. L. Hawkins, Charles Norfleet, G. W. Cardwell, P. W. Moore, and W. C. Butler recorded in their August 5, 1905 deed to the State Board of Education that the "[p]roperty is insufficient in value and quantity to support or maintain a school and the said trustees cannot therefore carry out the purpose." Whereas $1,000 had arrived from the Freedmen's Bureau to erect the structure in 1870, this 1905 transaction involved a whole Five Dollars.

The "Colored Normal" was gone, for all practical purposes. The Normal and Industrial Institute had made its fiery exit. The Roanoke Collegiate Institute continued. The State Normal continued - in the Colored Normal building for instruction, but "out there" on the former Normal and Industrial site, plus added acreage, for its new look a-building.

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52 Boggs, Higher Education, p. 146.


54 The reference to "purpose" was in keeping with the January 11, 1870 deed.
It was to this land - improved by 1909 with a brick, two-story building (now Lane Hall) and further improved by 1912, via a two-story brick residence hall for women (now Symera Hall) - that the State Normal moved to its permanent location in September 1912. The move ended some two decades which began in Rooks Turner’s Normal School building, but with most of the time spent in Thomas Cardozo and colleague’s Colored Normal School building.\textsuperscript{55} In a sense, the State Normal tied together the spirit, if not the precise aims, of all these schools.

Principal Moore’s "twenty-second Annual Report" (May 30, 1913) to the "Superintendent of State Normal Schools and members of the Local Board of Managers" included his sentiments on the institution’s historic move - ending "twenty-one years in delapidated [again!] wood buildings":

\textbf{[O]n the morning of the ninth day of September, 1912, the ... Session was begun in our beautiful, well ventilated, modernly furnished brick building. The contrast is almost indescribable. The school took on new life, more dignity and self-respect. Everything about the new plant gave inspiration and encouragement on that morning ...}\textsuperscript{56}

At this point, it could be argued that, where the area’s educational apparatus for blacks was concerned, one era had ended and a new one begun. The apparatus had survived the cataclysm of ‘98; Pasquotank’s Teachers Association "was recently organized" (1899) with Principal Moore as president;\textsuperscript{57} and the State Normal itself had survived turn-of-the-century move

\textsuperscript{55} The historic building’s ownership odyssey included the 1905-1923 period when it was property of Elizabeth City Graded Schools (\textit{Book} \textsuperscript{3}) followed, finally, with longterm ownership by Golden Leaf Lodge #142 of the Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World. The Elks acquired the building on November 5, 1923 for $1,500 (\textit{Book} \textsuperscript{4}). They have had the structure for 70+ years thus far. It is described in Section 7, p. 34 of Butchko’s \textit{Shepard Street-South Road Historic District} nomination to the National Register.

\textsuperscript{56} \textit{Minutes of the Trustees of Elizabeth City State University}, [Vol. 1], 19-19, p. 98 (ECSU Archives).

\textsuperscript{57} \textit{North Carolinian}, January 12, 1899.
it or merge it' sentiments. The State Normal had optimistically conducted its first Summer Session ("Teachers Institute"), July 10-20, 1899 - duly noted and highly praised in the July 20 North Carolinian, and the Daily Economist, no less, provided rather glowing, page-one announcement of the State Normal's 1905 Thanksgiving observances; "[t]he principal extends a cordial invitation to the white citizens to be present" (November 29 edition).

Locational stability continued for the school, but was replaced by other stresses. It had continuous contests to enhance academic credibility within a six-decade series of minimal budget allocations - not improved by a Depression. It survived - often must accommodate to - rampant segregation, encrusted, as example, by the State's black normal schools reporting to a Division of Negro Education. There followed questions of administrative control: through "merger nerves" vis-a-vis the local community college (late 1960s-early 1970s); through assaults on competence of chief executive officers (late 1960s, late 1990s). It thus joined dozens of institutions being scrutinized either for their discontinuance or to achieve fundamental alteration of focus regarding both the composition of student population and guardianship of power. All this gained one commentator's assessment that while they "educated thousands of our people who

58 Although not clearly referring to the State Normal, it was probably the target of Representative F. H. Nicholson of Belvidere (Perquimans County), who introduced a petition on February 10, 1899 requesting "removal of the Normal School (Colored) from Elizabeth City, North Carolina, to Hertford [Perquimans County], North Carolina" (House Journal, 1899, p. 281). Two years later (April 1901), the Elizabeth City Council deplored sentiment to move the State Normal to Plymouth. Col. E. F. Lamb also exerted his efforts against moving, March 15, 1901 (cited, Boggs, Higher Education, p. 159 n 16). Chapter 740, Session Laws, 1903 (which amended Chapter 565 of the 1901 Laws) empowered the State Board of Education to remove or close normal schools and re-distribute their appropriations.

59 The Session had a reported 103 enrollees representing fourteen counties and two States. Guest lecturers included Palemon John and the black physician, Dr. George Washington Cardwell (1872-1942), the school's Infirmary (1952) coming to bear his name with that of black physician/Trustee Ernest Linwood Hoffler (1883-1963). The June 15, 1899 Carolinian announced: "Dr. G. W. Cardwell, of Reidsville, a recent graduate of Leonard Medical School, Raleigh, who has successfully passed the examinations of the Board of Medical Examiners of this State and also in South Carolina, is in the city with a view to locate. For the present he may be found in his office, 48 Water street," (The medical school was then a significant component of Shaw University.)
would have never had the opportunity to get an education otherwise, ... [the black schools] have never ... made anybody equal.... Black institutions of higher learning can no longer be considered as wombs of security ...."^60

Some stresses were addressed during a nationwide Second Reconstruction; others awaited resolution. Meanwhile, the little normal school fathered by Cale and nurtured into permanency by Moore, celebrated its Centennial of survival in 1991 and could, if it wished, take note of maturation into an object whose ‘persona’ attracted increasingly keener and critical observation for various purposes, in contrast to a long period of vague, sporadic awareness that it was even "out there." That a portion of its campus gained entrance into the National Register of Historic Places on February 28, 1994^61 may have drawn more than polite interest four days later, during its well-populated-by-officialdom Founders Day observance (March 3), had not silent student protest and preceding sensationalism of some employees’ discontent already magnetized the public’s attention.

Much, therefore, was compressed in the University Minister's thoughts for that 1994 Convocation:

O God of the ages, ... [m]ake this day a sacrament of memory .... We thank Thee for the sustaining traditions handed down to us from faithful followers of Thee who triumphed over the harshness of life .... Lead us, ... that the mantle they thrust upon us will not become scarred by our reluctance to forge ahead in our quest for a real democracy to exist in this our native land. Give us vision and dedication in our day to be more worthy of those who served their generation well, before they went to sleep.\(^62\)

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\(^62\) John Ervin Trotman, *Founders Day Prayer*, March 3, 1994 (typescript, ECSU Archives); excerpted with the Reverend Dr. Trotman’s permission.
The Roanoke Association’s founding Moderator Boone would acknowledge the eloquence of the statement. State Normal Founder Cale would appreciate the recognition of effort expended and yet to come. Both would welcome change, while guarding against obliteration of provenance.
CHAPTER 25: CERTAIN WINTERS FOR REPUBLICANS

With the landslide Democratic win of 1898 and its accompanying tremors, civic activity including politics by Negroes in Pasquotank and elsewhere could be expected to subside. In Pasquotank and elsewhere it did not - immediately, that is; nor would it ever cease totally.

1899 opened with a report in the North Carolinian concerning the Emancipation Celebration: "... different colored societies of this place celebrated ... by parading the streets and speech-making at the courthouse." "Our Colored People" bragged about the exercises' quality despite "severity of the weather," and the Winter of '99 was severe, with school closings (February 9 Carolinian) and far worse, smallpox having become a serious matter in "lower Pasquotank" (February 16 edition).

North Carolinian editions from January 5, 1899 onward through 1899 and the next year, showed that events of local Negroes still represented eligible copy. One merely did not publish as frequent or detailed reports. 1899 was not an election year. Effects of a changing political climate became discernible with increasing clarity - a climate also conducive to lynching.1

One civic activity during the first months of 1899 was local Negroes' efforts to reverse inequitable allocation of public school funds. They tried through a memorial to the Legislature and through allied meetings in Raleigh. The North Carolinian (January 26) even reprinted from the "Hicory Press" [sic] the latter's "strongest condemnation" of such allocations. Another legislative issue was the "Jim Crow Car Bill," providing assorted degrees of racial segregation

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1 The January 19, 1899 North Carolinian announced (italics as in original): "It is useless to complain and sheer folly to kick. Thousands of Republicans and other thousands of colored voters[,] aided and made it possible for the Democrats to obtain control of the State. They feel that they have the power, and evidently intend to use it for all it is worth." A. M. E. Zion Bishop Walters devoted a major portion of his Episcopal Address to "Causes" and "Remedy" for the spread of lynching (pp. 34-38 of C. W. Winfield, comp., Minutes of the 33rd and 34th Sessions of the Virginia Annual Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, held in Edenton, N.C., Nov. 23rd to 28th, 1898, and ... at Franklin, Va., Nov. 29, 1899 [Petersburg, VA: Kirkham & Co., 1900]).
in railroad accommodations. Still another dealt with revising the election laws - ultimately, a gesture seeking amendment of the State Constitution in order to disfranchise the gentlemen of color. Women's suffrage would be a later upheaval.

Hugh Cale was not reported as being connected with these events; that is, the local Republican journal did not indicate such involvement. The colored column did announce on January 19, 1899: "Hon. Hugh Cale will go to Raleigh this week on business." The "meeting of race representatives" about discomfort with school-fund distribution, "was held in Raleigh yesterday," the same column reported. It advised that "Rev. S. P. Smith is in attendance from here." Thus, Mr. Cale would appear not to have been directly participating or just was not mentioned, even though he was in Raleigh at the time. (He may have operated from behind the scenes.) Such non-involvement was contrary to all the preceding years. And if Cale was active in the proceedings, it was equally out of character for the North Carolinian to omit saying so. Meanwhile, February 1899 editions of that paper reported the Legislature busily legislating (election laws, so-called Jim Crow "car bill," etc.) for the benefit of those whose cause it served.3

The next news was that "Hugh Cale" (the first time the colored column thus referred to him) had "returned Monday from a trip including both Raleigh and Washington." This appeared in the February 9, 1899 North Carolinian. Next (February 16), "Hon. Hugh Cale left Saturday for a brief trip to Greensboro." He may well have looked in on the school there; he was still a

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2 Eight years later, an Elizabeth City newspaper would report a variation of the theme: "The legislature is going to pass a jim crow street car law. That is as good as settled. Public sentiment favors it, other states have it, and the traction companies concede it" (Tar Heel, February 8, 1907).

3 An example was the February 9, 1899 North Carolinian report and comment: "The bill to prevent cohabiting of the Caucasian and Negro races was vigorously fought by almost all the leading Democrats of the House and defeated. It seems that when the matter of the real separation of the races is put to a test the Democrats are on the negative side. This is rather strange, but it is it not true nevertheless?"
trustee. The column for Negroes reported on March 23: "Mr. Hugh Cale is having the
foundation for a new building laid on his lot on South Road Street." At April 6, the
announcement was that Cale "is erecting a handsome new building on South Road Street." These
were pleasant advices of continued mobility and financial ability, even though they did not reflect
the extent of activity associated with earlier years.

Republican notices of Mr. Cale meanwhile became more and more sparse. Not until June
8, 1899, was there indication that he continued ranking high, at least in some circles. That date,
the modest announcement appeared in "Our Colored People" that Cale was elected Worshipful
Master of the local Masonic group, Eastern Star Lodge #15, for a one-year term. The paper said
the election took place "Monday night last," i.e., June 5, 1899. Joshua Royal Fleming was
another of the newly-chosen officers, the paper reported, indicating election night as a "regular
communication" of the Lodge. On June 22, the column reported officers installed "Monday last"
(June 19, 1899) with refreshments afterwards enjoyed by all. That was the last-known
newspaper announcement of Cale’s assuming any office.

During the next couple of years, the reported information was that Cale flitted in and out
of Elizabeth City. Whereas his family apparently stayed in town for the most part, Hugh seems
to have spent much of his time in Washington, D. C.

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4 The late Reverend Dr. R. Irving Boone informed the writer (October 31, 1966) that manuscript Masonic
records listed 114 "past masters" of the Elizabeth City Lodge. Cale was not included. Mr. Boone felt it was possible
that Cale's name could be one of five illegible entries. He did find Cale listed as a member of the Lodge in 1903
(citing pp. 4-5, 69, of the appropriate Minute Book). Dr. Boone was very active in North Carolina Masonic affairs
and was editor of the Masonic Journal.
The *North Carolinian* for November 9, 1900, indicated Mrs. Fannie Cale as convalescent; she had been "quite ill" at her South Road Street residence. Cale himself left for Washington "last week," the December 7 issue reported. It did not record his return to Elizabeth City, but he had been in town during the 1899 Christmas Season. It was not a 'happy holiday' for Mr. and Mrs. Cale.

"Our Colored People" reported Cale on a trip to Gates County (North Carolina) and to Greensboro, "last week" (issue for January 11, 1900). By March 1, 1900, Elizabeth, the wife of James Rooks, had passed on. She was the mother-in-law of Elizabeth (Cale) Rooks. Cale may have attended to family matters on these trips and also taken a look at the Greensboro school, which by then, may well have become close to him - as well as the Elizabeth City Normal School.

"The Colored Column," as that feature now called itself (on March 21, 1901) after several months' absence from John's journal, reported "Mr. Hugh Cole" at home from Washington "to spend a few days." On April 4, 1901, the news was that Mrs. Cale's school was among those closing "within the week." More noticeable was the fact that, although the local State Normal School observed its 10th Commencement with resultant write-ups in the *North Carolinian* (including a page-two piece on June 13, 1901, by "White Visitor"), no mention of Hugh Cale appeared in the news columns in connection with that event.

Announcement came on August 8, 1901 that "Mr. Hugh Cole spent a few days at home this week from Washington City." On August 15, the advice was that "Mr. Hugh Cole" returned

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5 The rarely seen 1902 City Directory gives the address for Mrs. Cale and daughter Nellie, as "281 Road" (p. 101).

6 *Rooks-Lane Genealogy.*
to Washington "after a few days spent here." It was the third time in 1901 that Cale's surname was mis-spelled in the local Republican journal - such error extremely rare throughout twenty-five years of reporting his actions. Things had changed.

Another index of changing times was the Carolinian's October 10 report that Whitmel Lane - "one of our oldest and best known citizens" - was funeradized from his residence at 10:00 a.m., Saturday, October 5, 1901, the prominent Reverend Luke Pierce officiating. A month or so later, Cale could learn this sad news if he did not already know it: "Mr. Hugh Cale is at home for a short while from Washington," the colored column advised on November 14, 1901. It was Cale's last appearance in "The Colored Column."

Amid these last appearances, there were some new arrivals. Sometime toward the end of 1901, The East Carolina Publishing Company (of Elizabeth City), Walter L. Cohoon, president, began producing the Elizabeth City Tar Heel - listing offices in the "Brown Building, corner Main and Water streets." This newspaper, Democratic, emphatic, made up in editorial opinion (which splashed into "news" columns) for assorted curiosities in orthography, in dating itself, and in contrasts as to which Negroes it highlighted - how and when.

As an example of dating, the September 20, "1902" edition featured local gestures upon the death of President McKinley, who succumbed in September, 1901. For these observances, the Tar Heel said, "Every Color, Class and Condition Represented - Partison [sic]

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7 See also Appendix 1, "Connections...," pp. ___-___.

8 By June, 1908, it was produced by the "Tar Heel Publishing Company."
Prejudice Forgot - Eloquent and impressive Speeches." There was a mass meeting which formed a resolutions committee whose personnel included Palemon John and among others, W. M. Hinton, J. Heywood Sawyer, J. Bushrod Leigh, J. Paul Spence, and the Reverend P. W. Melick. (Mr. Spence subsequently was elected superintendent of New Bern graded schools.)

The Tar Heel correctly listed Dr. John in this instance. Unaccountably, however, the newspaper was silent some six months later, March, 1902, when John made his final earthly transition. Meanwhile, the newspaper gave copiously of its flavor.

Its January, 1902 editions cited Senator Furnifold M. Simmons’s bill for a memorial commemorating Virginia Dare. It cited sale to Jesse R. Brown of some of Whitmel Lane’s property as well as property transfer by Dr. John to Mira T. Jenkins (his daughter). Also featured was a Booker T. Washington slam ("Booker is not sincere in his professions. He preaches one thing and practices another"); nor omitted was H. T. Greenleaf’s report in reference to the Cropsey murder case. In March, there was Tar Heel praise for publication of R. B. Creecy’s Grandfather’s Tales and comment on a certain vote potential: "Lo, the poor illiterate negro, this year notes his passing from the broad arena of political activity and all to his good" (sic, punctuation).

Among many who had spoken and written of the imminence of this political fact, one had become silent: Palemon John died at his Shepard Street residence on Wednesday, March 12, 1902, at 12:20 a.m. The staunch Republican editor, born in 1828, had varied characteristics: a physician, 32nd-degree Mason, Quaker, holder of many local civic offices of importance, and former chairman of the State Normal School’s Board of Managers (trustees). He was a champion
of that School particularly and education generally. He was normally sympathetic to aspirations of Negroes but sometimes reflected confusion on their 'proper' role.

Dr. John was buried in the local Episcopal Cemetery on March 13, following an afternoon service at his residence. He was 74 years and 4 months, his newspaper said. State Normal School Board-member E. F. Lamb, and I. M. Meekins, were among his pallbearers. So reported the black-bordered March 13, 1902 North Carolinian, appearing two days late because of its founder's death. (His wife, Hannah Bailey John - deceased at age 54, and sister, Dora Augusta John - deceased at age 20 - share his resting area.\(^9\))

Palemon John's demise must have caused a flood of memories for Hugh Cale. One way or another, they had been associates for more than thirty years. It would not have been surprising should evidences of emotion have escaped him as once again, but in more vivid fashion this time, Cale could note doors of an era being slammed shut.

The "Colored Column" made no mention of John's death but did include the demise of two Negroes and reported P. W. Moore convalescing from an illness. That column appeared no more in the North Carolinian\(^{10}\) and except for a local group's resolution for the editor, printed in the March 27 Carolinian, Palemon John himself appeared no more in his newspaper's

\(^9\) Spence Tombstones, cites Dr. John at p. 174.

\(^{10}\) A column naturally needed a vehicle for publication. Changed editorship could deny such a vehicle - reflective of changed viewpoints on eligible types of news. There still was no dearth of socio-political talent to be reported but this was not the kind of news about Negroes which was desired; cuttings, drunkenness, and other such diversions fitted better the present political (and social) purposes. Thus, Allen Walter White of Elizabeth City, in 1901 an "energetic agent" for the Colored American Magazine (published in Boston), was not eligible copy even if (according to that publication) he was "appointed reporter for the Eastern Herald, a paper which was published in Edenton, N. C." (Colored American Magazine, III-1 [May, 1901], p. 75, his photo, p. 61; copy in the Elisha Overton Papers, Elizabeth City State University Archives). This periodical should not be confused with The Colored American (Augusta Georgia, September 1865 - February 1866) described in Penn. Afro Press, pp. [100]-104, and by him designated "the first [black] paper published in the South" (p. [101]).
columns. In addition, no notice of John’s death appeared, for example, in available issues of the *Tar Heel*. Otherwise, the acute urgency of Republican politics - then near desperation - apparently left no time to extol fallen stalwarts, even in the stalwart’s own paper. The 1902 election was gearing up.

Last appearances continued. The November 28, 1901 *North Carolinian* had reported that John H. M. Butler received a teaching appointment in the Philippines. Editions for January 2 and January 9, 1902, related that Mr. Butler married Miss Fannie O. Newby, Tuesday (December 21, 1901?), at Mt. Lebanon Church, the Reverend (Bishop) James Walker Hood being officiant for the 1:20 p.m. ceremony. The February 20, 1902 issue announced that Butler was to sail for the Philippines from New York on Saturday, February 22. His departure should have brought joy to a certain James H. Woodward, "M.D., E.M." Dr. Woodward, in 1900, described sweat glands in the "skin of the colored race" in some detail. He alleged that the "Creator ... so organized" the subject skin "that he is designed" for a tropical climate. Further, the said race "can subsist on a poorer quality of food" than whites. Therefore, the "colored people of the South" should migrate to the Philippines, thus living "in harmony with natural and Divine law" - complete, of course, with federally-sponsored "civilizing influences" (e.g., mining, manufacturing, the ballot).  

11 Somehow, history neglected describing Butler’s sweat glands and dietary habits; it did not neglect to record ambivalent feelings of Filipinos towards the U.S. federal government. Whatever the case, the State Normal’s first reported teacher exited to greener pastures. Meanwhile, 1902 was still an election year.

11 James H. Woodward, *What Shall We Do With the Philippine Islands? This Problem Solved* (Seward, Nebraska, 1900), respectively, pp. 3, 5, 4 (italics as in source).
For some reason, former Representative Cale received prominent coverage during the pre-balloting period of 1902. In contrast, he could have been non-existent during the 1900 election fever, if the local press was any gauge. Perhaps local knowledge of a 1902 move for a "Negro Republican Party," centered in Raleigh, may have focussed attention on Pasquotank's best known Negro Republican - though no evidence was found that Cale was a part of this movement. Whatever the reason, it was the vehemently partisan Tar Heel (Democratic) which not only featured Cale during the 1902 fracas, but also gave civil - even warm and respectful - coverage to other local Negroes during the same period. The Tar Heel thus seemed to have trouble determining its true posture towards Negroes.

Meanwhile, the Tar Heel gave notices of local comings and goings, including announcement that J. B. Blades' automobile "Creates Awe and Wonder Among the Natives" (July 11, 1902 edition). Sad news and respectful notice came with the death of the Reverend P. W. Melick (April 4, 1902 issue), and with an obituary for T. A. Commander (April 25). The State Normal's 11th Commencement was reported, and below that article appeared an item, "Three Negroes to Hang" (June 6). The newspaper told now "Inez," the fire engine, helped win first and second tournament prizes in Raleigh for Elizabeth City Fire Company Number 1 (July 25 edition), her "guttural throbblings" being joined by "Betsey," acquired for $2,250.00 (August 29 issue). After notice (August 21, 1902) that J. Bushrod Leigh and P. H. Williams were now the law of Williams & Leigh, the real noise got going.\(^\text{13}\)

\(^{12}\) Joseph F. Steelman. Republican Party Politics in North Carolina, 1902 ... (Greenville, NC, 1966) discusses the development, pp. 134-139. "It was unlikely that Negroes would submit tamely to exclusion from the Republican party hierarchy in North Carolina" (ibid., p. 136).

\(^{13}\) Other activities also made for individual pride, though not necessarily reported in the local press. For example, Elisha Overton received $2.00 for being a grand juror, April 22, 1902, U. S. District Court for the Eastern District of North Carolina. (From Minute Docket A, p. 94; located in the Federal Records Center of the National Archives and Records Service, East Point, Georgia. The writer thanks Mr. Edward Weldon and his associates for providing access to this record.)
The September 5, 1902 edition praised P. W. Moore and his State Normal School but also included a piece, "White Supremacy Ever." This article quoted "Hon. Geo. W. Ward" in his Currituck Courthouse speech. Excerpts: "... the black man is inherently disqualified for self government until he has been educated and trained." "I want to say to you negroes here today ..., you let politics alone. You are not fitted for governing. You have not got sense enough to vote...." The Tar Heel felt that Mr. Ward's comments had merit. "The white man was created to rule," the newspaper said. "The white man was created the superior of the black ..."; and so forth.\textsuperscript{14}

Considering such sentiments, a long and not uncomplimentary article on John H. M. Butler in the Philippines (September 26, 1902 edition) was somewhat surprising. Meanwhile, though election time grew near, other items were non-inflamatory. The October 3 edition reported Emile Zola's death; that a druggist warned against serving "Coke" to boys; that the Wright Brothers were making a "Flying Machine"; and that W. O. Saunders quit being the Tar Heel's city and news editor for a job with Stieff Piano Company, while E. S. Chessen announces a "fine line" for men's clothing. The Tar Heel would hear from Mr. Saunders again.

With October 10, 1902, came a return to matters of great import, if one would thus characterize the forthcoming election. Page one presented a two-column-wide "poem" with "realistic lines ... contributed by Elizabeth City's poet laureate." Entitled, "The Convention," it satirized the Republican "Convention which met Wednesday." With eleven stanzas, the first three had this to say.\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{14} See Appendix 2, pp. 466-467, for complete text. The October 22, 1909 Tar Heel had a page-one, two-column picture of Judge Ward in advertising the Albemarle Fair of which he was secretary for several terms.

\textsuperscript{15} See Appendix 2, pp. 468-469, for complete text.
Good mornin' Mister Cale, has yer hearn de lates in our town
Why sur it surprised me so, it almos nocked me down.
They do say that them ar lilly whites, that you has hearn about
Has met in ole Paskertank and us cullered folkes jes lef out.

Well sar the day in our County, I did never spec to see
When a publican convenshun, culd meet widout you and me.
Why Mister Jones what I hears you say, shorely cannot be so---
Fur our convenshun wuld not convene, widout lettin' me kno.

Rong you is right that Mister Cale and I can see yore suprise,
When I ses them lilly whites done meet and swiped in all de pies.
No notis wus ever posted, nor did they e'en ring the bell,
But a few of them jes kinder met 'round that ole kivered well.

Below this gentle gem (containing a speech characteristic still heard in Pasquotank - e.g.,
"convene," for "convene"), there appeared the tragic news that W. Henry Munden was killed in
a cotton gin. There was also a somewhat objective news item on that aforementioned Republican
convention. Headlined, "THE LILLY WHITES MEET. / The Republicans Name a County /
Ticket.," the Tar Heel reported the conclave as a "sudden affair" with "not more than a handful
and how different was the scene from the Republican conventions formerly held in this county."
The newspaper commented that the absence of the "Negro" (sic, capitalization) was
"conspicuous"; that the meeting was a "lilly white affair indeed." "Not even were the Hons, [sic]
Hugh Cale and Prince Albert Hinton there." The report said that Mr. I. M. Meekins called the
session to order. Results of a "few men nominating themselves for positions at the would-be-pie
counter" were: for sheriff, J. Q. A. Wood;\textsuperscript{16} register of deeds, John S. Morris; clerk of court,
B. F. Spence; treasurer, John F. Davis; member of the State House, I. M. Meekins; coroner, W.
C. Brooks, Sr; surveyor, W. G. Pritchard. The convention endorsed Theodore Roosevelt and

\textsuperscript{16} The October 22, 1909 Tar Heel, among other issues, carried a photo of Mr. Wood.
Jeter C. Pritchard; disliked the county government system; and wanted magistrates, county commissioners, and superintendent elected by the people. Mr. Meekins challenged W. M. Hinton, Democratic candidate who subsequently won, "to a joint discussion through the county." The same edition of the *Tar Heel*, reporting the convention and printing the "poem," included favorable notice for State Normal School Principal P. W. Moore.

Announcements two weeks later were surprising, considering the tone of October 10. The *Tar Heel* in its October 24, 1902 edition praised Elisha Overton on page 8: ". . . in every respect a most worthy citizen and if the members of his race would but emulate his example we would have no great stir about 'the negro problem.' It would settle itself" (*sic*, punctuation). It printed a letter from John H. M. Butler on page two ("Pasquotank Negro Writes to a White Man")—minus snide commentary of any sort. On page five was an interview headlined, "THE VOICE OF CALE. / The Negro Statesman / Gives His Views. / Says The Lilly Whites Are Playing a / Deep Game. Sounds a Warning to the Southland."

This interview, the single known extensive political statement alleged to have come from Cale, is reproduced *in toto*, typographical errors included. At 1902, the interview could be considered a summation of the Gentleman's political stance and it also provided some information about the Gentleman himself:

Way up on South Road street, in the very heart of the city's dark-town, one sees over a typical negro grocery: a sign which reads

HUGH CALE
DEALER - IN - GROCERIES

There is nothing impressive in the sign save the name. There are but few who have not heard that name before but not many can connect it with it's (*sic*) present location.

Hugh Cale is a negro of about sixty three years of age. He once served the city as treasurer for six years.
In 1879 he was elected to the legislature by Republican vote, and there served his party for four terms - eight years.

Cale once cut a figure - so to speak - in politics; but with the failing of Cobb & Guirkins bank he lost his little fortune and soon dwindled into insignificance. It was to get his opinion of the Lilly White Republicans that the Tar Heel reporter visited him last Monday morning [October 20].

Coming from behind his counter the venerable negro politely received his visitor and when asked to what did he attribute [sic] the foundation of the ‘Lilly Whites’ he said

"I have seriously considered the subject and talked with big men of the country. The opinion I shall give you is not entirely original with me. I am speaking from what I have seen and heard and from my knowledge of the position of the North towards the South.

"This is simply a move upon the part of the North to rule the country. Their intention is to cut down the electoral vote in the South and thus lessen the South’s representation in congress. By lessening our representation in the house they have taken a long step towards promoting their greedy end.

"Another thing: Yankee syndicates are migrating southern negroes to New Jersey and New York. By populating these states with negroes the Republican party hopes to eventually rule the country. By cutting down the electoral vote in the South and building it up in the North, this end will sooner or later be accomplished and I predict that the Republican party will be in power for forty years to come.

"That is some of what Chauncey’s M. Depew’s [sic] opinion and Chauncey’s opinion carries weight. When he rises to give voice, a nation trembles. 17

Well Mr. Cale, what will become of the negro vote? "It will be a floating vote. We cannot consistently vote a Democratic ticket and it would be ridiculous [sic] for us to cast our ballot for those who shut the doors of their conventions in our face and refuse us a voice in the matter of who shall govern us. There is not thought of an independent ticket. It would be useless. Some may vote with the Democrats: some with the Republicans: but many will cast no vote at all.

With a voice that betrayed emotion the venerable statesman continued:

17 Some opinions by Chauncey Mitchell Depew (1834-1928) are in his Four Days at the National Republican Convention, St. Louis, June, 1896, and other political occasions. Speeches and addresses of Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, LLd (New York?, 1898). Sample: citing the Declaration of Independence in a June 1896 speech to aid the Soldiers Home of Missouri, he said that, for 75 years, the "American people explained and blushed and blushed to explain this anomaly between the declarations and the practice of their charter of liberty" (p. 29).
"The negro is now practically out of politics, but it won’t last long. He is destined to become a mighty factor in politics and only a few years will see both parties bidding for his vote. Something unforeseen may yet transpire to shift the entire negro ballot with the Democratic party and such changes wrought in the country’s politics as to cause the world to stand amazed. The future is impenetrable, but were the dark curtains rolled away you would see wherein I am partly in the right."

This concluded our interview.

The reporter may or may not have implied a smirk in his article; may or may not have hinted that Cale’s prophecy was wishful thinking or incipient senility; may or may not have upgraded his language style. While the future would indeed prove who was correct, the general tone, meanwhile, was in contrast to many other *Tar Heel* notices of Negroes. The interview provided sound political analysis.

The *Tar Heel* later advised of voting potential. On October 31, 1902, it reported eighteen registered Negroes in Camden County and ninety-five in Perquimans County (page one). The same edition also reported that "MEEKINS SPOKE" (page 8): "Hon. I. M. Meekins, the Republican nominee for the legislature spoke at the Academy of Music Monday evening. He was greeted with a large audience in which democrats were conspicuous - whether he succeeded in converting any of the latter is not known. His speech was a brilliant piece of rhetoric: abounding wit, humor, and pathos." The *Tar Heel* continued: "It lacked much of being a ‘lily white’ [sic] gathering. Hugh Cale and a hundred of his followers filed into the balcony and Ikey’s discourse was frequently interrupted with ‘yah! dat’s right’ boss’ [sic] and a score of other Nubian expressions of satisfaction and assent."

The news on November 7, 1902, was about as expected. The *Tar Heel* gave a page-one picture of the new fire engine, "Betsey," and praised J. C. Spence, elected register of deeds and reported as the only winning Republican. A Republican win might have been unexpected; the
expected news would be that none won. "We can but proclaim it a 'survival of the fittest'," the
*Tar Heel* with justification said of Mr. Spence's election. Ultimately, however, the statement
would be applicable to both political camps.

On November 13, 1902, the *North Carolinian*’s new editor, R. P. Jenkins (John’s son-in-
law?), took a swat at a Republican: "Even the much quoted Cale voted the Democratic ticket."
Considering developments in the Republican enclave during the past few years, notably including
actions by Senator Pritchard, the appropriate rhetoric perhaps should have been: Who was
disloyal? Cale or his party? Whatever the answer, Jenkins’ comment represented Cale’s final
appearance in John’s journal. The times were much different.

It would soothe no local Republican in 1902, but J. S. Tomlinson’s report back in 1885
was still appropriate commentary on such balloting. Mr. Tomlinson wrote that Cale "is
conscientious in his views, and when convinced that his party is advocating the wrong measure
he votes with the Democrats." From a depleted complement of Republican politicos, seventeen
years later, this statement would probably evoke only sulphurous rejoinders, even if the same
politicos may not have publicly solicited the Negro vote. It nonetheless was a reason why T.
S. Cooper could say, some sixty years later, that Cale could and would stand "flatfooted." Cale
did so even if such stance was neither politic, expedient or necessarily conducive to good health.

Analysis, latter-day and contemporary, was quite nice but added no points to Cale’s
political stock at the time. Nor could he and his colleagues (such as were left and might deign
to align themselves thus) look much longer to a Republican organ for comfort or as a potential
partner on definition of racial issues. Aside from political re-alignment, another reason was that
the journal itself, so long a chronicler of Cale’s activities and those of hundreds of others, began

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18 Tomlinson (1885), p. 39.
looking beyond the limits of Elizabeth City. In addition, the newspaper’s journalistic eclat seemed to have declined rapidly in the first years of the new century.

Meanwhile, the Tar Heel, in one of its rare news items of the sort, reported on December 12, 1902, "Hugh Cale went to Washington Monday. It is his attention [sic] to secure a position there." The newspaper may have hoped he would stay gone.

Then, a year after Cale’s last-known appearance in the columns of the North Carolinian, that newspaper made its own exit. On November 19, 1903, the North Carolinian, now edited by Thomas C. Babb (after a not well-complimented stint by Roscoe Conkling Mitchell), greeted subscribers in its new locale, Hertford, Perquimans County, North Carolina.

It was the end of a newspaper’s Elizabeth City sojourn; it was not the end for a gentleman who had made so much good copy for the journal. Hugh Cale, in fact, lasted longer than Pasquotank Republicanism, late-nineteenth-century style.

An intended compliment accrued to this veteran Republican who voted Democratic in 1902, among other instances. On January 2, 1903, the Tar Heel devoted most of an anonymous page-one column to praising Negroes of the area who celebrated the "40th Anniversary of Issuance of Emancipation Proclamation..." The piece closed thus:

There was no taint of bitterness, race prejudice or animosity displayed in the exercises. Only friendliness to the whites was displayed: A position upon their [i.e., the Negroes'] part that has been brought by such factors in this community as P. W. Moore, Elisha Overton, Hugh Cale and others, of the race, whom the writer could name.

Whether some latter-day analysts would call these Negroes’ actions Uncle Tomism was another question - and, perhaps, an inappropriate or irrelevant question, given the existing situation. Considering the times, a white southern (or northern) journal, Republican or otherwise, could have been, and often was, much worse.
Mr. Overton, for instance, could appreciate the *Tar Heel's* January 2 backpatting; he would hardly be happy with its January 9 (and February 13) legal notices that a descendant of the late Whitmel Lane was contesting Mr. Lane's will, Overton and others being among defendants. Improved news (for some) was a page-one picture of and comforting article about Senator Jeter C. Pritchard (February 6, 1903; enjoying Democratic 'love and charity' nowadays). Meanwhile, many regretted the resignation from the First Baptist Church pulpit of the Reverend Calvin S. Blackwell (reported in the February 13, 1903 edition). Sorrowful news appeared February 20, with a long page-one obituary by Attorney Daniel Webster Perkins (State Normal School '97)\(^1\) citing the death and career of Jesse R. Brown. The *Tar Heel* labelled this article, "Death of a Prominent Colored Man." Perkins reported that Mr. Brown had died "very suddenly Thursday P.M., Jan. 26. '03 at his residence on Church Street." (Possibly the now-existing Brown Street in Elizabeth City was named for him.) This count brought to three, the most recent toll of Cale's immediate colleagues (and sometime adversaries) in the Republican column - Whitmel Lane, Palemon John, and now Jesse R. Brown.

Mixed with this was other copy - depressing or diverting depending upon the reader's viewpoint. Although, on page three, the same February 20 *Tar Heel* edition lauded P. W. Moore's work and his trip to the 12th annual session of the "great Negro Educational Conference at Prof [sic] Booker T. Washington's celebrated school" (Tuskegee Institute - now "University" - in Alabama), page four thereof editorialized, "And to think, Uncle Sam footed the bills of those receptions which Teddy [Roosevelt] tendered his bosom friend, Booker T." Furthermore, directly beneath the conclusion of praise for Principal Moore, appeared a poem (or facsimile thereof)

\(^1\) A certain D. W. Perkins was a commissioner of court for a real estate sale (Elizabeth City *Tar Heel*, July 12, 1907).
from the Raleigh News & Observer, entitled, "Negroes in the White House (Six Months Hence)."

Anyone who had missed getting the socio-political message heretofore, could hardly escape understanding the present sentiments. Samples of the 14-stanza "poem":

Things at the White House
Looking might[y] curious;
Niggers running everything,
White people furious.

. . . . . .

Niggers in the front yard,
Niggers in the back.
Niggers come in omnibus,
And niggers come in hacks.

. . . . . .

There is trouble in the White House,
More than you can tell,
Yelling like wild men
Niggers raising hell.

. . . . . .

Various persons in America long ago had proven their knack for incendiary verbiage. In the 18th century, there was a poetaster who characterized the Roman Catholic Church as a lady of ill fame. In the 19th century, another rhymester - hoping to topple the Virginian from the United States presidency - had fun with the still unsettled linkage of Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings. The 20th century was not to be outdone by predecessors.

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20 See Appendix 2, pp. 470-471 for the full text. The Tar Heel did not have to rely on quoting for use of "nigger"; it was an "Edenton nigger" who killed another Negro, later on (issue of July 26, 1907, p. 1).

21 Speculations/assertions about Sally, generally described as "beauteous," and the legendary President have moved from restrained paragraphs in histories, to a 1974 book, to a pre-production effort to halt the movie, Jefferson in Paris (he took Sally with him). The film itself - an "unsubstantiated tale" (Norfolk Virginia-Pilot, September 4, 1994), is a "beautiful yawner" and Sally an "infamous teen-age slave," according to its reviewer (ibid., April 23, 1995, p. E9). However the film is "Extraordinary," "Terrific" and "Lavish," according to its ad (loc. cit.).
The *Tar Heel* (page four) editorialized on Presidential matters: "So Roosevelt would eat with negroes would he? Well after all it was a negro regiment that did the work for which Roosevelt's Rough-Riders got most of the credit. Why shouldn't the President be grateful to the darkey?" On March 6, 1903, the *Tar Heel* accused the President of "stupid lack of discretion ... regarding the negro question...." (By October 25, 1907, the paper was giving a page-one photograph and notice of Mr. Roosevelt's returning from a Louisiana hunting trip.)

To make sure all fronts were properly covered, furthermore, the newspaper on Friday, March 20, 1903 (although the same page dated itself Friday, "April 3, 1900"), handled educational matters. Asking, "Should the Darkey be Educated?," it concluded that he should be provided he was given the proper kind. "The Professors of the State Normal School here," it said, "and the ministers of the gospel" had the right idea with their "habit of touching their hats to white men, and otherwise displaying actual refinement, in address and manners." A local, prospective Negro editor also had the right idea: "He assures us that his paper is non-political...." "In the matter of education we are in sympathy with the darkey, and we greatly prefer intelligent colored men to ignorant superstitious [sic] creatures, who are a daily menace to the peace and dignity of any commonwealth."

On March 13, the *Tar Heel* advertised the current "Grand Opening" of the Rucker and Sheely store (at "Weisel's Old Stand" - corner of Main and Water streets) and on page 8, reported the Atlantic Collegiate Institute as a site for a program by the Gaston Literary Society, which included "a negro sermon" (quite probably a minstrel piece). Whereas the March 20 edition had a 1 1/2-column, page-one letter from John H. M. Butler\(^\text{22}\) and reported (page 4) that

\(^{22}\) Another letter from Butler, two columns, appeared in a May, 1903 edition (date not legible) and still another in the edition of July 3 (p. 7). In between, there were notices of a State Normal School closing exercise (June 5) and for the Colored State Teachers Association (June 19) followed by picture and praise of Peter W. Moore (July 17) with still more praise for him, in a year-end piece (December 15, 1903).
A. Conan Doyle would get $1 per word for a "new serial" story - proving that Sherlock Holmes was not lost to the locale, there was also a blast for "Marcus" Hannah's proposed pension for ex-slaves. The March 27, 1903 edition reported (apparently without intending a pun?), "Elizabeth City is to have a negro organ. We have no objection to a colored journal, provided the output is not yellow." The advice was worth heeding by all Elizabeth City journalists. And so it went.

It may have been the Winter of 1902-1903, but if journalistic invective was usable for heating homes, perhaps all Pasquotank's citizens needed was a newspaper in each room. Much later (March 26, 1909), the *Tar Heel* would print a subscriber's praise of it ("one of the nicest and cleanest weeklies"). Still later (August 20, 1909), the newspaper would editorialize at its eighth anniversary: it had been "clean and uncontaminated by vile language or suggestions[,] that every member of the home might read its pages without fear of being made to blush with shame."

Meanwhile, during 1902-1903 as later on, whoever the planter - the South, some Negroes, some journalists, some political aspirants - certain seeds were being sown. Murder, riot, and flames, the resultant crop, soon would be harvested; those terrible seeds would still sprout at mid-20th century. Mr. Cale could join others in deploiring the awful harvest; he also could have predicted such a harvest. Those were the times however, and pending better times, rugged indeed were and would be, certain winters for Republicans - and for others, too.
CHAPTER 26: "FEW COMFORTS AND NO LUXURIES"

As always, life mixed the sun and shadows. In the first decade of the twentieth century, perhaps there were more shadows than sun for the Honorable Hugh Cale.

1904 presented an example: Hugh and Fannie Cale in that year officially agreed to approach life by individual paths.¹ The Gentleman from Pasquotank, now nearing age 70, apparently would face the future alone. Diminishment of financial solidarity also came to Cale during the first years of the new century. Some indices were certain deed transactions:² during the last two decades of his life, there appeared to be more concern by Cale for continued solvency than enlargement of capital resources. An example was the deed of October 8, 1904, whereby Cale put up a lot fronting 50 feet on Road Street and valued at $400, as collateral for $300, involving fire insurance. Trustee in the transaction was J. B. Leigh³ - the same person as Cale’s opponent in the 1898 legislative race, and later, Treasurer of the State Normal’s Trustees.

Other items of dollars and cents were not surprising under existing circumstances. When contributions to the State Normal ranged from 25 cents to 25 dollars, Cale’s donation was one dollar towards "buying a site and erecting a building for the Colored Normal School at Elizabeth City" (1905-1906). The following year, he contributed ten cents to the same cause. In 1909-1910, the school year preceding Cale’s death, Principal Moore - carefully continuing to deflate potential controversy and provide permanent recognition for all supporters - recorded one dollar received from "Hon." Hugh Cale.⁴ Cale’s contributions were not radically out of line with

¹ The second Mrs. Cale became Mrs. James Monroe Coppage. She now rests in Oak Grove Cemetery (Elizabeth City). The dates on her marker are May 31, 1865 - July 8, 1914.

² See also above, p. 76.

³ Deed Record 28, pp. 50-51, Office of the Register of Deeds, Pasquotank County. The deed was cancelled, August 3, 1908.

⁴ From the institution’s Catalogues (1905-1906, p. 22; 1906-1907, p. 12; 1909-1910, p. 22).
prevailing donations; the important point was that he gave - even in greatly reduced circumstances. Nonetheless, the current financial picture contrasted starkly with $12,000 credited to Cale in 1879 and ability to help insure $50,000 worth of performance in 1881, or as Robert C. Kenzer said of him (June 14, 1994 correspondence), "when he had between $2,500 and 3,000 [sic] in property ... Cale was ranked either first or second in total wealth among blacks in the county."

Whatever his resources, Cale kept up his financial support of institutions close to his interests. In fact, in addition to his 'widow's mite' to his school, he made the 1902 "Roll of Honor - Mt. Lebanon Station" for being among church members who "paid one dollar each" during an A. M. E. Zion fund-raising drive, with identical recognition again, in 1907. Even on January 10, 1909, he gave what he probably could - 25 cents (the average contribution) credited to "H. Cale" for that day's Church collection. On February 7, 1909, the former Treasurer of Mt. Lebanon found it possible to give 50 cents; his Church was trying to build a new edifice, something he would surely like to see. But dedication of the new structure took place the 4th Sunday in November, 1910, i.e., November 27. By then, Cale was dead.

Other phases of living, meanwhile showed the inadvisability of counting Mr. Cale out too early. On February 5, 1905 at age 70 (the certificate said 55) Hugh "Call" married the former Mrs. Mary F. Merrick Barnes ("Barney") in her Wilmington, North Carolina residence. The

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5 C. W. Winfield (comp.), Minutes of the 37th Session of the Virginia Annual Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, ... November 26th, 1902 (Petersburg, Va.: Kirkham & Co., 1902), p. 49; and Winfield's compilation of the Minutes for December 4th to 9th, 1907 (Petersburg, Va.: Frank A. Owen, 1907), p. 23. (Elisha Overton Papers, Elizabeth City State University Archives.)

6 Pages [2, 27], manuscript Account Book related to the Church, entitled Jan. 1909 & Feb. 1909 (Elisha Overton Papers, Elizabeth City State University Archives). Roosevelt R. Wright Sr. (correspondence of March 10, 1994) indicated that, "[a]ccording to church records," Cale held the Treasurer's office "in the 1800's." Cale is included in a Memorial Tablet within the Church.
Reverend "H." Bell, an A. M. E. Zion minister, was officiant and "David G." and Alice Peeder, witnesses. Unfortunately, the new combination of Mr. and Mrs. Cale came to experience acute divergencies of opinion in late 1909, and his death dissolved what was left of the union.

In the meantime, as important as were a companion and dollars, the biggest factor other than these would appear to have been politics - the body politic, of course, being a mainstay of Cale's life. But, by the mid-point of this century's first decade, Negroes were just about plowed under politically. Yet, if he could not now be directly in the political swirl, he certainly continued to be of it.

A couple of dubious compliments showed that Cale became a local political legend within his own lifetime. One of these, was the aforementioned grump (p. 410 above) of Editor Jenkins. The other statement came from Editor W. O. (for William Oscar) Saunders of the Elizabeth City Independent.

Mr. Saunders, late in 1908, was again dipping a pen in his vat of debunking ink; he would deflate certain politicians. These politicians meanwhile favored outspoken Editor Saunders with one of the earliest and perhaps most bitter in a series of plain and fancy libel suits. Saunders' current objects of editorial wrath were local and District promontories of the Democratic camp,

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7 Data from page 30-H, Marriage Register New Hanover County (North Carolina), Office of the Register of Deeds, Wilmington; also to be found on Reel 251: New Hanover Marriage Register, Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

8 Mrs. Mary Barnes Cale was born in 1868, according to the License (Office of the New Hanover Register of Deeds, Wilmington), the daughter of Phillis Merrick. Her son, Willie H. Barnes of Washington, D. C., expressed interest in the institution for which Cale was responsible, and of which he is an alumnus. Mr. Barnes (born 1893) was a 2nd-Year High School student there (1906-1907), finished the institution's "Normal" course in 1910, and in 1912, when he completed the "Academic" course, was a teacher in Elizabeth City as he was in 1916. He was a Howard University student, ca. 1928 (citations from the school's Catalogues, 1906-1907, 1909-1910, 1912-1913, 1915-1916, 1927-1928). In a May 14, 1970 letter, Mr. Barnes spoke of "my stepfather ... the late Hugh Cale[,] a legislator and founder of the school" and offered a contribution to be given to a student in music or dramatics. (Excerpted by permission of the letter's recipient, Mr. Jeff E. Smith, '41, Registrar at the time.)
Messrs. E. F. Aydlett, Walter L. Cohoon (once Saunders' employer), and Mac Sawyer. Mr. Saunders blasted at those who would have his *Independent* defunct, and its editor out of commission (the way Saunders saw it). The blast included: "And it will be argued that *The Independent* has kicked up a continual row in the community for fifteen months. And that is true, and ... *The Independent*'s brand of row has done more for the taxpayers of this section than all the officeholders from Hugh Cale to Mac Sawyer."\(^9\) Whether either gentleman, Mr. Cale or Mr. Sawyer, preferred such conjoining is moot (all parties were viable at the time). Not doubtful was the fact that both - but especially Cale - had made strong impact upon local politics. The question concerning which camp, Democrat or Republican, did more for the citizens could be solved later on.

Future State Representative and local State Normal School Board Chairman Saunders, would come to have little taste for the Legislature in which he, Cale, and so many others had served. Part of Mr. Saunders' distaste for the Legislature stemmed from a similarity to Cale's views. Essentially humanitarians, both men sought to aid the most forlorn of humans - penitentiary convicts. Cale would have their souls saved by preachers; Saunders, their lives, by abolishing the electric chair. Neither won his cause.

Causes were never in short supply, however. Once such was the continued white supremacy campaign designed among other things to erode the Negro's ego, and not without effect. An Elizabeth City parent whose "unfortunate birth deprived me of being a full-fledged negro" also felt in her 1905 letter-to-the-editor of the *Daily Economist* that "[w]e venture to say

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out of the three or four hundred students attending our State Normal, two or three hundred attending the Roanoke Institute, not one desires a mixed school, or a white professor.\textsuperscript{10} The writer's daughter had been a winner in an 1898 Roanoke Institute recitation contest (\textit{Carolinian}, May 11, 1898).

The well-structured, long-lasting white supremacy campaign had various aspects - one of them, just illustrated. The \textit{Tar Heel}, in 1907, energetically applied another of them: the policy of appropriate titles for whites, but no title (except random "Professor," "Reverend," etc.) for Negroes - certainly not "Mr.," "Miss," or "Mrs." This led more than one black to use first and middle initials. Thus "M. L. Smith" had no gender, much less a given name to be called without title, thereby conveying both insult and location of proper 'place'. And if the black male was still unsure of his proper station, he was "boy" - whatever his age.

A 1908 event showed local Negroes attempting to hold on, despite such campaigns. For this one, 72-year-old Hugh Cale probably lent his name more so than his energy.

The new development was entitled "The Negro Local Christian Educational Congress" (some letterheads left out the "Local" part). "OUR MOTTO - 'God Bless Everybody,'" its literature announced. The Reverend Hueston Howard Wells,\textsuperscript{11} pastor of the Mt. Lebanon A. M.

\textsuperscript{10} Elizabeth City \textit{Daily Economist}, September 20, 1905, p. 2. The journal's September 15 edition had an article ("Real Negro Servility") decrying Bonner Springs, Kansas Negroes who wanted their children in the local white school - which triggered this letter of agreement. Dorothy A. Gay noted that, "[t]rapped between rising white supremacy and disintegrating cohesion within the black community, ... the Negro leader responded with a strategy of accommodation and verbal consent for inequality" (p. 138 of her "Crisis of Identity: The Negro Community in Raleigh, 1890-1900," \textit{North Carolina Historical Review}, 50 [1973]).

\textsuperscript{11} "The Reverend Wells was a man of exceptional talents. He preached and prayed his way into the hearts of the people. He completed and beautified the first floor [of Mt. Lebanon Church] with satisfaction, making it possible for the congregation to worship in that part of the building ..." (Roosevelt R. Wright, Sr., "A History of Mount Lebanon A. M. E. Zion Church, Elizabeth City, North Carolina," \textit{The A. M. E. Zion Quarterly Review}, Vol. 102, No. 3 [July, 1990], p. 31; hereinafter referred to as Wright, "Mount Lebanon History").
E. Zion Church, was president. "Hon. Hugh Cole" was a member of the 17-man Advisory Board which included such local notables as C. F. Graves (an educator), Elisha Overton (church trustee) and the physicians, George Washington Cardwell and Ernest Linwood Hoffler. Other officers included Thomas Settle Cooper, secretary, and Peter Weddick Moore, treasurer.

The energetic Mr. Wells, who had an eye for the dramatic, spared no effort in attempting to attract "3000 people" who are "expected to be here on the opening day" of the big Congress (even though a Minute of the group’s proceedings proposed use of the "basement" of the Church for the crowd). Orations, music, exhortations and refreshments were scheduled for August 25-31, 1908. Accoutrements included correspondence on imprinted stationery. (A letter of July 2, from Mr. Cooper, told a prospective supporter, "we desire your interest and cooperation, indeed we must have it in order to succeed.") Citizens received "NOTICE No. 1," giving aims of the Congress, via eight resolutions passed May 25. Also available were letterhead envelopes (return address, "Box 315" Elizabeth City, N. C.) and handbills ("Look! Look! Look!"), the latter describing the Congress and bearing a large picture of the Reverend Mr. Wells.

On the big day, August 25, conferees were favored with an 8-page "Official Programme" and royal blue badges bearing gold-colored lettering. Page two of the program consisted of a picture of Mr. Wells. Page three gave the theme as "Save The Youth of The Race and Reform the Criminals."

If all persons listed on the program actually participated in it, there was a tremendous assemblage; some 100 speakers were scheduled. The music director listed was Hiram Simmons from Portsmouth, Virginia, a published Negro hymnwriter (e.g., "Around the Great White Throne"). Some half-dozen soloists and possibly impromptu choruses rounded out the musical
contingent in the vocal department. In addition, a "first class brass band will be in attendance to enlighten the occasion ...," a handbill innovatively reported. (The band quite possibly was that of Elisha Overton's Excelsior Hook & Ladder Company, though there was no documentation of such.) In addition, the program listed three dozen ladies as the steering committee for a special session. Speakers would address their efforts and prayers to welcomes, responses, greetings, "Education," "Moral Reform, Industrial [sic] Training" a "General Discussion - by Doctors." The program also listed North Carolina's Governor (1905-1909) Robert B. Glenn; bishops; heads of at least three colleges-to-be (Moore of Elizabeth City, Dudley of A & T, Atkins of Winston-Salem); as well as the mayor of Norfolk, Virginia, ministers of various denominations, Messrs. E. F. Aydlett and I. M. Meekins\(^\text{12}\) of Elizabeth City, C. C. Spaulding of Durham, and the Reverend Dr. Bowling of Norfolk - both of the latter two, widely-known Negroes. "Hon Hugh Cole" was not listed as a speaker. 'Hon. Hugh Cole" may have joined other citizens in feeling the scheduled oratory was entirely sufficient.

All of it, however florid, was for a worthy aim. A handbill announced, "The prime object of this Congress is to establish a permanent reformatory for the criminal youth, and to lessen [crime] among our people." For Negroes, moreover, 'political imprisonment' was probably the case in more than one instance. Resolution 4, resulting from the May 25 meeting, helped explain the need for a reformatory - "there being about thirty thousand of them [youth] now wearing the stripes."\(^\text{13}\) The whole Congress or its idea could be an example of an editorial comment, two

\(^{12}\) Elizabeth City Postmaster Meekins had suffered political embroilment a few months earlier because some did not want him confirmed in the position; his detractors accused him of mishandling funds (Tar Heel, January 17, 1908, p. 1). Vindication of Mr. Meekins came in the March 5, 1909 Tar Heel. The April 22, 1910 edition recorded the sad news of the death of his mother, Mrs. J. C. Meekins Sr.

\(^{13}\) Data for story derived from memorabilia in the Elisha Overton Papers, Elizabeth City State University Archives.
years earlier: "In so many instances, all over the State of North Carolina, the Negro is moving right along, despite the memory of the Wilmington massacre and the opposition of men like Josephus Daniels."14 Later, February 12, 1909, the *Tar Heel* would report local Chamber of Commerce endorsement of chain gangs.

From another viewpoint, some local people at 1908 may or not have remembered how close to the heart of Advisory Board member Cale was the subject of humane treatment of criminals or lesser offenders. Twenty-three years earlier, Representative Cale was a member of the North Carolina House Committee on Penal Institutions. Still earlier, in 1877, Cale’s House Bill 603 desired preachers for prisoners. In a way of speaking then, the 1908 preaching in behalf of convicts could demonstrate that House Bill 603 was an idea which a legislative committee could not kill, after all.

With ears ringing from the Congress, yet more vocal exercises awaited townspeople some two weeks later. This time, Hugh Cale was himself scheduled to add flowery phrases to the occasion, this one also to be at the Mt. Lebanon Church. But first the main attraction should be highlighted (not Mr. Cale in this instance).


Cale was the eleventh participant listed. Thirty-three others were to follow, white and Negro, including T. S. Cooper, P. W. Moore, "the Hon. J. B. Leigh" (Every one knows him to be a great speaker)," and J. Heywood Sawyer, "On behalf of the city Bar." Elisha Overton was still a trustee; the Reverend Mr. Wells, still pastor.

Whether the local press noticed either of these 1908 events could not be determined from evidence available. Speeches, however, certainly did not cease. The Tar Heel (October 9, 1908) registered the fact of election imminence by listing "Hon. A. Pilston Godwin" [sic] among Democratic campaign orators; and reflected prevailing ecological sentiment with an article entitled, "Time to Shoot the Squirrels." It was also time to enjoy a perennial topic: "The Republicans will never get out of the ditch with the negro[,] if you want negro office holders just fish with Republican ballots" - which was the Tar Heel quoting presidential elector J. W. Bailey (of Raleigh) as his assertion to the Bryan and Kitchin Club of Pasquotank (October 15, 1908 edition). Former office-holder Cale, Negro, probably took note; he probably sighed. He had heard all of it often before.

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15 By then, Leigh had been or was board chairman for Elizabeth City Graded Schools (see Tar Heel, July 12, 1907).

16 Derived from handbill in Elisha Overton Papers, Elizabeth City State University Archives. Bishop Smith had visited Mt. Lebanon earlier in the year - the first Sunday of March, 1908. The Star of Zion, March 12, 1908, p. 1, included Smith's praise of Wells and his crediting the Reverend J. Sulla Cooper with starting a "new brick church" to cost $30,000, size 70x120, and to be the "queen church of the Virginia conference." Overton was Trustee Chairman at the time and, as a trustee, was a successor to a number of long-standing names in the Church, notably including one of the original Trustees (1858), Jesse R. Brown (Wright, "Mount Lebanon History," pp. 31 [Overton], 38 [Brown]). Bishop Smith wrote that Mr. Wells was born in Athens, Tennessee, March 10, 1878; was educated in normal schools; served in several South Carolina locations as well as Elizabethtown and Kinston, North Carolina. The Bishop took note of Elisha Overton and Isaac "Lee" [Leigh] as being "rich" and cited educator Claude C. Drew. He gave Elizabeth City's population as 13,000 with 7,000 Negroes, and applauded the "splendid" State Normal School with 400 students, eight teachers and P. W. Moore. He also noted the local "Roanoke College" (Roanoke Institute) with Prof. C. F. Graves as Principal. In the Star of Zion March 10, 1910, p. 1, Wells was writing "Stones from my Sling," reporting that fire destroyed the parsonage library and clothing on the morning of February 8, 1910 ($1,500 loss) and claimed "close" friends did not help but thanked others who did. (The Bishop was born in Fayetteville January 27, 1862, died Friday afternoon, October 14, 1910; and was a Fayetteville Normal grad (now Fayetteville State University), 1878 [Star of Zion, October 27, 1910, p 1].) The Star of Zion (December 22, 1910) reported Mr. Wells suspended from the ministry.
The October 23, 1908 *Tar Heel* gave much coverage of the death of Richard Benbury Creecy, 95, the "Nestor of North Carolina Journalism." He was the "oldest newspaperman in the world." Like the death of Palemon John, six years earlier, Colonel Creecy's demise also could reflect the passing or changing of an era.

The November 6, 1908 *Tar Heel* gave additional evidence of new times; Mr. Creecy probably would have been proud. State Representative-elect Seth M. Morgan, succeeding Representative John Christoph Blucher Ehringhaus (Governor, 1933-1937), won 1,056 votes to 255 for W. H. Keaton, Republican candidate. Congressman-elect John H. Small (of Beaufort County) won 1,042 votes to 311 for I. M. Meekins, Republican candidate. Taft's election was termed the "Defeat of Democracy." The election results and preceding vituperation probably held no surprises for a certain Republican veteran of Pasquotank politics. In addition, a reference to the *Tar Heel*’s May 21, 1909 commemoration of the late Editor Creecy - an item by W. O. Temple - might provide understanding of certain viewpoints. With due regard for some politicians ("alien brood of office holders"), this article recalled the South losing with the sword but in its place taking up a pen - a pen, the article pointed out (for the Colonel’s *Economist*, at any rate) dedicated to white supremacy and absence of ‘Negro rule’. A certain veteran Republican politician could understand this, too, whatever his feelings.

During 1909, Pastor Wells’ Mt. Lebanon Church had small cards known as the "Pastor’s Salary Card." They came in various denominations - for instance, "5 cts." Members of different church "classes" filled in their names, the date, and class number (or it was done for them). Names of Church Stewards appeared on the cards: "C. C. Drew, John Whitehurst, John Billops[,]
John Sutton, H. Cale, A. A. Dudley, A. A. Small." These little cards were perhaps the last instances when the Gentleman from Pasquotank appeared in print as a member of some group responsible for the care of others.

Responsibility and stewardship - perhaps the keystones of the Gentleman's life. That these final public services, at age 74, were in connection with the Gentleman's church, just as years ago in 1879, was of significance. Latterly, responsibility and stewardship weighed heavily. Throughout April 1910, two of Cale's lots joined hundreds of other parcels as being subject to sale for taxes. The Tar Heel advertised the fact. On May 13, it admitted being early in banging Republicans - who would "regain their ill used estate of a few years ago"; on April 29, it had pictured Albemarle Fair President J. Q. A. Wood with approbation. On June 10, it reported from the News & Observer, "Republicans in War to Death." The same edition reported an inspection of the local State Normal School (A & T's 11th Commencement was featured May 20). Was its posture towards Negroes continuing to be a troubling policy question? Or was the policy to operate in generous terms for "good" Negroes, but otherwise for the not-so-good? Who was to decide? On July 15, Solicitor J. C. B. Ehringhaus had a page-one picture as did E. F. Aydlett, "The most hated man by the local Republican bosses."

At this point, one Republican probably could not care less who hated whom. He had long shouldered responsibility; he had long been a steward. He was reported to be in pain, in penury, and alone.

After a "year or two of serious illness," as Mrs. Blanche Burden of Elizabeth City described it some fifty-six years later (he appears to have been sick only rarely during a long and

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17 From Elisha Overton Papers, Elizabeth City State University Archives.
active career), Book A, page 54 of the manuscript Record of Deaths, located in the courthouse built when he was a county commissioner, came to hold certain stark information about Hugh Cale: "Died - July 22, 1910. Age - 75. Color - Black, Male. Negro Race.... E. L. Hoffler, physician." Many decades later, some local citizens said that Cale's death occurred at his 608 South Road Street residence in Elizabeth City; another report was that he was found dead in a closet. Still another report cites a different location for his demise, in a house not far from the 608 address. Either way, Hugh Cale, perhaps a pitiable figure in his last months, was gone.

The Elizabeth City Tar Heel on July 30, 1910, took note of the town's, county's, and state's loss in two ways. On page two, it advertised among other "valuable property" for sale, parcels belonging to Mr. Cale. On page three, it gave a column-long obituary statement by a not-too-anonymous writer, which included a few assertions not borne out in available documents or oral history. (That the same edition also had the premium list for the Albemarle Fair, may have stirred a few citizens' memories of other days, another Fair.)

Although today's readership may not agree, this obituary statement was about the most the Gentleman from Pasquotank could get from local journalistic sources at the time and under the circumstances. Unlike Jesse Brown, Cale apparently lacked a close associate to write warm phrases of him. Further, Cale's death changed no local politics; 1910 was still an election year and the November 11 Tar Heel would claxon, "Greatest Democratic Victory in North Carolina - a Democratic Land Slide Throughout the Country." Meanwhile, someone at some point, erected a headstone in the town's Oak Grove Cemetery\(^\text{18}\) for which Hugh was once a trustee. The

\(^{18}\) One local citizen (who preferred anonymity) stated that Cale "was buried" by his step-daughter, the former Nellie Levister.
headstone reported Cale dead a year too early - 1909. The Tar Heel's statement, however, included other practicalities and was not lacking in warmth. It is reprinted here, verbatim:

**HUGH CALE IS DEAD**

This rather picturesque darkey came to this town about forty-five years ago. Soon after coming here he opened a mercantile business, which for some time he ran very successfully. He accumulated quite a little fortune and might have become wealthy had he not entered politics the bone [sic; bane] of so many young business men.

When he entered politics, being the leader of his people in this county, in order to maintain his position with the white leaders of the Republican party, he had to sign all the official bonds and shell out the cash whenever the white bosses said so. And being of a generous, liberal disposition, he found politics a costly luxury and finally had a part of his fortune swept from him by having to make good for the loss occasioned by a defaulting sheriff. The writer who was at the time sheriff of the county, had to enforce the execution in his hands and sell five houses and lots belonging to the subject of this sketch while the other bondmen, the defaulting sheriff stood off and sucked their paws.

Cale was truthful and honest, and never made himself offensive to the white people. In his political conduct he never made any incendiary or offensive speeches but was shrewd and tactful and while the Republicans were in power in this county, he was the acknowledged leader of his race, and one of the leaders of his party.

He represented this Co., in the Legislature several terms and while he went there as a republican [sic] he quite frequently voted with the Democrats. He was generally liked and respected by the members of both parties in the Legislature. Not being able to secure any of the better paying offices in the county, he would compromise by taking the nominations for the legislature. He was a strong advocate and supporter of Senator Vance and voted for him when he was a candidate for the Senate. [!] He said "I am representative of my people when I vote for the best man in North Carolina, and Mr. Vance is the best man and I voted be allowed to put him in nomination, but this being denied me, I will vote for him." His people would criticise him for voting with the Democrats, but he would tell them. [sic] it would be foolish to oppose the Democrats, who has the majority. but by keeping on good terms with them he could get things done for his county and his people. And just this kind of diplomacy enamelled [sic] him with the assistance of the writer who went to Raleigh in answer to a telegram, to establish the Colored Normal School in Elizabeth City. His voting with Democrats and his simply [sic] and homely humor gave him a statewide reputation and the request [?; not legible] was current over the state if Pasquotank "Can't send a Democrat why send Cale"[.] when Judge Peebles first introduced the Jim Crow Car Bill, Cale opposed it and used the argument. [sic] The Norfolk and Elizabeth City R. R., was too poor to afford it. Some one offered an amendment to permit the R. R.'s. to use a curtain to partition off the cars,
instead of having separate [sic] cars. Cale said that won’t do, and used an argument to support his position that has not yet been answered.

His married life was not happy. He converted some of his real estate into money and placed it in bank [sic]. The bank failed and well nigh ruined him financially. Since the passage of the disfranchise amendments, he has not attempted to interfere with politics but has been a quiet, unassuming citizen. He was always polite and defenitive [sic] to the white people and was respected by all. For several months his failing health was apparent to all. His financial losses made him a poor man and he died on the 22 day of July 1910, age 75 years surrounded with few comforts and no luxuries. Let us hope that his death was his eternal gain.
"Mister Hewey Cale" - buried; but not his name. For one thing, there was the street named for him and people lived on it and ever so often one's memory of the man might be stirred.

It was to be about thirty years, after the man no longer walked the streets or talked to the people, before Cale's name began again to appear very much in the public print. In 1940, Cale won a rare entry into historical monographs when William Alexander Mabry mentioned him in not uncomplimentary terms. This was on page 25 of Mabry's *Negro in North Carolina Politics Since Reconstruction*. Still better coverage was in the offing.

John Thomas Davis, late local businessman and a Negro, thought so well of and had prospered sufficiently from "most valuable advice" given by Cale during Davis' earlier years, that the latter was able to do something about it in 1959. That year, he established a student loan fund in Cale's honor at the-then Elizabeth City State Teachers College. Four years before that, another move had reached fruition.

Chairman Junious W. Davis of the College's Board of Trustees called to order a meeting on May 18, 1955, with most of the members present. The Board received a committee report on naming two dormitories then under construction. Mrs. Tom C. Sawyer Sr., Dr. Ernest Linwood Hoffler (who had signed Cale's death certificate 45 years earlier), and Messrs. O. R.

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1 The school's Catalogue for 1963-1964 (p. 43) records its Trustees having changed the name of the Fund from "Cale" to "Davis-Cale" on December 17, 1963, thus honoring both men. The Board's action took place the day of John Davis' funeral (they happened to be meeting that day) - in point of time, not very many minutes after his interment. Davis, by 1909, had become a trustee of the respected North Star Lodge #195 of Good Samaritans and Daughters of Samaria (see *Deed Record 34*, pp. 39-40, Office of the Register of Deeds, Pasquotank County).

2 Students of the institution dedicated their 1965 Yearbook to Dr. Hoffler, whose dates are 1883-1963. The school's Infirmary bears his name and that of the respected Elizabeth City physician, George Washington Cardwell (1872-1942). Dr. Hoffler's son, the late William Wayland Hoffler, was once the school's physician and (1970)
Symons, T. S. Cooper, W. C. Chappell, G. H. Ferguson, and Dudley Bagley were the Trustees on hand to hear the report, along with Sidney David Williams, fourth president of the institution.

Trustee Fearing (Mrs. James G.) had moved on March 25 (seconded by Mr. Symons, carried) that a committee be appointed "to name ... two buildings and to make recommendations for the others." The committee consisted of Messrs. Bagley, Cooper, and Williams. These gentlemen told the Board, "The committee appointed to secure names for the buildings reported that it has approved the names for the two dormitories under construction - the Doles dormitory being named for Rev. and Mrs. J[ohn] T[homas] Doles former instructors here and the Hugh Cale Dormitory in honor of Hugh Cale who introduced the bill in the General Assembly in 1891 establishing the institution." Following that, and the labors of architect B. H. Stephens (New Bern) and builders including O. W. Godwin, Incorporated (general contractor), women at the institution took up campus residence in what were at the time, among the most modern and eye-catching pieces of architecture, for them, for miles around. Viewed otherwise, Cale's public spirit still could be seen in evidence. A half century after his death, men and women found reason to honor "black" registered Voter No. 111, County of Pasquotank, City of Elizabeth City.

Still other honors accrued. The school's "News Service" put out a release - duly printed verbatim on page one of Elizabeth City's Daily Advance (February 22, 1963): "At the Annual Pilgrimage on Founders Day, Sunday, February 24, at 2:15 p.m. a 'Monument and Grave Ledger' perhaps the first black Chairman of the Pasquotank Democratic Executive Committee; he was also a trustee of the school (1972). His wife, the former Julia Alberta Moore, a descendant of one of the Fisk University Jubilee Singers, served on the faculty for many years and in 1978 became the second Professor Emeritus (English) in the institution's history. Professor Julia Hoffler's dates are 1913-1991.

1 Typescript Minutes of the Board, 1950-1958 (To End of Dr. Williams' Administration), dates cited (Elizabeth City State University Archives).
erected at the grave of the Honorable Hugh Cale by the General Alumni Association, faculty, staff and students of Elizabeth City State Teachers College, will be dedicated.... As a legislator, Hugh Cale participated in the economic growth and development of the State. It was during his three terms [sic; two] on the Pasquotank Board of Commissioners that the present County Court House and several public schools were erected in this County. Through the years the Cale family have made education a primary concern, and today a grand-niece, Mrs. Edna H. Mitchell is Professor of English at the college. Mrs. Mitchell will give the dedicatory statement. President [Walter N.] Ridley will preside at the service and Leonard Slade,⁴ President of the Student Council will say the prayer. A wreath will be placed on the grave of Hugh Cale by Mrs. Idonia E. Rogerson [‘11; also ‘53 with Honor] of Winfall and Mr. Taylor E. Jones, Registrar...."

Times had changed indeed. For Cale, a registrar most frequently kept track of voters. Now, at his school, a registrar was needed to keep track of several thousand grades, among other academic matters.

Times continued to change - sorrowfully in some cases. One such instance was the death of Professor Mitchell, Cale’s grand-niece, six months after her dedicatory statement.⁵ However,

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⁴ Subsequently a cum laude graduate of the school (1963), Slade acquired a doctorate, some publications, and progressively, over a 22-year sojourn, the chairmanship of Kentucky State University’s Department of Language and Literature and then Dean of its College of Arts and Sciences. Cale’s school invited him to return, March 1973, as Honors Night speaker and honored him on Founders Day, 1978, as one among its distinguished alumni. Dr. Slade, in 1988, took up less arduous duties as Professor and Chairman, African & Afro-American Studies Department at SUNY-Albany. Slade is a former national president of Alpha Kappa Mu Honor Society. Hugh Cale would have considered this native of Conway, North Carolina among prime examples of values accruing from education and hard work. Kentucky State agreed and awarded Slade an honorary LHD in 1989.

⁵ Her dates are 1901-1963. Students dedicated their 1964 Yearbook to her and the present writer inscribed an article, "She Openth Her Mouth With Wisdom," in the Compass (student newspaper) October 1963, p. 3. Mrs. Mitchell was the highly regarded advisor to the newspaper for many years until her death. Because of her efforts in this regard, there was a Spellman Award for outstanding student journalists, established by Trustee Cardwell’s daughter, the late Mrs. Edith Mocile (Cardwell) Spellman. The present text, p. ___ above, sketches the Cale-Mitchell relationship.
both Mr. Cale and Mrs. Mitchell, and hundreds more, would have welcomed still another change: the school, seventy-five years old by 1966, had become a multi-million-dollar concern instead of one subsisting on $900 sheared from appropriations initially allotted to five other existing normal schools. But then, that was the most which Cale and the General Assembly (especially the House Education Committee) felt could be wrested from the times. Since 1966, the upward spiral continued, which would no doubt please both Cale and his grand-niece. "He told us this day was coming," Mrs. Jennie Joyner reported in 1966, the year of the institution's Diamond Anniversary. Mr. Cale had not done badly in the area of prophecy.

Young people, too, were sensitive to the man's worth. In 1963, he was given a second honor for that year when student staff members agreed to dedicate their Yearbook to Cale. The dedicatory statement reads: "The process of making Today a good foundation for Tomorrow sometimes obscures original sources. But to look at Yesterday may give guidance to Today, may give better direction to Tomorrow. The Pirate$^6$ looks therefore to an original source - HUGH CALE - to whom we dedicate this yearbook." If readers needed additional justification, the Yearbook asserted, "BECAUSE OF HUGH CALE this school could open its doors on January 4, 1892, to those who looked to their Future."

Such ideas were contagious. A man's spirit endured. About a decade after this student statement, a 1942 graduate of Cale's school, who had earned Alpha Kappa Mu honors while a student there, created in 1972 "The Hugh Cale Memorial Scholarship Fund." The second Fund at the school to honor his name, this new venture was designed, its letterhead said, as "an independent campaign project, affiliated with the ECSU [Elizabeth City State University] General

$^6$ The Yearbook was subsequently re-named, The Viking.
Alumni Association and approved by Dr. Marion D. Thorpe, Chancellor, and the ECSU Board of Trustees, in coordination with other efforts to raise funds for scholarships." The creator of the Fund, Jeff Elwood Smith (then the school's Registrar and Director, Office of Recruitment, Admissions, Registration, and Records), thus successfully sought to perpetuate ideals formed eighty-odd years earlier when Cale sired a school and P. W. Moore nursed it from infancy.

But earlier, some six years before Mr. Smith's most recent enshrinement of Cale's memory, a Democratic lieutenant governor of North Carolina, in 1966, got into one of those 'flying machines' first airborne in Cale's lifetime. In a modern version of that invention, he was whisked to Pasquotank. There, he would honor a school and a man during the school's Diamond Anniversary.

Said the Honorable Robert W. Scott (later, the Governor), in his address for the institution's Founders Day, February 27, 1966: "I think that Hugh Cale may have had some degree of satisfaction as he watched the progress of the institution and today, as he looks down on these proceedings, must have a degree of satisfaction with the progress that has been made under the guiding hands of the administrations of Presidents Moore, Bias, Trigg, Williams, and Ridley.... And no doubt he shared with these presidents, over the years, the frustrations of trying to deal with the budget officials in Raleigh ... and he sympathized with them as they attempted to recruit competent faculty; and no doubt he shared the concern of the presidents as they continually tried to upgrade the quality of this institution and all facets of its life.... And I feel certain that his spirit is with us today as we celebrate this Diamond Jubilee of the founding of this institution and I'm sure ... that this spirit will prevail in the years ahead.... And on this Founders Day, let us ... solemnly re-dedicate this institution to its high purpose.... If
you join hands in a partnership of progress in North Carolina, then our State will move forward in the traditions envisioned by Hugh Cale.  

The Gentleman from Pasquotank could have done worse over a 30-year period of political life than exemplify public spirit which a high state official could eulogize five or six decades later. The Gentleman could have done worse than so conduct himself that, during his lifetime, a United States Senator (however the Senator's politics were viewed) among other notables, would praise him and a local Negrophobic (schizoid?) newspaper refer to him as both "darkey" and "venerable statesman" in the same article.

It can be noted, in addition, that whatever else was said and written, Pasquotank whites helped Negro aspirants for office: the Negroes could not have been office-holders if no white person voted for them. It is perhaps not tenable to assume, furthermore, that the only white persons who voted for Negroes ("Blacks" one says in 1979, as in 1879 - but usually with different public connotation) were Republicans - of whatever version of Republicanism. It could be concluded, then, that aside from sundry political motives, those white voters in Pasquotank (as elsewhere) who helped put Negroes into office simply felt that many such persons were worth the prize given - on reasonably objective bases of evaluation. Politics was not all corruption, vociferation, and intense persuasion of allied ilk. Pasquotank whites included those who evidently looked at the man. If he was a good man, he sometimes won their vote. The winner, from time to time, happened to be a good Negro man. And perhaps Pasquotank was somewhat

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7 Quotations from Mr. Scott are from a transcription (Elizabeth City State University Archives) of his Address and used with his permission.
ahead of some of its sister counties or other state areas in the number and frequency of awarding offices to Negroes. One obviously can feel that such attitude was the case for four-term Representative Hugh Cale, with legislators Thomas A. Sykes and his successors, Noah R. Newby and Prince Albert Hinton as additional illustrations.

Therein could lie object lessons. These lessons, accompanied by others also could be useful at the Gentleman’s school. In 1968, a spirited young man gently reminded listeners, "Mr. Hugh Cale ... had his political struggles for the creation of this institution during the 1890s." Seven months later, the same young man, Marion Dennis Thorpe, being formally installed as sixth president of the Gentleman’s school, asserted: "From the time of Mr. Cardozo’s 124 pupils ... through Mr. Hugh Cale ..., until the present, the purpose of this institution, through its pre-normal and post-normal school existence has been to provide ... meaningful education. Truly, this has been a noble purpose and a purpose of great challenge."

In providing a base to meet such challenges, Hugh Cale had done his share, not only during the first Reconstruction of the Nation, but later on as well. It now remained for those who would profit from object lessons to come forward and join a new generation of leadership/followership. Their job: to help form constructive approaches to the problems of the Nation’s second Reconstruction and its aftermath. This time around, the Republic would require many more ‘gentlemen’ (and women) from thousands of ‘Pasquotanks’. As the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot editorialized ("The Second Reconstruction," February 17, 1967), "... we are going to need some interracial soul-searching and the boldness of black and white people

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8 Quoted, respectively, from Convocation at Elizabeth City State College September 22, 1968 Address by Marion D. Thorpe President (The College: 1969), p. 7; and The Inaugural Address of Marion Dennis Thorpe As Sixth President of Elizabeth City State College April 27, 1969 (The College: 1969), pp. 2f (Elizabeth City State University Archives). As of July 1, 1972, the title became "Chancellor." On April 28, 1983, Dr. Thorpe, the first Chancellor of Cale’s school, succumbed to cancer.
to recognize, without bias or favoritism on anybody's part, where race failures lie and what is required to correct, rather than prettify, them.\(^9\)

In latter-day North Carolina, signs were not lacking that the Second Reconstruction had arrived when it did. A young Negro woman became a "first" - a page or "pagette" in the State's 1967 General Assembly (duly noticed in the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, February 23, 1967). Two years later, Representative Henry E. Frye of Greensboro was on hand for the 1969 General Assembly - the first Black to sit in North Carolina's House since Representatives W. C. Coates, James Y. Eaton, Isaac H. Smith, and J. H. Wright left it upon adjournment, July 31, 1900.\(^10\) The Norfolk Journal and Guide (May 17, 1969), a Negro newspaper, recorded other developments, praising election of a mayor and other officials in North Carolina. Rather numerous were Negroes feeling the courage to once again seek office in the Old North State. The winning candidates prompted editorializing from the Guide, emphasizing the "importance of the ballot to improve the status of the Negro in contemporary American society." It concluded, "This newspaper is in favor of the current white-black coalition in the political arena. This road, we think, charts the right course for politics in the South." (It followed these opinions with an undated reprint from the Negro Philadelphia Tribune, entitled, "Stupid For Black Organization Leaders To Fight Each Other."\(^11\)

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\(^9\) The same newspaper used the same editorial title (October 7, 1969), to recognize and give some reasons for re-burgeoning Negro office-holding, as well as some problems/potentials thereof.

\(^10\) Ballou, North Carolina's Black Legislators.

\(^11\) One logical outgrowth of such developments would be the occasion on February 25, 1973, when the Elizabeth City Daily Advance headlined an Associated Press story: "More Recognition Sought By State's [i.e., North Carolina's] Black Leaders" - which included Representative Frye.
In 1970, a voice joined others in trying to sketch direction. The then-largest graduation class to come from the school sired by Cale and nurtured by Moore, Butler and their successors heard the voice of Representative Frye. Appropriately and perhaps symbolically, an alumnus of the institution reported that voice - itself an alumnus of Trustee Cale's "A & T." The Reverend John Thomas Williams (Class of '68), Public Information Officer for the institution, summarized the significance of the occasion under the heading, "Commencement, 1970, At Elizabeth City State University."¹² Wrote he, after pointing out that the date was also a Mother's Day:

The graduation of 203 seniors from Elizabeth City State University, May 10 ..., established a parallel, revealed some interesting human interest stories, and raised some serious questions.

Williams continued:

Elizabeth City State University, though many would choose to forget, ignore, or even distort, was founded in 1891 because the General Assembly of North Carolina was generous and foresighted enough to act favorably upon a bill that had been introduced by Pasquotank County's Black legislator, Hugh Cale. Thus, the presence of State Representative Henry E. Frye, Democrat, Guilford County, established a historical parallel in the 79-year-old history of the institution. Frye, the first Negro member of the General Assembly in this century said, "I challenge you to raise the political question of the equitable distribution of meaningful higher education in the state of North Carolina, to be sure that Elizabeth City State University has the same access to funds which are politically controlled, as does its counterparts in the higher education system. These are political decisions which will affect, with many ramifications, the future in 1975 and 1980.

Frye, like the late Hugh Cale, is trying to do something to correct the situation. It is not necessary to speculate on the response of the 203 ECSU graduates to Rep. Frye's question, "If not you, then who?"

. . . . . . . . . .

Mr. Williams cited Mr. Frye's challenge but, as a Bicentennial of the American Revolution then drew near, and a Second Reconstruction burned, bombed, orated, and legalized

its course through North Carolina's and the Nation's social fabric, what else did a black member of North Carolina's House feel to be important for late-20th-century listeners - the newest graduates of Representative Cale's school? Said Frye (italics as in original):"I challenge you to make your mark to improve educational opportunity and quality.... I challenge you to be the person who organizes to help a political candidate to get his point across and to win votes. I challenge you to run for political office as a part of the traditional political party systems or as independents, in order to provide a sounding board for persons who otherwise have no choice of making political decisions and feelings about politics felt....

"... You cannot rise to these challenges by thinking that there is someone else who will do it. Your family, friends, loved ones, faculty and administrators are depending on you. The young blacks in America are depending on you....

"... If not you, then who? For you are the educated, you have had the exposure, you have the experience. You represent the culmination of many hours of work by teachers and counselors, by parents and family.

"If not you, then who? For you further represent millions of dollars invested with expected return for influencing social change. If not you, then who?

"... The fate of America is inextricably bound to the fate of black Americans and the fate of black Americans and the fate of black youth is inextricably bound to its educated populace and that is you. In closing, I leave the initial challenge - Don't expect your classmate to do it but remember if you don't do it, then who will?"

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12 The transcript of Frye's address was made available through the courtesy of Dr. Louise Nixon Sutton, a Professor Emerita (Mathematics) of the Elizabeth City State University faculty. Like Frye, she is an "Aggie."
Nineteen years later, July 22, 1989, a 1971 alumnus of Cale's school, who by then had lengthy service as __________________ for the late and who long-term First Congressional District Democratic Representative Walter B. Jones (— —), and who had become Vice Chairman and Trustee Emeritus of the University's Board, addressed Summer graduates of Cale's institution. With striking coincidence, Willie Daniel Riddick entitled his address, "If not you, who?"

It made interesting contrast in oratorical boundaries, to compare two Negro legislator's and another politician's approaches to the public, nearly a century apart. Meanwhile, one answer to the challenges could be: All these hopes will rest for better or worse with America's Cales and his successors, of tomorrow. In 1985, members of the Albemarle area's graduate chapter of a national fraternity, sought to honor and encourage the Gentleman's successors in politics: on April 21st, these members of Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity presented their first "Sykes-Cale" Award. Commemorating both the Gentleman and his predecessor, Representative Sykes, the plaque went to Hezekiah Wainwright Cooper, Elizabeth City native, 1959 alumnus of Cale's school, a veteran, and at the time, Vice Chairman of the Elizabeth City-Pasquotank County Board of Education.14

Increased involvement of the black electorate was the obvious key. Late-20th-century Pasquotank had three vehicles to engineer such involvement: an NAACP Chapter whose successful litigation resulted in election of a 5-to-3, black/white City Council; a political action committee (PAC) which - ostensibly - was a backbone for involving the local black electorate; and the Hugh Cale Community Corporation - the only entity directly referencing, and thus honoring, the Gentleman. This was the smallest and most recent group (1988) but it seemed to

14 Cited Tenth Awards Program (June 15, 1989), Epsilon Chi Lambda Chapter, Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity; records used with permission.
have better focus and organization for its activities. Appropriately, its primary constituency were citizens residing in an area which was once Cale’s home turf\textsuperscript{15} - an area now beset with drugs, violence, and fear.

The shades of any respectable legislator - but especially those of a late-nineteenth-century black solon - receive signal and undeserved dishonor when their area becomes rife with rot. Jackson, Mississippi’s Lynch Street - named for its black Speaker of the House and last United States Representative (John Roy Lynch), until Mike Espy arrived in Washington exactly a century later,\textsuperscript{16} had its Elizabeth City counterpart. Cale and Lynch lived to see rights of citizenship legislatively emasculated; late-twentieth-century drug thugs subjugated all rights to the power of the dollar. Agencies like the Cale Corporation have helped initiate reversal of community takeover.

Long ago, Hugh Cale generally seemed to think ‘tomorrow’ was worth the try. One could also say that Cale successfully met his version of answers to Justice Frye’s\textsuperscript{17} and Mr. Daniels’ challenges. Would the New Cales realize, ‘if not them, who’?

Past Museum of the Albemarle Trustee, Roosevelt R. Wright, Sr., sought visible reminder that Cale had been around - thereby adding a focal point for ‘if not you, who’.

\textsuperscript{15} Article III of Incorporation designated corporate purposes to include: "promote ... cultural, and housing revitalization," and to "bring about civic betterment and social improvements within the neighborhood and environment ..." (Elizabeth City State University Archives). The Corporation’s Center in former Antioch Presbyterian Church was focal point for a march against and lectures to youth against drugs, and was awarded $200 of confiscated drug money (Daily Advance, May 17, June 25, 1993; Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, June 19 and 27, 1993). Laudatory editorial mention of its aid in a "milk giveaway" to the needy also appeared (Daily Advance, July 13, 1993).

\textsuperscript{16} Representative Espy became U. S. Secretary of Agriculture and the first-ever black to address North Carolina’s posh and Democratic Jefferson-Jackson Dinner (Raleigh News and Observer, March 6, 1994).

\textsuperscript{17} The politician became North Carolina’s first-ever black Associate Justice to sit on its Supreme Court, 19__.
March 1994, Mr. Wright proposed that the State erect a long past due highway historic marker for the legislator. The proposal was approved, April 29, 1994,\textsuperscript{18} generating a highly laudatory and appreciative editorial in the May 20, 1994 Daily Advance. The marker was unveiled at the western terminus of Cale street, during the morning of March 3, 1995 - thus inaugurating "Founders Week" at the Gentleman's school.\textsuperscript{19}

The Gentleman from Pasquotank - who prized education throughout his life, could also reflect on nearly a half century of topsy turvy politics and had sought to pierce the veil of the American Negro's political prospects. His 1902 prophecy may bear repetition nine-plus decades later:

The negro ... is destined to become a mighty factor in politics and only a few years will see both parties bidding for his vote. Something unforeseen may yet transpire to shift the entire negro ballot with the Democratic party and such changes wrought in the country's politics as to cause the world to stand amazed. The future is impenetrable, but were the dark curtains rolled away you would see wherein I am partly in the right.

The Honorable Hugh Cale's assessment of Black America's political future was, indeed, "partly in the right." Now, would the Nation need a Third Reconstruction - or would two suffice?

\textsuperscript{18} Correspondence, Wright to Division of Archives and History, and State Department of Transportation, March 10, 1994, with copy to present author; Jerry C. Cashion to Mr. Wright (copy to present author), May 5, 1994.

\textsuperscript{19} The Marker's text reads: The ceremony occasioned lengthy and congratulatory feature items and editorial (Daily Advance, March __, March __, 1995; Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, March __, 1995).
APPENDICES
NOTES ON HUGH CALE'S ANTECEDENTS, SURNAME, AND RELATED MATTERS

A. Possible Antecedent Family

At least four different men named John "Cail" or "Cale" lived in Perquimans County at the time and for the subject of this Appendix. Documents in the Perquimans County Courthouse show marriage bonds dated variously from 1786 to 1827. The mulatto family roster below is listed in the August 3, 1850 Census of Yeopim District, Perquimans County:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dwelling #127 Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Color</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John Cail</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>Miller (? not legible)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>- - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nancy</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>- - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbara</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>- - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abram</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>- - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry</td>
<td>7/12</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>- - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry H.</td>
<td>3/12</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>- - -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the enumeration for that period, the County then had 1,703 male, and 1,537 female, slaves.

A certain John "Cail" of Perquimans County made an indenture on November 5, 1824, giving to his son, John, a "Negro boy named Jack." Further, this John Cail also donated to his son, John, a "Negro boy named Solomon" (May 21, 1824) and to his wife(?), Amariah, the "Negro boy Ben" (same date).

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1 Deed Book V, No. 37, Perquimans County Courthouse (Hertford, North Carolina).

2 Ibid., Nos. 36, 38.
B. Birth year

Hugh Cale's own birthyear obviously depends upon the source which one credits, in the absence of more definitive data. The new monument and ledger, replacing the old headstone over his grave in Elizabeth City's Oak Grove Cemetery (established 1883, according to a marker at its entrance), repeat the dates on the older marker: 1829-1909. The new memorials were dedicated on February 24, 1963, upon the initiative of Dr. Walter N. Ridley, President (1958-1968) of the-then Elizabeth City State College who felt that it was safer to retain the original tombstone dates - source thereof unknown.

1837 is Cale's birthyear if the 1870 Census is followed; 1840 is the date if one uses the 1880 Census. (No Cales were listed for Pasquotank County in the 1860 Census.) Computing from Cale's marriage license of 1896 gives a birthyear of 1845 while the 1905 license will yield 1850. Computing from the death certificate of 1910, yields 1835. The latter date has been used for purposes of this monograph.

C. Surname

There were not many persons surnamed "Cale" whom the author could find as North Carolina residents during the general period of the main text. About a dozen persons surnamed "Cale" were identified in county and other public sources, spanning the period, 1916-1954; none was known to have connection with Hugh Cale. Obviously Pasquotank and Perquimans counties were targets of most intensive research on the Hugh Cale Family; at the time of writing, the possibility of Cale's Edenton, North Carolina genesis was not explored (see main text, p. 2, n. 1).
The following illustrate additional surname search; none appears to be related to the legislator: Bertie County apprentices Isaac Kail, age 7 (1824), Freeman Cale, age 12 (1823), Augustin Cale, age 12 (1824); the Bertie County Cooper, William Cale or Cail (fl., 1818-1882);\(^3\) Perquimans County landowner Richard Cale (fl. 1720s);\(^4\) Will Cale and son, Henry (died 1957), of Pasquotank County;\(^5\) Chowan County Hospital Administrator Barbara Cale (ECSU' 85); "Camp Cale" in Perquimans County, North Carolina;\(^6\) Private Ephraim Kale of Granville County;\(^7\) Jane E. Cale (1828-1893).\(^8\) A certain D. L. Cale was a Bertie County Republican nominee for county commissioner (North Carolinian, June 20, 1872). He was nominated again in 1874. Representative Hugh Cale joined the majority of his House colleagues in voting for D. L. Cale’s becoming a justice of the peace for Windsor Township, Bertie County, for a two-year term.\(^9\)


\(^4\) Ellen Winslow, History of Perquimans County As Compiled from Records Found There and Elsewhere ... (Baltimore: Regional Publishing Co., 1974), p. 22.

\(^5\) Pasquotank Record of Deaths, Book 44, p. 240.

\(^4\) Information from Camp personnel.

\(^7\) He enlisted March 1, 1864 and was a member of Company K, Captain John E. Wharton’s "Partisan Rangers." 63rd Regiment of North Carolina Troops (5th Regiment, North Carolina Cavalry). (See Louis H. Manarin, comp., North Carolinian Troops 1861-1865 - A Roster, Vol. II Cavalry [Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History (1968)], p. 448.)

\(^8\) Cited by Spence, Tombstones, p. 98, as resting in Cooper Cemetery, Knotts Island.

\(^9\) House Journal, 1876-1877, p. 796.
VOTING STATISTICS FOR HUGH CALE’S LEGISLATIVE CANDIDACIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Election Precinct</th>
<th>Election of Tuesday November 7, 1876</th>
<th>Election of Thursday August 1, 1878</th>
<th>Election of Tuesday November 4, 1884</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hugh Cale</td>
<td>Rufus K. Speed</td>
<td>Hugh Cale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cartwright’s School House</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount Hermon</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newland</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nixonton</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pool’s School House</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Providence</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salem</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth City</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>1140</td>
<td>840</td>
<td>981</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

VOTING STATISTICS FOR HUGH CALE'S LEGISLATIVE CANDIDACIES - Continued

Election of Tuesday November 4, 1890

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Election Precinct</th>
<th>Hugh Cale</th>
<th>James W. Weeks</th>
<th>&quot;Earl&quot; [Emanuel?] M. Davis</th>
<th>&quot;Joe&quot; [John?] L. Oliver</th>
<th>A. A. Small</th>
<th>W. H. Stark</th>
<th>Rooks Turner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cartwright's School House</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount Hermon</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newland</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>125</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nixonton</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pool's School House</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>75</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Providence</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salem</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>158</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth City</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Totals                       | 992       | 292            | 3                           | 5                      | 1           | 4          | 1           |
## VOTING STATISTICS FOR HUGH CALE'S LEGISLATIVE CANDIDACIES - Concluded

### Election of Monday November 7, 1898

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Election Precincts</th>
<th>Hugh Cale</th>
<th>J. Bushrod Leigh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cartwright's School House</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount Hermon</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newland</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nixonton</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pool's School House</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Providence</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salem</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Elizabeth City:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Ward</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Ward</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Ward</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th Ward</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th Ward</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>1312</strong></td>
<td><strong>1439</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>Colored</td>
<td>Aggregate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>240</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>521</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Similar data for other elections involving Cale's House candidacies not in source.

Comments

**Best showings:**
- won Nixonton and Pool Precincts every election
- won 6 of the 8 precincts, 1878
- won 57.5% of votes cast, 1876
- highest poll, 1312 votes, 1898
- won 4 of 5 elections, 1876-1898

**Worst showings:**
- lost Providence Precinct every election
- lost 5 of the 8 precincts, 1898 (exact reverse of 1876 candidacy)
  - lost Mt. Hermon Precinct, 4 of 5 elections
  - lost Elizabeth City Precinct, 1898
- won 47.4% of votes cast, 1884
- lowest poll, 922 votes, 1890
APPENDIX 2: NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

A LITTLE PLAIN TALK

The fact that T. W. Cardoza [sic] - a comparative stranger and a man about whose antecedents our people knew so little - was nominated and persisted [sic] in running as the Republican candidate for Sheriff lost us over three hundred votes in this county and at least five times as many in the District. He was nominated in opposition to our counsel and kept in the field against our earnest and solemn protest. We warned him repeatedly that his course must result in disaster to himself, injuriously to the party and unfavorably to his race. He disregarded our advise, stubbornly pressed himself forward and the result is just as we predicted. He is not only badly beaten himself, but has been seriously jeopardizing the other candidates. Instead of benefiting his people he has been the means of rekindling prejudices that were fast dying out and arousing a feeling of bitterness that may require years to allay and obliterate. But for him there would have been no "bolting" in this county. But for him our party would have been united and the regular nominees elected by a larger majority than Pasquotank ever gave to any ticket.

As for the North Carolinian, its editor has a right to speak plainly, and he dares to be independent. He is today and he always has been the friend of the colored man. From his boyhood he has been fighting the great battle that culminated in engrafting in the fundamental law of the land the great doctrine of Equal Rights. With him it has always been a question of principle. To secure and enjoy the full benefits of these rights he has all along frankly told the colored man that he must be prudent, patient, wise. He must not push himself too fast. Public sentiment cannot to forced; it must be educated. Man's prejudice will not to be removed at once; it is a gradual work. The course of selfish and ambitious aspirants, like this man Cardoza [sic],
tends to keep white men from joining our party, aye to drive many now with us away. Who is to suffer in the end? The white man can live and prosper much easier without the colored people than can the colored race without the aid and friendship of the whites.

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

Elizabeth City North Carolinian. August 11, 1870 (italics as in original).
LETTER FROM "PASQUOTANK" TO THE NEW NATIONAL ERA

(AUGUST 10, 1871 EDITION)

Elizabeth City, Pasquotank Co., N.C.
August 3, 1871.

To the Editor of the New National Era:

The election for convention came off-to-day in this State. The Republicans have carried this county by 450 majority, a gain of 350 on last year's election, although we had the influence of the United State District Judge, (G. W. B.,) whose home is in this county, against us.¹ From all indications so far, the State has gone against this vile Democratic movement. This County is also the home of our honored Congressman, C. L. Cobb, who has rendered great service to the Republican cause in this campaign. The colored voters have acquitted themselves nobly by voting on the side of liberty and equal justice. We have also carried Camden county, which went against us in the last summer's campaign. The convention scheme is a plan to get control of the State government, so as to carry the State against the Republicans in the next Presidential election. If the convention scheme is defeated, it will give us the entire State and State officers, together with the legislature, which elects the United States senator, in the election of 1872. I have no doubt that the present Senator, Hon. John Pool, will be re-elected, unless he should be

¹ The less than complimentary reference is to the jurist, George Washington Brooks (1821-1882), anti-secessionist, anti-slavery advocate (but reputedly slaveholder at slaves' request). Among available sources for Judge Brooks (e.g., Volume I, p. 237 of Editor William S. Powell's Dictionary of North Carolina Biography), Butchko, Shores, provides information on the Brooks family and its home (c. 1821) in Pasquotank County's Mount Hermon Township (pp. 20 text, 86 text and photo) and similarly for Judge Brooks' Elizabeth City residence (p. 302 - with photo). Brooks was maligned by some, praised by many others, for over-riding Governor Holden's suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, thus ending the so-called Kirk-Holden War against the KKK, and thenceupon freeing assorted imprisoned Klansmen - much to the disgust and dismay of various observers. However, (1) Brooks may be seen as feeling he upheld the law of the land; and (2) based upon Henderson, "Murder" (p. 24), more than one of the Klan's many members met horrid deaths - which recalls Romans 12:19, regarding vengeance.
called to fill the chair of Vice-President, which he is so amply able to fill. Mr. Pool is unlike Andy Johnson, who turned traitor to the party that elevated him to the second highest office in the gift of the people; for no man is more abused by the Ku-Klux Democracy for exposing their miserable outrages to the county than Mr. Pool; while on the other hand, there is none more beloved than Mr. Pool by those who are in favor of peace and equal justice. Mr. Pool is looked upon as one of the best lawyers and statesmen in the State. The object of the Democrats is to destroy Mr. Pool's influence, in that they will utterly fall.

But I cannot close without speaking of the Hon. O. H. Dockery, ex-member of Congress from the Third District, for the manner in which he has prosecuted this campaign against the Democratic scheme of convention. Mr. Dockery is spoken of as our next Governor, and he has done as much or more for the colored people of the Third District as any other Congressman from this State.

"Pasquotank"

2 Among various good sources for Senator Pool (1826-1884), one may consult Donald C. Butts, "The 'Irrepressible Conflict': Slave Taxation and North Carolina's Gubernatorial Election of 1866," *North Carolina Historical Review*, 58 (1981), pp [44]-66. Also illuminating is Haley (Hunter, p. 22) who reports Pool, during the 1865 Constitutional Convention in Raleigh, designating blacks as "ignorant of the operations of civil government, improvident of the future, careless of the restraining force of public opinion, and lacking any real appreciation of their duties and obligations to society." This was the response to a rather peaceably-phrased memorial from the 1865 Freedman's Convention - meeting in Raleigh at the same time. "Pasquotank"'s 1871 tribute may not represent knowledge of Pool's statements six years earlier - or their being ignored. Haley (ibid., 22) also recounts Pool's revelation of a deep plot, long since laid, to have North Carolina in the vanguard to "nullify" Reconstruction. Some three decades later, he reports, a second plot - this one intrastate - would result in the Wilmington Riot of 1898.
AN ADDRESS

TO THE REPUBLICANS OF THE FIRST CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF N. C.

Elizabeth City, N. C.
August 31st, 1875.

Learning that industrious efforts are being made by what is obnoxiously known as "the ring" at Elizabeth City to misrepresent the motives and action those Republicans whose self-respect demanded of them to rebuke corruption and refuse servile submission to the despotic dictum of a self constituted cabal, a decent regard for the opinion of the Republicans of this District demand this public statement.

The origin of the troubles in the Republican party of Pasquotank is not of recent date. It began in the fall of 1871 and cropped out during the municipal campaign of Elizabeth City in the spring of 1872. It was instigated by George W. Cobb and Charles Guirkin and culminated in their bolting the regular ticket, fusing with the Democrats and defeating it. Their action at the time constrained the Executive Committee to issue an Address on the 12th of April, 1872 in which we find the following:

"They inaugurated a movement of boisterous and indecent demonstrations unprecedented in our party, unparalleled in our Conventions and disgraceful to our City - determined either to force the nomination of Geo. W. Cobb or break up the Convention in a row. Excited by whiskey which had been distributed freely, they enacted scenes that made honest and decent Republicans ashamed. They refused to listen to a single speaker, white or colored, not on their side; they gagged speech, insulted leading Republicans and tried to make the meeting a bedlam."

This course had been adopted at nearly every meeting and Convention since and because of it the sober, quiet and order loving Republicans, white and colored, feel great reluctance in
attending them. When they fail, by these agencies, to control nominations, they do not hesitate to scratch their tickets and vote for Democrats. Even so late as at the election for Municipal officers in Elizabeth City last May, they not only scratched the names of two of their regular Republican candidates but substitutes [sic; substituted] and voted for the regular Democratic nominees.

At the opening of the late canvass, feeling a deep interest in the issues and desiring that a man representing the intelligence and character of the Republican Party be nominated and elected as the delegate from Pasquotank, a larger number than usual of the earnest, thoughtful and intelligent members of the party attended the meetings of the several townships to select delegates to the County Convention. In issuing the call Geo. W. Cobb, the acting Chairman contrary to the wishes to the active working Republicans of the County, announced:

"Each Township will only be entitled to give delegates who will in said Convention by population according to the Census of 1870."

The purpose of this was to over ride the strong Republican townships by giving Elizabeth City the controlling voice in the Convention. The next step was to control the Elizabeth City delegation. The meeting to select delegates was called on the 9th of July. Threats were circulated by the "ring" that they would control the meeting or break it up. This intimidation kept numbers away. At the meeting the same "boisterous and indecent demonstrations" referred to in the above address were repeated. During the preconcerted uproar they placed C. Guirkin in the chair and declared a motion carried authorizing him to appoint the delegates! Time passed and nobody knew who was appointed until the 15th morning of the County Convention, when lo! it was ascertained that Mr. Guirkin had appointed himself, Mr. Geo. W. Cobb, his partner in business and their Servant Robert Fearing!!
With a purpose to bridge the breach threatening the unity and success of the party we proposed that it be reorganized in this County by the appointment of an Executive Committee composed of men having the respect and confidence of the great body of the party. On the morning of the County Convention several of our delegates suggested to Mr. W. J. Munden, who was also a delegate, (By the way, he is always a candidate, always manages to be appointed a delegate, and always votes for himself.) [sic] He at once endorsed the proposition, insisted that the best interest of the party required it, and agreed that if our friends would vote for him to be chairman of the Convention he would see to it that such a Committee be appointed. He further pledged himself to advocate and insist that the basis of representation in the Convention should be upon the Republican vote at the last election. Relying on these solemn pledges our friends supported him and he was elected by a two thirds vote. On seeing the result George W. Cobb and Charles Guirkin rushed to him and, after an earnest, whispered conversation, he not only declined to serve but threw his influence in favor of Geo. W. Cobb!! The open treachery gave Mr. Cobb a majority. On his taking the chair, free speech was gagged, and only such motions as suited his purpose were entertained. Protesting over this tyranny, and finding it without avail, the Nixonton delegation, representing the strongest Republican township in the County quietly withdrew from the Convention, and soon the entire body adjourned. Appeals were then made to postpone action for a week to give time for reconciliation and harmony. Had this been done our majority could have been swelled up to at least 500 and henceforth Pasquotank in proportion to its population would have been one of the banner counties in the State. But wise counsel did not prevail. Cobb and Guirkin met all appeals with insulting defiance; they reconvened the delegates of five townships, and locked the door, went through the form of a nomination and,
during the absence of the better portion of the delegates as a committee on resolutions, put through an order authorizing Mr. Geo. W. Cobb to appoint the Executive Committee for the county! He modestly appointed himself chairman and manipulated the balance to suit himself!!

Against this unprecedented and despotic action we protested; against it the Nixonton delegation protested, and against it a number of the most respectable, most intelligent and most influential Republicans of the county entered their earnest protest. We did so because we believed that the best interests of the party and its future success demanded that the intimidation, despotism and corruption so painfully manifest ought to be signally rebuked. Most of us did not support Mr. Munden because we could not, as honest men, endorse the means used to secure his nomination; because he deliberately violated his solemn pledges; because his political record at Raleigh last winter [sic; winter] was not such as to satisfy us that his competitor was a safer man and a better Republican than he was.

We are Republicans. In the future as in the past we expect to vindicate and support the great and living principles upon which the party is founded. But to maintain it in power we must have competent nominees and honest party management. These are our only hope in this country and in this District. The better men of the party must be encouraged to come to the front and the demagogues and bummers be invited to step aside. Until this is resolutely insisted on and until the gov’t. refuses to lavish its patronage on men who are fomenting dissentions [sic] in this country and district, encouraging them to persist in their "rule or ruin" conduct, we must rapidly lose instead of gain in numbers and strength, for among the people those who have self respect, who love honesty, and who revere justice will stand aloof and step off, one by one, until very soon the good old craft we all have loved so well will be scuttled and sink to rise no more.
We repeat that we are Republicans - always have been and always expect to be. We
expect to support the next Republican nominee for President, for Governor, for Congress, for the
State Senate and to combine with all honest Republicans to select capable and reputable
nominees for the Legislature and local officers in this county. Every interest demands this - the
party as well as the people, and as good citizens and true Republicans we propose uniting to
accomplish it.

WM. A PRICE, Post Master at Eliz. City
MILES COMMANDER, Probate Judge
JNO. T. PRICE, Sheriff Pasquotank Co.
WM. GREEN, Deputy Sheriff
SAMUEL WATERS, Planter
GEO. D. POOL, JR., Planter
THOMAS GASKINS, Merchant
GEO. D. POOL, SR., Planter
C. W. SMITH, Merchant
B. S. FOWLER, Merchant
B. C. BROTHERS, Merchant
JNO. D. FULMER, Merchant
W. F. POOL, Atty. at Law
SIMEON ROGERSON, Planter
G. B. THOMPSON, Manufacturer
D. S. KRAMER, Manufacturer
N. R. ZIMMERMAN, Manufacturer
S. J. HALSTEAD, Planter
And Others.

Elizabeth City North Carolinian, September 1, 1875, p. 2 (italics as in source).
No man has done more to disturb the peace and harmony of the Republican party of this county than Mr. Geo. W. Cobb, the present Deputy Collector of Customs at the port of Elizabeth City. He received the appointment some seven years ago through the aid of his brother, late Member of Congress, and during the past three years he had used the influence his position gives him to keep the party in constant turmoil and danger. Assuming the local dictatorship, he has undertaken to control the city and county organizations and to "farm out" the offices, declaring uncompromising warfare on every man that presumes to protest or even question the policy or fairness of such conduct. That he has the following it [sic; is] true, but it is mainly those who are led off by gross misrepresentation and the belief that the gov't. is supporting him in his factious despotism because it keeps him in office. The better men of the party in this county and throughout the District protests [sic] against his course and denounce it in the strongest terms. They now insist that he be deposed and the place be given to some more worthy Republican - one who will work for peace and unity, who, instead of attempting to drive men out of the party, will use his influence to get more in, and thus increase the chances of redeeming the Senatorial and Congressional Districts and saving the State in 1876 for Governor and President.

Elizabeth City North Carolinian, September 1, 1875, p. 3. Italics as in source.
Two petitions have been shown us during the past week, one in the handwriting of Mr. GURKIN asking that Mr. COBB be retained in office and the other in the chirography of the latter asking the Government to favor the former with some position. As an inducement for parties to circulate these petitions five cents a name has been offered for signatures!! As times are hard it is not surprising that men have been found to undertake the job. It is reported that one man made a good thing of it the other Sabbath. He attended colored Church and took down the name of every man present - total 120. These, at five cents each, amounted to six dollars! It is said the petitions have been returned with numerous signatures, but to inquire how many to whom they were presented could read them or even write their own names might be considered impertinent. To the canvassers all this was a secondary matter. They were after making wages. We only refer to it as one of the strategic movements of the "ring." It smacks of desperation.

Elizabeth City North Carolinian. September 1, 1875, p. 3. italics as in source.
THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

The members elect to the Constitutional Convention assembled at Raleigh on the 6th inst. Every delegate was present, a circumstance that has never happened to any deliberative body in the history of the State before. Promptly at 12 o'clock the body was called to order by Hon. THOMAS SETTLE, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, who at once proceeded to administer the oath prescribed by the Act. As soon as this was concluded the Convention began to ballot for a President. Hon. J. W. ALBERTSON nominated Col. O. H. DOCKERY as the Republican candidate, and Ex-Governor REID nominated Dr. EDWARD RANSOM on behalf of the Democrats. The first ballot stood 58 for DOCKERY, 59 for RANSOM, 1 for REID and 1 for WHEELER, the latter two being voted for by the candidates. Sixty votes were necessary for a choice. The balloting continued for two days when on the 14th ballot RANSOM, by voting for himself, was declared elected. This, of course, gave the Democrats the control of the organization. On the third day the various positions necessary to complete the organization were filled by electing Democrats, Judge TOURGEE then made a motion to adjourn sine die but it was voted down by the Democrats. Mr. BADGER introduced an ordinance to remove the disabilities of Ex Governor HOLDEN which was referred. The standing Committee were appointed [sic] and already over one hundred and twenty-five ordinances to amend the Constitution have been introduced, - all by Democrats.

Elizabeth City North Carolinian, September 15, 1875, p. 2, italics as in source.
DR. RANSOM

For some time it had been known that Dr. Edward Ransom, the delegate from Tyrrell, held the power to decide the organization and to control the action of the Convention. He ran as an Independent against a regularly nominated Democrat. The Republicans placed no man in the field but supported him. Originally he was a Whig, never a Democrat. In 1873 he was elected to the State Senate as a Republican and has ever since professed to be one. Soon after his recent election the Democrats have claimed that he would affiliate with them, but some of his personal Republican friends assured us and others that he would not. The result proves that the latter were deceived. His organization is peculiarly constituted. He loves notoriety - likes to the conspicuous [sic]. The unprecedented even balance of admitted delegates afforded him the coveted opportunity to gratify his ambition and he made the most of it. Never did we see a man enjoy it more. For near a week he was the "observed of all the observers" at Raleigh. For two days he obliged every Democrat to vote for him. He boasted that he held the destiny of the State in the hollow of his hand and that he now occupied a position enabling him to dictate terms to his late enemies, the Democrats, and compel them - JOE [JOSIAH] TURNER and all - to support him. Thirteen ballots were taken and there was still one vote lacking to elect him. Not a Republican felt sufficient confidence in him to give him a single vote. At last growing desperate, on the 14th ballot, while declaring in one breath, "I have not sought this position. I do not desire it," it the next he secured it by voting for himself! If some of the crockery in the Democrats china shop isn't smashed it won't be the fault of their President.

Elizabeth City North Carolinian, September 15, 1875, p. 2, italics as in source.