Thomas W. Cardozo

Unsung Schoolmaster and Politician

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by
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University Archivist
January 1987
Elizabeth City State University
Elizabeth City, North Carolina

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A Personal Note About this Article

Some years ago, the present author set out to capture the story of a Black North Carolina legislator whose good works included legal groundwork established what is now Elizabeth City State University. In the process of constructing that book-length manuscript, the writer encountered a number of other figures of historic interest. Thomas W. Cardozo was one of them.

The present manuscript reached its first conclusion in 1971. Various revisions and enlargements ensued, through 1978. It then lay dormant until a 1986 Christmas visit to the author's son and daughter-in-law, residing just outside Jackson, Mississippi, rekindled interest in this narrative. Perhaps a special spark resulted from a personal tour of the current capitol building, arranged by the author's more-than-gracious hosts, and seeing among the gallery of Mississippi governors the splendid oil portrait of Adelbert Ames - very imposing in his general's uniform.

The overall ambience was truly remarkable; the contrast between the State's capitol city now, and its recorded circumstances of more than a century ago, is both arresting and memorable. For such insight, grateful acknowledgement is richly due a Jackson, Mississippi TV principal anchorman, and a knowledgeable and charming sometime Hostess for Mississippi's capitol building: Howard and Deborah Ballou.

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Finally, since these proofs represent almost 100 percent solo research effort, with deepest gratitude is expressed to Mrs. Patricia C. Hines, Reference Librarian of ECSU's SIRL Little Library, for her valuable and volunteered assistance.
"We do not wish to force ourselves upon any one. All we ask is fair play .... And may God speed the day when we shall have it."

- Thomas W. Cardozo
1869
Local history is often overlooked for bigger and more important matters, but simply remembering a phrase such as "grass roots" would return us to the whistle stops, swamp towns, crossroads and counties where it all began - with ordinary people. Yet, not all that happened in local history was ordinary and many events signalled occasions and people of memorable import.

Pasquotank County, North Carolina in 1869 is an example of such a place and time, as is the county seat - Elizabeth City. Rich in history; nestled in the state's northeastern corner some 50 miles south of Norfolk, Virginia and the same distance inward from the Atlantic Ocean; and for its times more than a century ago quite politically advanced; vestiges of Pasquotank's past linger on the pages of recorded time. Yet in the modern rush, few pause to relive and review the significance of certain local events.

The rather checkered career of Thomas W. Cardozo is an example of this enlightening and in this instance, somewhat saddening phase of local and regional history. His is a story of a man whose good works have been overshadowed (sometimes intentionally, one is tempted to say) by the highlighting of errors or mis-steps. The scales bear balancing; the present narrative is presented within the framework of a hypothesis that, for his Elizabeth City sojourn at the very least, Thomas W. Cardozo made a significant contribution to others through the vehicle of public education for a hitherto repressed people in northeastern North Carolina. That work should not be overlooked when surveying Cardozo's quite different behavior in Brooklyn and in Mississippi.
To begin, one may ask, "Who was Thomas W. Cardozo?" Apparently born in South Carolina, he entered the history of Pasquotank County, North Carolina by appearing to be the "first" Black to conduct the "first" organized school for Blacks in that County - specifically in Elizabeth City. (That school should not be confused with the present Elizabeth City State University, founded 1891, nor with earlier "normal" schools for Blacks in that locale.) Further, Mr. Cardozo, so far as the present author has learned, was the "first" and "only" Black even to run for the office of Sheriff of Pasquotank County (until 1970) - much less hold the office. Cardozo also appears to be the "first and only" Black to have been Superintendent of Education for the State of Mississippi.

Although the family surname, Cardozo, was prominent in South Carolina Reconstruction politics and several decades later in educational developments in the District of Columbia, little appears to have been written in one spot about Thomas W. Cardozo (most often mis-spelled "Cardoza") himself. Accordingly, we have this story which also shows a significant expression of civic interest by the Pasquotank Board of County Commissioners in 1869.

The Commissioners' manuscript, unpaged, Minute Book I had the following direction, dated March 3, 1869: "Ordered that the 'red School House' be

*The initial manuscript used the word "Negro." The present text bows to the current parlance.

1Mr. Garnie Banks of Elizabeth City - now a city councilman - was an unsuccessful candidate for that office in a six-man race for it during the 1970 Pasquotank elections.

2It may be noted that the Elizabeth City portion of the present text is derived from the writer's Gentleman from Pasquotank (unpublished MS), a story of Hugh Cale, a Black legislator. Excerpts from that text as well as a portion of the present narrative were incorporated in the author's Pasquotank Pedagogues and Politicians..., produced in 1966 for the 75th Anniversary of Elizabeth City State University.
near the Corporate limits of Elizabeth City also near the residence of Mr. A. B. Perse [sic; Persse], which is a public School House be loaned to the Colored people for School purposes until further ordered and they be al-
lowed to take possession immediately." This school, it seems almost cer-
tain, was the first formal location of a publicly-supported Black school in Pasquotank County.

Thomas W. Cardozo collected his pupils soon after the Commissioners' order and began educational activities in that historic first school house. One may imagine that there was jubilation among the citizens. By July 8, 1869, an interesting, outspoken but generally courteous Republican newspaper named The North Carolinian - only recently inaugurated in Elizabeth City by its editor and publisher, Dr. Palemon John, formerly a Pennsylvania physician - was able to report briefly on this new venture in learning. In that July 1869 edition, its first mention, Mr. Cardozo and his 124 pupils' educational efforts were under the auspices of the New York Freedman's Union Commission, the North Carolinian reported on page two.

On August 12, 1969, the Carolinian on page three urged local citizens to take advantage of an offer by Schoolmaster Cardozo, contained in a letter from him to the newspaper - and, of course, to its readers. The text of Cardozo's lengthy but informative epistle does not appear to be otherwise available, thus it is printed here (italics as in source):

    Brooklyn, N. Y. Aug. 2, 1869

    To the Editor of the North Carolinian:

    It is quite a treat to receive the North Carolinian every week. I appreciate it as much as I do my Anti-Slavery Standard, Independent, Tri-
bune, Harper's &c. I see that a "progressive teacher" in Pennsylvania
wants to know if there is a good opening for him in Elizabeth City. I am sorry that you were not prepared to give him more encouragement. If there is no opening among the white children, there is a vast opening among the colored. The nearest colored school to Elizabeth City is in Hertford [Perquimans County, North Carolina], eighteen miles distant [to the southwest]. The next nearest is at Edenton thirty miles, and I believe that latter has been discontinued. Edenton [further southwest than Hertford], I understand, is a growing little village, pleasantly situated, and has a greater number of colored persons than we have in Elizabeth City. He cannot find a better class of children to labor among than the colored children of the South. They are, as a general thing, apt, willing, industrious and obedient. The only fault I have found among my pupils is, that they were a little noisy; this is accounted for by their being deprived of school privileges regularly.

Now if he wish to engage in teaching colored children, I think he can succeed by applying to the Pennsylvania Branch of the Freedman's Union Commission 71 Sansom Street Philadelphia. Or if they are cramped for means - as most of the Freedman's societies are - he might get a few prominent individuals in his neighborhood to call a meeting, some one make a strong appeal in behalf of Freedman's schools, and some one to canvass one or two counties, and he must be a poor collector if he cannot get a thousand dollars paid in or subscribed in eight or ten months.

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

T. W. Cardozo [-]

One notes Mr. Cardozo mentioning "we" in praising Elizabeth City as a place to work; he was assisted by Mrs. Cardozo. Meanwhile, the Carolinian drew readers' attention to the "important proposition made in the communication of Prof. Cardozo .... By all means let a lot be selected and

The late Rufus Early Clement, former president of Atlanta University, cited Mr. and Mrs. Cardozo as maintaining a school in Elizabeth City, 1868-1869 (in his unpublished PhD dissertation, A History of Negro Education in North Carolina 1865-1928 [Northwestern University, 1930], p. 61). His source is given as American Freedman, III-6 (April 1869), p. 11. Dr. Clement's study, while not without value for other portions of the State, is of limited usefulness for northeastern North Carolina since it mentions that sector so infrequently.
and offered. Everything of this kind is of importance to our place." Editor Palemon John thus sought to spur citizens to foster greater educational opportunity locally.

Dr. John's North Carolinian continued notices of school matters. For example, the September 2, 1869 edition reported the Elizabeth City school population as 297 white children (159 boys, 138 girls) and 261 Blacks (123 boys, 138 girls). Next, the September 16 Carolinian printed still another letter from Cardozo, this one describing "A Visit to the Hub."

This letter has its importance, also. Presumably Cardozo's impressions of Boston might have bearing on his teachings locally in matters of citizenship. Conceivably the 261 Black school-age children in Elizabeth City could be influenced, directly or indirectly, by such instruction.

Cardozo's latest letter to the Carolinian was dated September 6, 1869, and was written from Boston's Parker House. The concluding paragraph of it was an index to his views on race relations - views he conceivably could transmit to his pupils (italics as in source):

The people of this State [Massachusetts] are climbing rapidly, and successfully towards the height of civilization. The children are taught in the schools that it is wicked to harbor prejudice against a person on account of his color, that every man must be respected according to his character, as he is responsible for that, but not his color. Ah! dear Dr. John, how long shall we have to labor in the South before we can enjoy such a degree of civilization! Here I am stopping at one of the finest hotels in the country; on my right are seated three respectable-looking colored gentlemen from the South who are also stopping here, and around are seated fifteen or twenty gents enjoying their segars and papers, and not a slur is cast or a frown thrown at us. We do not wish to force ourselves upon any one. All we ask is fair play in all public places and conveyances. And may God speed the day when we shall have it.

Yours truly,

T. W. Cardozo.
The North Carolinian for October 14, 1869 (page three) reported significant progress in school matters: "We have learned that the Trustees of the Colored Normal School have purchased a lot from Judge Brooks adjoining the lot of M. B. Culpepper, Esq., on Hines street, 160 x 92 feet, for one hundred and twenty-five dollars, and a suitable building will be erected so soon as the plan and specifications are drawn." This was encouraging news; it would seem that Cardozo's efforts for Blacks having their own school building were reaching success - with vital assistance from an education-conscious Pasquotank citizenry.

Other educational items could be found in the Carolinian. One such report concerned this burgeoning "normal school" movement (italics as in source):

Public Meeting in Elizabeth City.

To the Editor of the North Carolinian

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

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

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5The first school in North Carolina was established in Pasquotank County, 1705, not understanding 164 years more, for Pasquotank Blocks to get one.
is on account of its distance from the residences of the majority of our colored citizens.

T. W. CARDOZO, chairman,

Selim Sutton, Secretary.

Following this citation of local Black promontories and their progress, still another educational item could be found in the Carolinian. This notice - reflecting officialdom - was a beautiful communication from Pasquotank's county commissioners, dated October 9, 1869. Their words (italics as in source):

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

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

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

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

Part of the impetus for this excellent decision could have been the earlier (i.e., 1868) efforts by the North Carolina General Assembly on behalf of public school education. That possibility notwithstanding, the Commissioners had exercised statesmanship.
Educational developments, though salutary, obviously were not confined to Elizabeth City precincts. On November 4, 1869, for example, the Carolinian reported a convention of colored Methodists held in Edenton - some 30 miles southwest of Elizabeth City - during the latter part of October. The report indicated Cardozo's speaking in the neighboring town in connection with that meeting (October 23). The schoolmaster told of "his mission, and of the progress of the school in Elizabeth City," the newspaper reported. More activity for Mr. Cardozo was reported in the same journal on December 2; he was on a committee to draft a constitution for a proposed local building and loan association. The same edition had news that Cardozo gained authority from General O. O. (for Oliver Otis) Howard, commissioner of the Freedman's Bureau, to let a contract for a colored normal building. This advice was channeled through North Carolina's State Superintendent of Public Instruction during 1868-1871, Samuel E. Ashley. The building was to be constructed at a cost not exceeding $800.00.

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

Dr. John could be pardoned for some gaps in his historical knowledge, given his enthusiasm for the cause, and the desired effect upon his readership. "Copperheads of the North" and other individuals would not necessarily be aware of Juan Latino and Jean Eliza Capetain - the former a mulatto musician, poet, teacher of Latin and holder of a master's degree in 16th-century Spain; the latter, quite obviously a Black, the author of an 18th-century doctoral dissertation produced in Latin for a Dutch university, his surprising subject being the defense of slavery. Of course, such items as these were sparkling examples of the educational harvest - already quite bountiful in various parts of the world and the United States, with more to come in the near future. In the interim, Pasquotank's school crop in 1869 merely had not yet become as greatly endowed, although at least one of Mr. Cardozo's pupils, Wiley Lane, was well on the road to academic eminence.

\footnote{He was the son of school trustee Whitmel Lane (1824-1901). Frederick D. Wilkerson (ed.), \textit{Directory of Graduates - Howard University 1870-1963} (Washington, D. C.: The University, July 1, 1965), mentions Lanes at p. 220: "John J. Lane," Wiley's brother, received a certificate from the Preparatory Department in 1873; "Wiley Lane, Jr.," likewise, same year. Wiley also won his AB in 1877, his MA in 1881, as well as an Amherst bachelor's, 1879 (the latter degree according to p. 9 of \textit{Obituary Addresses on the Occasion of The Funeral of Professor Wiley Lane ...} [Washington, D. C.: Judd & Detweiler, 1885]). "Dr." Wiley Lane may be found listed as a Howard University assistant principal (Normal Department) 1879-1883, and Professor of Greek Language}
Schoolmaster Cardozo and others therefore sought more potency for local educational growth.

An example of such effort was a deed executed January 11, 1870, whereby $100.00 was paid George D. Pool, trustee for Thomas Gaskins, by Thomas W. "Cardoza," Jesse R. Brown, Selim Sutton, and Jacob "Spelman," collectively trustees of the colored normal school. These men purchased land with broad liberal intent: "for permanent school purposes for Freedmen and children irrespective of color" (italics added). The site was a vacant lot in Elizabeth City's "Race tract." The boundary line began at the street running nearly at a right angle with Shepard Street in front of Palemon John, then thirty feet north from the northward course of Peter Pugh's lot and northwardly in the direction of Shepard Street, 208 feet; then parallel with Pugh's lot, 208 feet; next, parallel with the street running southward from John's house, 208 feet; finally, 208 feet to the point of beginning (see map). These prosaic descriptors of an historic

and Literature (1883-1884) in Louis D. Rubin, Jr. (ed.), Teach the Freeman, I (Louisiana State University, 1959, p. 107, second footnote #1).

Wiley Lane died at age 32 and quite possibly was Cardozo's most distinguished pupil. His tombstone in a family plot near the corner of the present Culpepper and Grice Streets in Elizabeth City (and diagonally across from historic Mt. Lebanon Church), reads as follows: "... Prof. Wiley Lane / Born Nov. 22, 1852 / Died Feb. 16, 1885 / at Howard University, / Washington D.C." Frederick Douglass, Senator Hoar of Massachusetts, and others, gave addresses in Lane's honor during memorial services in 1885. Alumni sponsored the occasion. Francis L. Cardozo noted in his eulogy then, that Lane had been a pupil of Cardozo's brother, Thomas, when the latter two were in Elizabeth City. Said he: "When I became Professor of Latin at Howard ... in the fall of 1871, I received a letter from one of my brothers, the late T. W. Cardozo, who was then Principal of the Grammar School at Elizabeth City, N.C., telling me he had sent three of his brightest pupils to the Preparatory Department of Howard University, Mr. Rooks Turner and Messrs. John and Wiley Lane, and that he wished I would take a personal interest in their advancement. I did so .... How singular and mysterious it is that after so many years of careful preparation this beautiful young spirit should pass away just as it entered upon its lifework. And yet .... the influence of this example remains" (italics as in source). (Obituary Addresses ..., pp. [3], 23, 25; booklet to be found in Elisha Overton Papers, Elizabeth City State University Archives.)
event and locus - the culmination of much local civic effort by whites and blacks - are in a document registered July 14, 1870 in Deed Record PP (p. 217), Office of Pasquotank's Register of Deeds.

A brighter sun continued beaming on educational efforts for Pasquotank's Blacks. Professor Cardozo and his wife won praise yet again in the Carolinian, this time for examinations held at their school, May 13, 1870, a Friday, incidentally. Attorney Cyrus Grandy, a prominent local politico (and not a Black) was the speaker. 

Assistant teacher to the Cardozos, it must have been a proud occasion. Certainly the event received good coverage in the May 19, 1870 North Carolinian.

The same issue of this newspaper advised that Mr. Cardozo was among speakers at a Republican meeting held in South Mills (some 13 miles northwest of Elizabeth City, in Camden County, North Carolina) on Saturday, May 14. Cardozo next turned up in politics, aside from instances already cited, as a name on the regular Republican ticket. He was candidate for sheriff of Pasquotank County. This proved to be his local undoing.

On August 4, 1870, voters awarded Aspirant-Sheriff Cardozo, a Republican, the respectable total of 830 votes. Others of the electorate, however, gave John L. Wood, "Independent Republican," 930 votes. Would-be-Sheriff Cardozo thus lost his bid. Emphatic Republican, Editor John, issued an outraged blast.

John's topic was Cardozo's supposed splintering of Republican vote-gathering - though one ponders how the text would have read if Cardozo had been victorious. Dr. John said he had no quarrel with those refusing to support the "Cardozo ticket," but he observed somewhat otherwise - about 180 degrees otherwise - in an August 11 Carolinian editorial entitled "A LITTLE PLAIN
"TALK." The editorial is reprinted in its entirety as a revealing pronouncement on politics and race relations, 1870-edition, Pasquotank Republican version, Division of Certain Losing Candidates (italics as in source):

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 [John's?] 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 advice, 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 benefitting 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 be forced; it must be educated. Man's prejudice will not 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 blessings. Mark! we do not say that the colored man has no right to share in the offices, but what will it avail him if by insisting on the right he gives both the offices and the Government over into the hands of his enemies? We make this "plain talk" for the benefit of the colored people of this country [county?] and District. May they ponder it well.

The North Carolinian for August 25, 1870, had a page-two editorial on "The Teacher"; the September 1 edition, a page-one item on earmarks of "Teachers who Err." Was the newspaper making a not-too-subtle point?

Meanwhile, it would appear that Representative Thomas Sykes of Pasquotank, like Cardozo, a Black, had experienced no such problems in achieving a legislative career of four terms in the North Carolina General Assembly - a time frame (1868-1872) which embraced Mr. Cardozo's bid for sheriff. Such inconsistency was a facet of the political temper of the times; but the inconsistency was only an apparent one. State representatives could affect local citizens but not nearly so directly as a county's sheriff. It would be the rare white who could stomach a summons from a Black; an "equal right" for office-seeking might depend upon the office sought.

Gentler phrases relating to Mr. Cardozo were in the October 27, 1870 Carolinian; there was a page-three announcement that the "Colored Normal School" had re-opened with classes being held in "their new building." Our well-publicized schoolmaster was still in the chief tutor's chair. This being so, Principal Cardozo manifestly managed to keep his head relatively high, despite the withering blast of journalistic heat, earlier in August.

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7The Black legislator is sketched in the present author's unpublished manuscript, New Man in the House: Thomas A. Sykes. He later won election to the Tennessee House of Representatives.
John reported on December 22, 1870 that, in company with County
Examiner Frank Vaughan, the editor had visited most or all of the local
educational institutions-in-embryo, Cardozo's included. In the latter,
"Miss Lizzie Thompson (colored)" had the "Primary Colored School" with
29 pupils on the register and an average daily attendance of twenty.
"The little folks are getting a good start," beamed Dr. John. The "Higher
Departments of the Colored School" had three grades, each in a separate
part of the "new" school building for Blacks. The highest grade was under
Mr. Cardozo: 25 pupils registered, with average daily attendance of 23.
In addition, Miss S. L. Williams had one of the higher departments with 38
registered (ADA, 35) and these students were "well disciplined." The
third "Department" was conducted by Mrs. L. J. Cardozo, who supervised 65
pupils (ADA, something over 50 persons). Mrs. Cardozo maintained "quiet
department and good order" among her charges. The Carolinian said the
school was "in the very best condition - the pupils are making good pro-
gress. There are five in the classics." Thus, the Carolinian's report on
"common" school operations, including Blacks, in Pasquotank County, North
Carolina at the end of 1870.

These were pleasant, encouraging reports, but by then Cardozo him-
self seems to have had enough of Elizabeth City (and perhaps vice versa?).
In its issue for January 12, 1871, the Carolinian gave this somewhat less-
than-graceful news item: "On Thursday last [i.e., January 5, 1871] Mr. T.
W. Cardozo, Teacher and Politician, left this place for Vicksburg, Miss.,
to take charge of a school in that city. As a teacher he was well quali-
fied and was doing a good work, but as a politician he most effectually
'played out'."

[End of this text, we find that the faculty
of Cardozo's school had increased from three to four
persons, the Misses Thompson and Williams, Mr. T. W. Cardozo,
in the 1870s.]

78.
The judgement was a bit premature. Thomas W. Cardozo subsequently became head of Mississippi's state educational system, thus quite neatly combining his two civic loves, education and politics; and the story could conveniently end at this point. But more history - troubling events - lay ahead amid the Mississippi magnolias and the far less beautiful flowerings of politics there in those times.

Cardozo has been labelled "obscure" in several sources. Rather than that being precisely the circumstance, he simply and with comparative suddenness became something of a force in new scenes of action, admittedly minus local citizens' having copious prior knowledge of him. In the first place, Cardozo had arrived in Elizabeth City, North Carolina under a cloud. That city's Republican paper of the times is silent about this cloud - whether from lack of knowledge or editorial delicacy not now known to us. Later on in Mississippi however, the "cloud's" details got public viewing.

James Wilford Garner pronounced that "Cardoza" (most authors mis-spelled it that way) "at the time of his nomination" for Mississippi Superintendent of Education was "under indictment for larceny at Brooklyn, New York." Garner also tells us that the Jackson, Mississippi Clarion for August 13, 1874, printed a copy of the indictment. It would appear, then, that this charge could have been still pending during Cardozo's Elizabeth City sojourn since he arrived there from New York in 1869 or earlier.

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8 Reconstruction in Mississippi (originally Macmillan, 1901; reprinted, Peter Smith, 1964), p. 293, n. 3.
Being human, Cardozo probably wished with good reason for that story to remain invisible; or better still, obliterated. But, history-writers Garner, Blanche Ames Ames, and John Fitzgerald Kennedy all refer to – re-create – this cloud besetting Cardozo, each according to respective points of view. Vernon Lane Wharton and John Roy Lynch were reasonably charitable. Otis A. Singletary, however-like Kennedy — added his jab to Mr. Cardozo. In short, it would seem that for all his good works, Thomas W. Cardozo was not to rest peacefully in the pages of history — when he managed to appear in them!

Then-Senator Kennedy's text is an example. He repeated the statement about the indictment (at p. 161 of his Profiles ...) which statement, in context, was cited by Mrs. Ames as not doing justice to her father, Adelbert

9 Adelbert Ames 1835-1933, General, Senator, Governor ... (New York: Argosy-Antiquarian Ltd., 1964), commas in title added by present author.


Ames, then Governor of Mississippi. Senator Kennedy wrote: "One Car-
doza [sic], under indictment for larceny in New York, was placed at the head of the public schools and two former slaves held the offices of Lieutenant Governor and Secretary of State."14 (Why "former slaves" were so bad, as there seems to be fairly clear implication, was not pointed out.)

To knit things together a bit more, the situation seemed to be as follows: Thomas W. Cardozo had moved to Vicksburg, Mississippi - quite probably in January 1871, according to the Elizabeth City North Carolina's notice. According to the same source, Mr. Cardozo went to Vicksburg to conduct a school there that town, of course, being the chief locale in Warren County, Mississippi.

As in Brooklyn and Elizabeth City, Warren County was not a comfortable place for Mr. Cardozo; nor, at the time, for many other local citizens. According to available sources, Republicans and particularly Black Republicans were very strong in Warren County in those days and things political very lively, to put it mildly.

At Vicksburg, in due time, Cardozo became the circuit clerk for Warren County. This occurred by 1873 and may just possibly represent service between 1871 and 1873. When he became State Superintendent,15 (A statement by Garner, his p. 307, implies Cardozo gaining the office of circuit clerk in 1870, but this appears to be too early since he was then in North Carolina. More likely, the year was 1871.)

14 Mrs. Ames has the full quote of the appropriate Kennedy paragraph at p. 549 of her text.
Within a year or so, Thomas Cardozo was again an acrimonious subject. Garner (p. 332) says a grand jury "consisting of ten freedmen and seven whites, found seven indictments against Cordova [sic], ex-circuit clerk, and at that time state superintendent of education, for embezzlement of $2,000, and for forging witness certificates." The "district attorney," Garner says, felt that "one hundred indictments against Cordova [sic]" could have been found; eight of them appeared to do nicely for the time being.

Wharton also has a summary of Mr. Cardozo's origin, development, and dispatch (p. 164); it bears repetition:

Cardozo, superintendent of education from 1874 [sic; 1873] until his resignation under threat of impeachment in 1876, was an educated mulatto from New York [?]. Nominated as a result of pressure from the Vicksburg machine, he was almost unknown outside of Warren County before his election. Although both [Blanche] Ames and Lynch testify to his intellectual and educational qualifications, neither of them defends his character. He was undoubtedly involved in the corruption at Vicksburg, and was shown to have embezzled more than two thousand dollars of the funds of Tougaloo University. After this episode, he returned to the obscurity from which he came.

Right here, the question may be, if Cardozo was supposed to be that much of a rascal and political risk, how did he get to head the state educational apparatus in the first place? Politics is the obvious answer, but specifically what appear to have been political plans laid earlier for the 1877 Mississippi governorship and future United States senatorial incumbent from that state. As the astute Black politician, John R. Lynch, seems to say in his Facts of Reconstruction (p. 75), this four-part plan

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15 Tougaloo College (located in Tougaloo, Mississippi) is a Black church-related institution granting baccalaureate degrees. It was founded in 1869.
had Cardozo for the superintendent's job; James Hill for secretary of state; and A. K. Davis for lieutenant governor. Ames, of course, would be governor - and part four of the scheme (or the first part, depending upon how one chooses to order the principals).

There was still another element leading to the formulation of this plan, particularly as relates to Cardozo's role. That element was a portrayal of the Warren County situation. Lynch (p. 75) felt the ticket just described was not particularly strong, but not too bad - Mr. Hill receiving especial praise from Mr. Lynch. For the superintendency, Lynch said: "In point of education and experience Cardozo was admitted to be entirely capable of filling the office ...; but he was not well known outside of his own county, Warren. In fact his nomination was largely a concession to that strong Republican county."

Garner points up this factor (p. 293), speaking of Blacks' "belief ... that they had not secured their proper share of the state offices in 1870," leading to their establishing a "'color line.'" In the 1873 state convention, Garner says, Blacks "demanded that at least three of the seven state offices should go to colored men." He says Warren County delegates "mounted desks in the convention hall, and with pistols drawn declared that one of the three candidates must come from Vicksburg. Their argument was that colored men did the voting and were, therefore, entitled to the offices." (An argument like that could draw supporters!) As an example of that strength, Garner reports that the incumbent superintendent, Henry R. Pease, was "set aside for a negro [sic; Cardozo] whose chief qualification was the color of his skin."
Vernon Wharton (pp. 175f) also seemed to be less than enchanted with the situation. He referred to Blacks tiring of "six years of domination of the party by whites"; felt that the Blacks "overestimated their ability to supply suitable candidates"; said that such a circumstance was "evident" after the "weak" Davis won the lieutenant governor's nomination upon refusal of the office by Blanche K. Bruce (a Black who, of course, had his day in the United States Senate) and cited as the clincher for the worsening situation, the fact that the "Vicksburg ring, threatening violence and secession, secured the post of superintendent of education for Cardozo."

"Vicksburg ring" there may well have been; it was certainly not the first nor last one in Mississippi's or other states' histories. As for a high office holder "whose chief qualification was the color of his skin," the same may be said for various other election-winners. For Thomas W. Cardozo, Superintendent of Education, however, the furor was not yet over.

News of Superintendent Cardozo's indictments reached Mississippi's Governor Ames in August 1874 (he was then at Bay St. Louis). Blanche Ames, his daughter, wrote (p. 401) that "he received word that Mr. Cardoza [sic], who had been Circuit Clerk for Warren County, had been arrested for frauds, that he was unable to pay the $5,000 bail required and had been sent to jail." She reports that the Governor said he was "mortified and chagrined at the event ... it is an illustration of the character of the material we have to work with ... and gives me new cause to wish to be

Bruce (1841-1893), born color. Enl. in Mexican War, killed U.S. Army service, 1867, age 27.

In fact, the first Black in the history of the nation to become a United States Senator was Mississippian Hiram R. Revels (February 25, 1870). "Ironically, Revels is appointed to the unexpired term of Jefferson Davis. When he walks into Congress on this fateful Friday afternoon the audience in the galleries stands up and cheers." (Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. [ed.]: The Almanac of American History [Greenwich, CT: Bison Books Corp., 1984], p. 316, col. 1.) Still another Black Mississippi legislator was Congress-
absolutely separated from it ...." Said Mrs. Ames, "these forebodings of overhanging evil to develop in Vicksburg were soon justified."

Garner (p. 293) also felt that these activities began Governor Ames' downfall; that "Davis and Cordova [sic] hung like millstones about his [Ames'] neck"; that Secretary of State Hill was the only redeeming feature. (Wharton, too, exonerated only Hill.) At page 366, Garner repeated himself with vengeance: "... The demand of the colored race for office, in 1873, caused [Henry R. Pease] to be set aside for a negro [sic] named Cordova [sic]. Cordova [sic], at the time of his election, was under indictment for malfeasance as circuit clerk of Warren County. Upon his impeachment and removal from office in 1876 for misappropriation of school funds, Mr. Gathright, a Southern man, became superintendent."17

Before being impeached, of course, one had to gain the office; the "negro named Cordova" had to win election. Assorted methods of accomplishing this were used by both the assorted aspirants and members of the electorate, Democrats and Republicans. These activities - a number of which ended in tragedies - later led to the so-called Mississippi "Revolution of 1875"; to a welter of impeachments; to investigation by the Congress; and to concern as to how all this would affect national Republican politics, including the Presidential variety. It does not seem reasonable to assume that Thomas W. Cardozo - alone - was responsible for all this; whatever his hand in the proceedings, he had plenty of company with roles equal to or more prominent than his. For the 1875 "Revolution," one can nonetheless

infer Otis A. Singletary giving credit to Cardozo for helping to incite it.

Mr. Singletary provided a detail or so, not covered by Mr. Lynch's synopsis of Mr. Cardozo's nomination. Singletary says Governor Ames seemed not to "comprehend the earnestness with which the Mississippi Democrats determined to regain control of the State" (p. 75) and for 1875 reports: "The first and mildest of the disturbances ... took place in Vicksburg on July 4, 1875 .... The Negroes held a meeting at the courthouse 'for the performance of patriotic exercises,' in which the scheduled speaker was T. W. Cardoza [sic], perhaps the most bitterly hated of Mississippi's Negro politicians. An altercation between Cardoza [sic] and a local judge resulting from an unflattering editorial written by Cardoza [sic] led to a general outbreak, during which several Negroes were killed" (pp. 88f). The times were like that - Cardozo or no Cardozo. The Ku Klux Klan was spawned in Tennessee in 1866; three years later its officers tried to disband it, on account of members' bestiality. Mississippi had 63 Black murders within two months of the early 1870's. The vicious Mississippi "Revolution of 1875" was entirely, if regrettably, in keeping with the times. Mrs. Ames (p. 506) quoted her father's words to a history-writer in 1895: "A race conflict stirs more profoundly the depths of our natures
than does a religious conflict. The best man is crucified with less regret in the first instance than in the second." (*In Retrospect*)

Wharton felt that Governor Ames "probably worked more effectively for the advancement of the Negroes than any other man" (p. [277]). Garner (p. 408) charged Ames with "over-confidence in the mental and moral ability of the black race, so far as their ability to govern themselves was concerned." Member-of-the-Black-Race Cardozo, meanwhile, was credited by Wharton (p. 272) as a prime mover in establishing a Vicksburg branch of the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows of America, in March 1875. This was fine civic activity, but would-be impeachers still wanted to impeach.

Garner, as usual, tells it like it is (p. 401): "... The understanding among the Democrats was that if they secured the legislature ..., [Ames] was to be impeached and removed from office, along with certain other state officials, notably the lieutenant governor [Davis] and the superintendent of education [Cardozo]." Considering these aims, one tends to see the merits of Wharton's apparent opinion that various of the charges against Superintendent Cardozo were more political vendetta than representatives of glaring malfeasance. It is therefore possible that Cardozo's sins were less "sins" *per se*, but instead, a few cudgels among wonderfully convenient political bats with which to knock the Governor out of his chair.

However it was, the impeachment proceedings proceeded. Garner (pp. 404-405) fills in details of Cardozo's tribulations - now resulting from a legislative resolution of February 16, 1876. The synopsis of this
unhappy legislation is: Cardozo's sins recounted; he requests permission to resign; permission duly granted; resignation accepted nearly unanimously by the Mississippi House, February 22, 1876. The Legislature also obtained Governor Ames' resignation.  

Mrs. Ames (p. 472) cites United States Senator Bayard's having downgraded the resignations of both Governor Ames and Superintendent "Cordoso." It does not seem accurate to cite the resignation - like 'taking the 5th' - as an automatic imputation of guilt. Viewed otherwise however, the fuss over Cardozo and various of his Black colleagues may have had bearing on the sparse space - or none - given him by some historians who write about Black and non-Black.

As the smoke clears and reflection sets in, one may recall the words of a Black Congressman, John Roy Lynch, who wrote concerning the bedrock cause of the turmoil in Mississippi and throughout especially the Southern portions of the Nation. That bedrock was called "Negro Domination." Lynch (p. 75) defined "Negro Domination" as occurring "whenever the will of the majority of whites would be defeated through

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19 John Hope Franklin, for instance, simply mentions Cardozo's name and title (e.g., Reconstruction: After the Civil War [University of Chicago, 1961], p. 134) which item is roughly equal to the citation in his From Slavery to Freedom (p. 314 of 1st edition, p. 318 in paper reprint). Other citers mix Thomas with his brother, Francis, and usually give the latter fairly good space. Langston Hughes & Milton Meltzer list the Mississippi protagonists except Cardozo (p. 210, A Pictorial History of the Negro in America, 1st ed., 1956 [New York: Crown] and print his brother's photo (p. 221). Another notable absence for Thomas Cardozo is George A. Sewell & Margaret L. Dwight: Mississippi Black History Makers, rev. and enl. ed. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1984).

The present author credits most of the writers cited in this narrative with noticeable attempts to be fair in their assessments. Mrs. Ames and Garner, especially, often appeared to be doing their best with earlier strong personal prejudices having their effects upon the recording of a stormy period.
the votes of colored men." Mr. Lynch then asserted that "[i]f this is
the correct definition of the term ..., then the friends and advocates
of manhood suffrage will not deny that we have had in the past 'Negro
domination,' nationally as well as locally, and that we may have it in
the future." To prevent it, "... the negro [sic] vote should be sup-
pressed" - which Lynch would not condone, but which is cold reasoning
followed to its logical conclusion. Should the issue of "Negro Domina-
tion" again arise, as Lynch and other legislators predicted (really it
never got buried, as events of the "Second Reconstruction" of the 1960's
and 1970's so vividly demonstrated), there was another point worth con-
sidering. Joseph Flake Steelman\(^{20}\) said of turn-of-the-(20th)-century
politics (p. 196): "The Negro menace was to a considerable extent the
fabrication of newspapers and campaign orators." In the second half of
the twentieth century, one could ask whether other media might also be
relevant to Steelman's pronouncement.

In the meantime, what of Thomas W. Cardozo - lately Superintendent
of Mississippi's public education? His activities between 1876 and the
1880's were not discovered by the present writer. But by 1885,
the verbiage on "Negro Domination" and allied matters no longer concerned
him. By that date, he is presumed to be dead since his brother, Francis,
referred to him at that period, in another connection, as "late." (He is
not presumed to have died in Miss., since Downey (p. 15) says
\(^{20}\)His excellent PhD dissertation, The Progressive Era in North Caro-

flina, 1884-1917 (University of North Carolina, 1955).
Was Thomas W. Cardozo a victim of himself, his times, or both? As the patient reader forms a verdict, the present writer advances the following points of view. Mr. Cardozo's political and some other involvements make fine grist of those who would smear or disparage. However, he was praised by nearly all commentators for his pedagogical abilities and his mentality. It can also be inferred that his was a rather compelling personality; obviously there had to be something beyond his brains which various parts of the voting public found to be attractive. It also may be worth mentioning that some other person could have been chosen for the educational and political responsibilities awarded him; instead, these mantles fell to Cardozo, whatever the result. That in itself says something for him. It would be unreasonable to aver that electorates and constituencies in two states and several locales, were all of them deficient in judgment in making their choice of an individual to conduct civic responsibilities on their behalf.

Whereas a comparatively few persons were truly upset, and with justification, by some of Cardozo's non-educational pursuits, a few hundred children - in Elizabeth City, North Carolina, if not elsewhere - gained valuable assistance and perhaps a solid beginning for many worthwhile lives. Wiley Lane and Rooks Turner of that town (cf., this text, n. 6, pp. 9-10) are two examples - Professor Lane holding forth at Howard University, and Mr. Turner providing privately-supported "Normal" studies for Elizabeth City Blacks during the 1880's.

Further: someone obviously would have begun public education for Black children in Pasquotank County, North Carolina at some time; from the facts presently available, that someone was Thomas W. Cardozo. It is also interesting that the records thus far cited are silent on any Warren County,
Mississippi schooling he may have conducted. Equally absent is citation of
any plusses during the three years of his state superintendency. And for
that office, was he the sole Black male in the entire State who could have
been deemed eligible for the office? Hardly!

Not every "first" must be "best"; but in summing Cardozo, that "first"
- his little school in northeastern North Carolina - may qualify as being
exceptionally a good thing, at the least, in the judgment of most anyone. A
reviewer of Cardozo's Mississippi sojourn may also wonder whether some as-
psects of his reputation - not to mention the nearly total absence of "plus"
citations - were primarily politically-inspired smear tactics, at the time;
followed up by historical down-playing or more often, outright omission from
texts - for a century after his time.

Perhaps someday, then, Thomas W. Cardozo's "cloud" may be allowed to
gain some gilding of a "sunlight" which admits that the man did do some-
things right. And so a story - and some opinions - and a hope that his shades
may rest peacefully. Perhaps Thomas Cardozo, after more than a century of
verbal trouncing in the history books - or a silence in them scheduling him
for utter oblivion - has served his "sentence" by now. And it just may be
that several dozen historic American figures would give sympathetic agree-
ment to such assessment and wish the same for themselves. It could be that
some of those same "historic" American figures just might be found in the
history - somewhat recent and not so recent - of The Magnolia
State itself.

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Rev. C. H. A. Bulkley, D.D., Mr. G. W. Cook, and Prof. Thomas Robinson, Delivered at the Memorial Meeting Held under the Direction of the Alumni of the College Department in the Fifteenth-St. Presbyterian Church, March 3, 1885. (Washington, D. C.: Judd & Detweiler, 1885) The foregoing is intentionally reproduced from the title page; the cover reads: In Memoriam / Professor Wiley Lane / of the / Howard University, / Washington, D. C. Document to be found in the Elisha Overton Papers, Elizabeth City State University Archives.

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GENTLEMAN FROM PASQUOTANK: HUGH CALE

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by Leonard R. Ballou
University Archivist
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NEW MAN IN THE HOUSE: THOMAS A. SYKES

First African American Legislator

From

Pasquotank County

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by Leonard R. Ballou
University Archivist
Elizabeth City State University
Elizabeth City, North Carolina
August, 1979
Pasquotank Pedagogues and Politicians:

Early Educational Struggles

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by
Leonard R. Ballou
December 1966
University Archivist
Elizabeth City State University
Elizabeth City, North Carolina

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by

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August, 1979
NEW MAN IN THE HOUSE: THOMAS A. SYKES

On Wednesday, July 1, 1868, Pasquotank County, North Carolina began something new in its political history. According to information available to the present writer, that date marks the first time a Negro sat in the North Carolina House of Representatives on behalf of Pasquotank County. The new man: the Honorable Thomas A. Sykes.¹

A Negro in a Southern state legislature, in 1868, was an interesting phenomenon in itself throughout the Region - one may also say, in our Nation. Mr. Sykes would make his own mark in the path of Pasquotank's rich heritage and among its distinguished sons.

Given the paucity of information available to the writer thus far, Mr. Sykes could be called an 'elusive solon'. Originally, this sketch of him was much shorter and but a little appendix to a larger work, but it became a separate article in the early 1970's. The purpose then as now was to introduce this legislator rather than presenting a large-scale story - one which Sykes may well merit. In reviewing and revising the manuscript in 1978, some items have been added and in the process, Representative Sykes seems more and more to deserve the 'full treatment'. Perhaps someone will give him such honor.

Some readers, having finished this article, may consider its subject to have historic overtones neither startling in the overall panorama of political history nor necessarily of lasting impact. Yet, presenting this summary of Sykes's legislative participation during the Summer of 1868 may have merit on

¹Among Sykes's many House colleagues at the time was Tyrrell County Representative Thomas J. Jarvis, who was to become governor of North Carolina.
three other counts: (1) suggesting efforts more than a century ago by a neophyte legislator who as a Negro was not only brand new to, but particularly vulnerable in the comparatively rarefied atmosphere of North Carolina's (or any state's) General Assembly; (2) implying that he necessarily was significant amid his County's political structure; and (3) compiling if in abbreviated form what appears to be a hitherto unwritten narrative, in addition to providing one highlight for the first North Carolina legislative session after the State's 1868 Constitutional Convention.2

News items in the North Carolinian, a Republican newspaper founded in Elizabeth City (seat of Pasquotank County) in 1869, point to Thomas Sykes having been a luminary in both Pasquotank's and the North Carolina First Congressional District's political maneuverings. One also knows that Mr. Sykes was a Republican.

2 The mechanics of re-establishing a General Assembly for Sykes, colleagues and successors to serve in, had historic drama. Even the name was new, although some members of the Constitutional Convention wanted to keep the old name, "House of Commons." A brief summary of the important provisions follows, abstracted from events of March 14 and 16, 1868, in Raleigh: a Representative had to be in the county one year before his election and be a qualified elector; the signed Constitution (signators including Charles C. Pool of Pasquotank) had to be approved by Congress and ratified by the voters; April 21, 22, 23, 1868, were the dates for ratification, which action was to be in accordance with Congressional legislation "known as the Reconstruction Laws" and 120 representatives plus seven members of Congress were to be elected; and finally, Raleigh's capitol bell was to ring while the Constitution was signed. On motion, these provisos were carried by the Convention, which included prominence of presence by President Calvin J. Cowles, Secretary T. A. Byrnes, at opposite philosophic poles the Delegates Plato Durham and James W. Hood (the latter a prominent Negro), and a statement on white and Negro office-holding. (The foregoing abstract is from the one-volume Constitution of the State of North-Carolina, Together with the Ordinances and Resolutions of the Constitutional Convention, ... Jan. 14th, 1868, p. 11 (residence) and Convention Journal, pp. 474-475, 480, 484-485 (office-holding).)
Sykes necessarily had prominence in the estimate of the local electorate. He served no less than three terms in the North Carolina House, representing Pasquotank. He was nominated for the North Carolina Senate. High electoral esteem for him was an actuality.

One would prefer having more information to present here about Mr. Sykes, the man. He was born a slave, according to one source, and rose to serve with the Republican State Executive Committee in 1868. Unfortunately, other than references to him in the present writer's text concerning another Negro legislator, little else was unearthed concerning Sykes's activities in Pasquotank County or elsewhere.

He may have had a sort of mechanical or carpentry shop. This idea is postulated since Pasquotank's Board of County Commissioners, on October 22, 1868, accepted the resignation of a certain Alfred Lane as "Overseer of Road from T. Sykes' Work-shop to Mrs. Cloak Miller [sic] old residence." If "T. Sykes" of the "Work-shop" was our Legislator, the quotation lends credence to the nature of his occupation at the time. Of his family, antecedents, date and place of birth or other related matters, the few records seen were silent.

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4 Pasquotank Commissioners' MS unpaged Minute Book 1. Commissioners appointed a certain Henry Thompson as Lane's successor (ibid.). (Office of the Register of Deeds, Pasquotank County Courthouse, Elizabeth City.)

5 Excepting sources cited, the reference to Sykes also seen is Hamilton, who treats the legislator microscopically by lumping him as one of nineteen "negroes and two carpetbaggers" to be found in the 1870-1871 "Reform" Legislature. However, that Session, remarkable to note among Hamilton's descriptions of Black legislators, included the "ablest representative of his race," John H. Williamson. (J. G. de Rouhac Hamilton, Reconstruction in North Carolina, pp. 536 note (Sykes), 537 (Williamson).)
On Tuesday, July 7, 1868, Representative Thomas A. Sykes, having been previously sworn and seated, Noon, July 1, received his first committee appointment - to the seven-man Joint Committee on "removal of disabilities from citizens of North Carolina." These were political "disabilities" occasioned by conditions imposed by Congress⁶ - i.e., via the Fourteenth Amendment (of which a sentence or two more, later in this article). The Committee had four members from the House, including Sykes. Two days later, Thursday, July 9, Sykes became a member of the eleven-man Committee on Privileges and Elections. Almost a week later (Wednesday, July 15), he won a third committee appointment, as one of five House members on the Joint Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds. All these and other items we learn from the House Journal for that Session.

Representative Sykes introduced his first bill on Saturday, July 18, 1868. This proposed legislation provided for election of members to the Forty-first Congress, scheduled to convene November 3, 1868. His Bill was "laid over" and then, on July 21, sent to the Privileges and Elections Committee, of which he was a member.

A week later, Sykes introduced a resolution to pay a certain J. J. Sawyer "who served as Engrossing Clerk before that officer had been elected." Sykes's

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⁶ Balanoff, op. cit., p. 32, has this to say of 'disabilities' and Negro legislators of that period: "Negro legislators in 1868 demonstrated conciliatory attitudes toward former Confederates. Many favored the removal of political disabilities to allow the disfranchised former Confederates to retain the offices to which they had been illegally elected. When in July, 1868, a resolution requesting Congress to remove immediately all disabilities of those elected was first presented in the House of Representatives, eight Negroes were among the majority voting to table it. By the end of the month, eleven Negroes favored such a resolution, and only three opposed it. They still opposed the immediate seating of those legislators whose status was in question." Mr. Sykes generally voted with the majority.
resolution was "laid over." (On August 3, another Representative introduced a resolution for the same person. It was adopted.)

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

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

Perhaps having much interest for Representative Sykes as a Privileges and Elections Committee member, among other matters considered, was the proposition concerning a contested election to the House for Wilson Carey, a Negro. Mr. Carey won his arguments, with the Committee apparently accepting his credentials and the sentiments of such supporters as he may have had. Thus, Mr. Carey eventually was sworn in as a bona fide House member. He returned to the chamber in several subsequent sessions.

Among many other legislative matters which Sykes obviously considered, voted upon or heard about as a House member, three not mentioned thus far may be selected for the present purposes, in random chronology. In one instance, the North Carolina Senate pondered gallery divisions for accommodating
white and Negro spectators. The decision was that white "ladies and gentlemen" would fill in on the President's right; "col[4]" ladies and gentlemen" on his left; and the "middle to any that choose to occupy it." It is not impossible that Representative Sykes, hearing of the division, felt his senatorial colleagues did as well as might be expected, given the times.

In another discussion area, Sykes as a legislator had a vote for United States Senator. One of the rare instances when such a North Carolina luminary came from Pasquotank County also provided an opportunity for Mr. Sykes to aid that candidate. The House vote for Senator John Pool (who won for the 1868-1873 term in Congress) was 78-25, Mr. Sykes with the majority. (The citizens back home doubtless were proud. Could Sykes not have aided Pool, and kept his political health?)

In the third instance to be cited here, Representative Sykes like all members of that 1868 General Assembly, was in the right place at the right time to participate even if in a small way by helping to create one of the Nation's more significant moments. During the House proceedings beginning Twelve Noon, July 2, 1868, the North Carolina lower chamber as one of its earliest actions approved the 14th Amendment to the United States Constitution - as the House Journal put it, "the article known as the Howard Amendment." The vote was 82-19, Mr. Sykes in the affirmative. The Senate also approved that Amendment during its session beginning 4 p.m. the same day, with a vote of 34-2 (changed to 35-2, on July 3). North Carolina's legislative approval of the Amendment was directed to be "enrolled on parchment"

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7 Senate Journal (July, 1868), pp. 41f.
then "forward by the Governor [William Woods Holden], to the President of the United States, to the President of the United States Senate, and the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives."

Much had been accomplished during this Session. Finally, on Monday, August 24, 1868, the 47th legislative day, the General Assembly adjourned to reconvene on the third Monday of November, 1868. Representative Thomas A. Sykes of Pasquotank would be present. More than that, Mr. Sykes, having completed his initiation as a legislator, had gained experience and maintained confidence among the electorate sufficiently for Pasquotank's voters to return him to office not only for the forthcoming Session but also those of 1869-1870 and 1871-1872. (J. G. Hamilton has him in the 1870-1871 Session.)

What of Thomas Sykes's career after these North Carolina legislative sessions and other events affecting him, in between and during the years following? Other than some activities cited in another story alluded to earlier, at this writing we only have access to data compiled by the late Monroe N. Work. He shows Sykes in Nashville, Tennessee nearly a decade later, continuing a role in politics.

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9 Senate Journal (July, 1868), pp. 13-15 (text and deliberation), 16 (a certain Senator Wynne added his "aye" on July 3); House Journal (July, 1868), pp. 11-16 (Sykes's vote is p. 16), 18 (parchment direction).

10 Sources for the narrative thus far, except as heretofore documented: the one-volume House and Senate Journals for the Session; specifically, House Journal (July, 1868), pp. [3], 29, 37, 56, 71, 81f, 101, 125, 187, 214, 219 (adjournment); Senate Journal (July, 1868), pp. 240, 253, 260. (Governor Holden of course addressed the Legislature; text, House Journal, pp. 6-7.)

11 Present author's Gentleman from Pasquotank (unpublished MS), a story of Pasquotank Representative Hugh Cale, a Negro.
Work indicates that Sykes became one of at least two Negroes from Davidson County (embracing Nashville) to serve in the Tennessee House of Representatives during the 1870's and 1880's. His terms of office, according to Work, were "1877-79" and "1881-83." Our source reports, "Thomas A. Sykes was a native of North Carolina and had been a member of the North Carolina legislature." Further: "Mr. Sykes was Internal Revenue Collector in Nashville and came there with high revenue officials from North Carolina. He entered politics and was quite influential and finally died at Nashville."¹²

A man would surely have enhanced his image by having served some half-dozen terms in legislatures of two different states, besides being a federal office-holder - all within about fifteen years. In fact, for a Negro to have achieved this in the South of those times may be considered a distinct honor.


The compilation inadvertently missed Pasquotank County although both that County and Mr. Sykes are referred to, *ibid.*, p. 114, n. 31. Also, the compilation errs if one of its tabulations refers to North Carolina; that table shows no Negro Representative for 1891, when Hugh Cale of Pasquotank was in fact in the North Carolina House. (The quotation marks after Sykes's name, *ibid.*, p. 113, appear now to be unnecessary, but one understands Mr. Work's caution in the interest of historical accuracy - one more instance of that giant's scholarly ability.)

It may be added that, in addition to Sykes and according to Work's compilation, the other and earlier Negro Representative from Tennessee's Davidson County was Sampson W. Keeble, serving in the Session of "1871-73" (*ibid.*, p. 114).

Long distance efforts by the present writer failed to unearth additional data on Mr. Sykes's Tennessee sojourn. It is nonetheless quite probable that further efforts will bear fruit.
Thomas A. Sykes, Southern Negro, legislator, and historic figure who achieved such eminence, may some day become more visible to posterity. His activities would seem to fully justify such visibility, not to mention his being in a rare group: the Nation's first Black legislators.
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Pasquotank Pedagogues and

Politicians:

Early Educational Struggles

— By —

LEONARD R. BALLOU
Assistant Professor of Music

Published by

Elizabeth City State College
Elizabeth City, North Carolina
PASQUOTANK PEDAGOGUES AND
POLITICIANS

EARLY EDUCATIONAL STRUGGLES

BY

LEONARD R. BAILLON

December, 1966
FOREWORD

The Seventy-fifth Anniversary of Elizabeth City State College, variously commemorated during 1966, provides an appropriate occasion for compiling these pages. The occasion also provides opportunity to repeat that the Honorable Hugh Calé (1835-1910) was the College’s immediate progenitor and Principal Peter Wedick Moore (1859-1934) its first husbandman.

These men, however, founded an educational institution which filled a need, but not a vacuum. Whether in Bangkok or Bangor, an institution for the public good usually has its spiritual genesis in the yearnings and strivings of many persons. So it is with Elizabeth City State College; so it was in Pasquotank County, North Carolina — “home” for the school during three quarters of a century despite occasional acitivity seeking otherwise.

Throughout especially the last quarter of the nineteenth century many citizens, Negro and white, sought to improve educational opportunities in Pasquotank County. A dual system of public education — recently becoming integrated — was one result of these strivings. Local institutions providing much service in various fields mark other milestones. Elizabeth City State College is the chief local adornment in education, to date, but other local institutions most certainly have had great impact. These include The College of the Albemarle, a two-year community college established in 1961, Roanoke Institute (a Negro institution dating from about 1895), the Carolina College of Commerce (1917) and the Roanoke Bible College (1948).
S. L. Scott's prestigious Atlantic Collegiate Institute of the 1880's and subsequently, ought to have its own history recounted.

Yet, all these educational manifestations, constructive as they are, form but a part of the total educational resource. Another significant dimension deserves more analysis than is possible in these pages. This dimension is represented by Pasquotank Negroes' efforts to secure education of increasingly better quality and quantity. Tardy though it is, the present narrative-of-sorts addresses itself to that quite interesting drama. Local Negroes' attempts to enrich learning possibilities for themselves and their children are marked by struggle after struggle. The present sketch of these struggles and achievements is far from complete. The story well merits better coverage.

It should be explained that, although interest in the earliest period of Elizabeth City State College initially stimulated the present writer's efforts, the vignettes herein are but excerpts. They are by-products from or actual parts of attempts to learn Hugh Cale's career.

The first chapter is taken from what was once an extensive appendix to Cale's story; that appendix became "Education for Pasquotank's Negroes, 1869-1903." Chapters II and III are abstracted directly from the story of Cale's life. Chapters IV through IX highlight other portions of the aforementioned manuscripts plus sections from a second appendix which outgrew itself. The latter traced the infancy of Elizabeth City State College and was termed, "Nursing a Normal School."
What is here, then, is like some compositions by Baroque musicians, a hybrid. A hybrid, however, is somewhat a characteristic of educational developments — in Pasquotank County, North Carolina and elsewhere. Therefore, rather than offer penitence for origin of these pages, it may be better to express appreciation for help in producing them.

President Walter N. Ridley read much of the original manuscript then suggested a method of reducing some 500 pages to the symbolic seventy-five to be found in the text. Mrs. Carol Galloway Jones of the English faculty was kind enough to criticize the text in detail. Staff members at the College, including those of the G. R. Little Library, assisted in many valuable ways. County officials and their staffs gave their knowledge and unfailing patience. Mr. Joseph C. Spence, Pasquotank's Register of Deeds; Mrs. Naomi A. Chesson, Clerk of Superior Court; Mr. Franklin Britt, County Superintendent of Education — all these persons contributed to data contained in the text, as it now stands. Mr. E. S. Eskridge, Deputy Secretary of State, helped with legislative documents. The Honorable Robert W. Scott, Lieutenant Governor of North Carolina, gave permission to excerpt from his February, 1966 Founders Day address at the College. Persons in the North Carolina State Library, the State Department of Archives and History, and the Pasquotank County Library, also rendered assistance. Local citizens — grand persons, "young" in their 70's, 80's and 90's — who took time to answer queries are here thanked and in the text named. Mrs. Joseph Davis
of Elizabeth City generously collected data from some of Hugh Cale's former neighbors. Two students gave research assistance: Misses Barbara O. Fearing (English '67) and Ingrid Y. East (Sociology '68). Finally, Mrs. Maud W. Ballou was remarkably tolerant with her husband's announcements of earthshaking "discoveries" and recitals of freshly-written text. After all this assistance, the author has only himself to blame for any 'unfacts' and indiscretions yet remaining.

L. R. B.

Elizabeth City State College
Elizabeth City, North Carolina
November 30, 1966

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FOR THE

ALUMNI OF

ELIZABETH CITY STATE COLLEGE

AND THE

CITIZENS OF

PASQUOTANK COUNTY
CHAPTER I

CARDozo — SCHOOLMASTER AND POLITICIAN

From Minute Book 1, Pasquotank County Board of Commissioners, March 3, 1869: "Ordered that the 'red School House' near the Corporate limits of Elizabeth City also near the residence of Mr. A. B. Perse, Which is a public School House be loaned to the Colored people for School purposes until further ordered and they be allowed to take possession immediately."

It is possible that this was the first formal location of a colored school in Pasquotank County. It is also possible that this building went to Thomas W. Cardozo and his pupils. The North Carolinian, outspoken, interesting, and generally courteous Republican newspaper in Elizabeth City, mentioned Mr. Cardozo and his 124 pupils in the edition of July 8, 1869. The teacher's educational efforts were under the auspices of the New York Freedman's Union Commission, the paper reported on page two. On August 12 a letter from Cardozo was printed and on page three the Carolinian urged local citizens to take advantage of the offer contained in the schoolmaster's communication.

The lengthy but revealing letter read as follows:

Brooklyn, N. Y. Aug. 2, 1869

To the Editor of the North Carolinian:

It is quite a treat to receive the North Carolinian every week. I appreciate it as much as I do my Anti-Slavery Standard, Independent, Tribune, Harper's &c. I see that a "progressive teacher" in Pennsylvania wants to know if there is a good opening for him in Elizabeth City. I am sorry that you were not prepared to give him more encouragement. If there is no opening among the white children, there is a vast opening among the colored. The nearest colored school to Elizabeth City is in Bertford, eighteen miles distant. The next nearest is at Edenton thirty miles, and I believe the latter has been discontinued. Edenton, I understand, is a growing little village, pleasantly situated, and has a greater number of colored persons than we have in Elizabeth City. He cannot find a better class of children to labor among than the colored children of the South. They are, as a general thing, apt, willing, industrious and obedient. The only fault I have found among my pupils is, that they were a little noisy; this is accounted for by their being deprived of school privileges regularly.
Now if he wish to engage in teaching colored children, I think he can succeed by applying to the Pennsylvania Branch of the Freedmen's Union Commission 711 Sansom Street Philadelphia. Or if they are cramped for means — as most of the Freedmen's societies are — he might get a few prominent individuals in his neighborhood to call a meeting, some one make a strong appeal in behalf of Freedmen's schools, and some one to canvas one or two counties, and he must be a poor collector if he cannot get a thousand dollars paid in or subscribed in eight or ten months.

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

T. W. Cardozo.¹

The Carolinian drew its readers' attention to the "important proposition made in the communication of Prof. Cardozo.... By all means let a lot be selected and offered. Everything of this kind is of importance to our place."

Editor Palomen John thus sought to spur the citizenry.

The September 2, 1869 Carolinian reported the Elizabeth City school population as 297 white children (159 boys, 138 girls) and 264 Negroes (123 boys, 138 girls). The September 16 edition printed another letter from Cardozo, describing "A Visit to the Hub." Presumably his impression of Boston might have bearing on his teachings in the matter of citizenship. The 264 Negro school-age children could, conceivably, be beneficiaries of such instruction.

¹ Rufus Early Clement cited Mr. and Mrs. Cardozo as maintaining a school in Elizabeth City, 1868-1869 (in his unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, A History of Negro Education in North Carolina 1865-1928 /Northwestern University, 1930), 61. His source of information is given as American Freedman, III-6 (April, 1869), 11. Dr. Clement's study, while having some value for other portions of the State, is of limited usefulness for northeastern North Carolina since it so infrequently mentions that sector.
Cardozo's latest epistle was dated September 6, 1869, written from Boston's Parker House. The concluding paragraph was a significant index to his views on race relations:

The people of this State [Massachusetts] are climbing rapidly, and successfully towards the height of civilization. The children are taught in the schools that it is wicked to harbor prejudice against a person on account of his color, that every man must be respected according to his character, as he is responsible for that, but not his color. Ah! dear Dr. John, how long shall we have to labor in the South before we can enjoy such a degree of civilization! Here I am stopping at one of the finest hotels in the country; on my right are seated three respectable-looking colored gentlemen from the South who are also stopping here, and around are seated fifteen or twenty gents enjoying their segars and papers, and not a slur is cast or a frown thrown at us. We do not wish to force ourselves upon any one. All we ask is fair play in all public places and conveyances. And may God speed the day when we shall have it.

Yours truly,
T. W. Cardozo.

The North Carolinian for October 14 reported progress in school matters on page three: "We have learned that the Trustees of the Colored Normal School have purchased a lot from Judge Brooks adjoining the lot of M. B. Culpepper, Esq.,2 on Hines street, 160 x 92 feet, for one hundred and twenty-five dollars, and a suitable building will be erected so soon as the plan and specifications are drawn."

This was encouraging news. Other educational items were available; one report concerned the normal school movement:

Public Meeting in Elizabeth City,

To the Editor of the North Carolinian

At a public meeting of the colored citizens of this place held in the colored church [Mt. Lebanon] on Friday afternoon, 8th inst., to select a suitable place of the Normal school building which is

to be erected through the effort of T. W. Cardozo, and to appoint five persons as trustees to hold the property, the following persons were appointed as said body: Messrs. Whitman [signature], Whitman Lane, T. W. Cardozo, Jesse R. Brown, Selim Sutton and Jacob Spellman.

The following resolution was introduced and unanimously adopted:

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

T. W. CARDozo, chairman,

Selim Sutton, Secretary.

Another educational item came from official sources, via the Carolinian. This was a forward-looking communication from Pasquotank's county commissioners, dated October 9, 1869. Their words:

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

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

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

Geo. D. Pool, Chairman,
C. W. Hollowell,
Wm. F. Sanders,
W. A. Price,
C. W. Bell.
Developments related to educational progress in Elizabeth City certainly were of a salutary nature. Local persons, however, did not confine their activities to the precincts. On November 4, 1869, the Carolinian reported a convention of colored Methodists held in Edenton during the latter part of October. The report indicated Cardozo's speaking in the neighboring town, on October 23, in connection with the meeting. The schoolmaster told of "his mission, and of the progress of the school in Elizabeth City."

More activity for Cardozo was reported on December 2; he was on a committee to draft a constitution for a proposed building and loan association. In the same edition was news that Cardozo had gained authority from General O. O. Howard, through the State Superintendent of Public Instruction (Dr. Vogell), to let a contract for a colored normal building. It was to be constructed at a cost not exceeding $800.00.

Schoolmaster Cardozo also surfaced in local politics during December, 1869. The Carolinian reported (December 16) that it was he who moved on Monday, the 13th, for re-nomination of incumbent Elizabeth City Mayor George W. Cobb. This was during a nominating convention of Republicans.

Editor Palemon John in the same edition (page three) had additional words of encouragement for Cardozo's school and applauded Negroes' capacity to be educated. Said he: "We are frequently asked the question -- will the negro learn? Can he avail himself to any advantage of the facilities for education if given the opportunity? If those who thus inquire could visit the colored school here under the charge of Prof. T. W. Cardozo, we think their skepticism on this subject would be removed. His school is full and his classes range from the spelling book on up to the classics. Think of that, oh copperheads of the North, negro boys and girls making rapid progress in Latin! It is astonishing to see the advance the pupils of this school are making."
Editor John probably was not aware that Francis Williams of Jamaica — mathematician, poet and songwriter — was one Negro who long ago had answered questions about ability to learn. In mid-eighteenth-century England, Williams won a bachelor's from Cambridge.

Jean Eliza Capetain during the same century produced for a Dutch university his doctoral dissertation in defense of slavery. The dissertation was in Latin, and Dr. Capetain, judging from sketches of him, was quite obviously a Negro. Editor John could not foresee that an American Negro member of Phi Beta Kappa (Edward A. Bouchet) would receive his own doctorate from Yale University in 1876. Dr. John evidently was unaware that Juan Latino, also a Negro, had taught Latin in a Spanish university in the sixteenth century.

However, the editor — during the first two or three decades of his own life a Pennsylvanian — may well have heard of another Pennsylvanian, Francis Johnson, whose activities also answered with adequacy the questions posed. In the 1830's, Bandmaster Johnson, much-feted, a Negro and a published composer, dispatched himself and his musicians to England for a round of performances — including one before Queen Victoria — after assorted appearances in Boston, Rhode Island, New York and across Pennsylvania.

Of course, such items as these were sparkling examples of the educational harvest. Pasquotank's school crop in 1869 had not yet become as greatly endowed. Thomas Cardozo and others therefore sought more potency for local educational growth.

For example, on January 11, 1870 a deed was executed whereby $100.00 was paid George D. Pool, trustee for Thomas Gaskins, by Thomas W. "Cardoza," Jesse R. Brown, Selim Sutton, and Jacob "Spelman," collectively trustees of the colored normal school. The men purchased land "for permanent school purposes for Freedmen and children irrespective of color." The site was a vacant lot
in the "Race tract." The boundary line began at the street running nearly at
a right angle with Shepard Street in front of Palemon John, then thirty feet
north from the northward course of Peter Pugh's lot and northwardly in the
direction of Shepard Street 208 feet; then parallel with Pugh's lot 208 feet;
then parallel with the street running southward from John's house 208 feet;
then 208 feet to the beginning. The document was registered July 14, 1870,
its text to be found in Deed Record PP, page 217, Office of the Register of
Deeds, Pasquotank County.

A brighter sun continued beaming on educational efforts for Pasquotank's
Negroes. Cardozo and his wife won praise yet again in the Carolinian, this time
for the examinations held at their school on May 13, 1870 (a Friday, incidentally).
Attorney Cyrus Grandy was the speaker. A certain "Miss Williams" was assistant
teacher to the Cardozos. All these were items in the Journal for May 19.

The same issue of this paper advised that Cardozo was among the speakers
at a Republican meeting held in South Mills (Camden County, North Carolina) on
Saturday, May 14. Cardozo next turned up in politics as a name on the regular
Republican ticket. He was candidate for sheriff of Pasquotank County. This
proved to be his local undoing.

On August 4, 1870 voters awarded Schoolmaster Cardozo, a Republican, the
respectable total of 830 votes. Others of the electorate, however, gave John
L. Wood, an "Independent Republican," a total of 930 votes. Would-be-sheriff
Cardozo thereby lost his bid.

Editor John, emphatic Republican, issued an outraged blast. His topic
was Cardozo's supposed splintering of Republican vote-gathering. He said he
had no quarrel with those refusing to support the "Cardozo ticket," but he
observed somewhat otherwise with an August 11 editorial entitled "A LITTLE
PLAIN TALK" (italics as in original):

The fact that T. W. Cardozz (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 advice, 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 benefitting his people he has been the means of rekindling prejudices that were fast dying out and arouses 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 be forced; it must be educated. Men's prejudice will not be removed at once; it is a gradual work. The course of selfish and ambitious aspirants, like this man Cardozz (sic), tends to keep white men from joining our party, in order 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 free 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 blessings. Mark! we do not say that the colored man has no right to share in the offices, but what will it avail him if by insisting on the right he gives both the offices and the Government over into the hands of his enemies? We make this "plain talk" for the benefit of the colored people of this country and District. May they ponder it well.

The issue for August 25, 1870 had a page-two editorial on "The Teacher"; that for September 1, a page-one item on earmarks of " Teachers who Err."
Could it be said that the *Carolinian* editor sought thus subtly to ram home his point?

On October 27, there was a page-three announcement that the Colored Normal School had been re-opened with classes held in "their new building." Presumably, operation had been temporarily suspended because of short finances or need for a more suitable locus of operation. Whatever the reason (a vacation period may have been the cause) "schooling" again proceeded; our well-publicized schoolmaster was still in the tutor's chair.

This being so, Cardozo manifestly had managed to keep his head high despite the withering blast of journalistic heat, earlier in August. It might also be said that he did this despite whatever merit, invisible to the naked eye, the torrid verbiage may have had. And so, he reconvened his school.

John reported on December 22, 1870 that, in company with County Examiner Frank Vaughan, the editor had visited most or all of the local educational institutions-in-embryo, Cardozo's included. Miss Lizzie Thompson "(colored)" had the "Primary Colored School" with 29 pupils on the register and an average daily attendance of twenty. "The little folks are getting a good start," beamed Dr. John.

The "Higher Departments of the Colored School" had three grades, each in a separate part of the "new" colored school building. The highest grade was under Mr. Cardozo. This group was comprised of 25 pupils registered, with an average daily attendance of 23 persons. The paper said the school is "in the very best condition — the pupils are making good progress. There are five in the classics."

Miss S. L. Williams had one of the higher departments with 38 registered (ADA, 35) and these students were "well disciplined." The third "Department" was conducted by Mrs. L. J. Cardozo, who supervised 65 pupils, the average
daily attendance being something over 50 persons. She maintained in her charges "quiet deportment and good order." Thus, the Carolinian's report on "common" school operations among Negroes in Pasquotank County at the end of 1870.

These were pleasant enough reports, but Cardozo himself had had enough of Elizabeth City. In its issue for January 12, 1871 the Carolinian gave the following somewhat less-than-graceful report: "On Thursday last [i.e., January 5, 1871] Mr. T. W. Cardozo, Teacher and Politician, left this place for Vicksburg, Miss., to take charge of a school in that city. As a teacher he was well qualified and was doing a good work, but as a politician he most effectually 'played out.'"

The judgment was a bit premature. Thomas W. Cardozo subsequently became head of Mississippi's state educational system thus quite obviously combining his two civic loves.3

3. Vernon Lane Wharton, The Negro in Mississippi 1865-1890, paperback reprint (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), dwells on Cardozo's "obscurity" and partially on that account seems to dismiss him. He cites his being Superintendent of Education, 1874-1876, but decries the method by which the office accrued to Cardozo, blaming it all on the Vicksburg "ring." Cardozo's resignation under threat of impeachment (the allegation was embezzlement), from Wharton's text, appears to have been more of a political vendetta than glaring malfeasance. This, of course, is said without having seen any source on the matter but that of Wharton. The author did credit Cardozo's intelligence and educational ability, and the fact that Cardozo was a prime mover in establishing in Vicksburg (March, 1875) a chapter of the "Grand United Order of Odd Fellows of America." The foregoing is abstracted from pages 164, 176, 272 of Wharton's text. Some sources confuse Thomas W. Cardozo with Francis L. Cardozo of South Carolina and Washington, D. C., his brother. Thomas W. Cardozo was dead by 1885.

# # #
CHAPTER II

MR. CALE TO THE FOREFRONT

T. W. Cardozo had gone down in defeat in Pasquotank politics, but by no means was this a signal that a Negro could not successfully aspire to public office. In fact, by the time the educator had left town, other Negroes already were holding elective offices. Such gentlemen included Cardozo's co-trustee for the normal school property, Jesse R. Brown, who was a magistrate and had been a commissioner of Elizabeth City. The office-holders also included a certain Hugh Cale, at the time of Mr. Cardozo's exit, a member, no less, of Pasquotank's board of county commissioners.

"Commissioner" Cale, however, was just one of his titles. The list grew to imposing length. During the 1870's he was variously a poll inspector, grand juror, justice of the peace (his first elective office, at August 5, 1869), lamplighter pro tem, witness in a burglary case, and a county poorhouse provisioner. He was paid for "hauling on streets," listed property for tax purposes, was a property-holder himself, a grocer and a grantee for a liquor license (he reportedly never used tobacco and eschewed spirits in 1865). He qualified as county commissioner on September 5, 1870 and won his place with the second highest vote tally in a field of ten candidates (he was second from the bottom earlier, among winning justices-elect). He even won a "diploma" for his exhibit of "yellow corn in ear" in the "Farm and Garden Products" division of the second Albemarle Agricultural Fair, held in 1874. Hugh Cale could not be accused of lethargy.

From whence came this active gentlemen, Mr. "Hewey" Cale? He was "Gentlemen from Pasquotank" by adoption rather than nativity. Shotwell and Atkinson,
perhaps the first to print biographical data on Cale, recorded in 1877 that
Hugh was born in Perquimans County, North Carolina on November 27, 1838. J.
S. Tomlinson repeated that information in 1879. In 1885, however, he reported
the month of Cale’s birth as December and omitted the day. Obviously, some
confusion existed. For the present purposes, 1835 is taken to be Cale’s
year of birth since his death certificate (1910) credits him with 75 years.
The month and day, more debatable, are assumed to be as follows: evidently
it was a winter month; if one chooses to accept this season, November 27 as Cale’s
birthday will do quite well.

Available evidence gives Hugh’s parents as John and Betsy Cale. It
is entirely unclear whether either of them had slave status. From the little
information available at the time of writing, one gets the feeling that Hugh
himself had not been a slave. If so, according to the order of things, Betsy
Cale also would have been free; the child usually took the status of the mother.

Young Hugh was not the beneficiary of any significant formal education.
One story has it that his "schooling" was received in tiny Plymouth, North
Carolina. Whether or not this was the locale, doubtless there was at sometime
someone who could later recollect that Hugh Cale briefly "went to school to
me," as elder citizens of Pasquotank often describe the process.

Tomlinson reports: "In getting an education he attended only the common
schools." He says also that Cale "worked at Fort Hatteras and Roanoke Island
during the Civil War." By 1867 Hugh had arrived in Elizabeth City. There,
on April 20, he paid the three-dollar fee and took out a license to marry
Miss Mary Wilson from Alabama. The Reverend John Williams was officiant.

"Hewey" Cale, as some records (and present-day citizens) called
him, was now head of a family. The household included a son, John, and Mrs.
Louisa Wilson, Mrs. Cale's mother, later, in 1880, Hugh's niece, Elizabeth Cale (later Mrs. Junius Rocks), joined the household. Elizabeth was a teacher in Pasquotank while she was a teenager. Also during the 1880's, Cale became guardian for three young people.

As plentiful as there is information concerning Mr. Cale, it would seem that some likeness of him also would be available. Diligent search has thus far produced no pictorial representation of him whatsoever. Thus, we may now rely only upon word pictures and other vignettes in describing him.

Several elder citizens of Elizabeth City (some deceased since interviews with them) have provided their estimates and descriptions of the man. For example, the late Mrs. Katie S. (Griffin) Woodhouse said she remembered Mr. Cale and spoke favorably of him. Thomas Settle Cooper, a retired educator, gave a vivid picture of Cale. According to Mr. Cooper's recollections in 1963, Cale was of somewhat diminutive physical stature, about 5 feet 6 inches, weighing between 135-140 pounds. Three years later (1966) a physician assigned approximately the same dimensions; Cale was about 5 feet 5 or 6 inches and weighed between 140-145 pounds, Dr. J. E. Jones recalled.

Mr. Cooper said Cale was "quite a fair-skinned gentlemen; you wouldn't know whether he was colored or white." He had a "pleasing, sharp-cut face," Mr. Cooper said, "very much of the Caucasian type," and possessed a "prominent" nose and forehead. He had "somewhat of a long face," Dr. Jones said -- and added, "with freckles around nose and cheek."

On the matter of Cale's color, no person had disagreement. He "looked white" according to some half dozen elder citizens of Elizabeth City. The characteristic even seemed to run in his household. One gentleman reported that in his own youth he had considerable interest in a young female member of Hugh's family but was afraid to walk with her in the streets "because she
was so white" and in contrast to the gentlemen.

Most persons said Cale was of short stature; only one said that he was "tall." In addition, he was credited with being "thin" and having "straight, black hair." Mrs. Pocahontas Griffin recalled Cale's "pretty" black hair and his shoes being "brightly shined" at all times. However, Dr. Jones said Cale's hair "did not meet the expectations of his color!"

Cale often drove his "horse and buggy" around the County to give "lectures." According to Mrs. Griffin, he gave "lots of them" in the County's Newland Township. Cale was definitely a man of ideas, Mr. Cooper recollected, and able to "stand flatfooted before an audience and talk pretty well." That assessment may have been a little on the conservative side; Cale evidently was a quite powerful speaker. "He had a convincing smile, unforgettable tone of voice -- sort of pathetic and convincing," Dr. Jones remembered.

Some 70 years after the event, Miss Isabella Hollowell recalled a speech by Cale, so deeply had the man impressed her. She indicated in 1965 that, although she did not hear Cale speak while she was a student in the normal school which became Elizabeth City State College, she did hear him in "some little hall in Elizabeth City." In Miss Hollowell's words, Cale told his auditors that he "left Elizabeth City with his clothes in a knapsack to go to work." He came back with a "little money" and, she says, bought "some of those old houses." (He bought a not insignificant portion of Pasquotank; over one hundred deeds involving his property transactions are on record and in 1879 he was noted as being worth about $15,000.)

Miss Hollowell recalled that she saw Cale at some point during the three-month period she spent at Plymouth Normal School and that, in Elizabeth City, "Mr. Cale" was a highly respected man. Hugh and Whitmel Lane were among
the most prominent and affluent men in the community, in Miss Hallowell's view. Both, she felt, had "somebody back of them." This "somebody" was not identified. Dr. J. E. Jones, however, recollected that "Leigh Sheep and Hugh Cale were friends. Sheep was a pioneer in schools." Perhaps this was the person.

Still others showed that Cale had made impact upon their memories. Mrs. Blanche Burden, for instance, could well remember him from his frequent visits to her grandmother's home. Others, earlier, judged him worthy of being a Steward in the local Mt. Lebanon Church; he held the office, for instance, in 1879 and in 1909.

Miss Hallowell summed Cale's career by saying, "Whatever he was, he made himself, by hard work." The Reverend Milton N. Weston of Tarboro, North Carolina, (who died there on October 10, 1966) implied the same when he visited his alma mater in February, 1966. With alacrity did Father Weston characterize Cale, saying he was "energetic" and "very helpful to others." Mr. James "Bud" King of Elizabeth City, gave an example. Cale, he said, was prone to accost a young man walking along a road, bid him sit with him at the roadside, and then try to teach the fellow a little of whatever basic knowledge he seemed to lack. This might be "figuring" or rudiments of grammar or best, the pointed question, "What do you plan to do with yourself?" Cale thus joined others in methods similar to those of Socrates.

Cale would "listen to people" and was "very easily approached -- anxious to get information pertaining to his people," J. E. Jones said; he was "interested in people." Mrs. Etta Thompson recollected that Cale "always had some

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1. Besides Miss Hallowell ('95) and Mr. Cooper ('02) other informants were graduates of or attended the "State Normal," including Mrs. Griffin ('26, '44), Dr. Jones ('15) and Father Weston ('94).
kind of homespun philosophy." Mrs. Jennie Y. Joyner (1900) ratified Hugh's interest in his fellow human beings. He "often" spoke, she recalled, "especially to the young men, and in Mt. Lebanon Church." He often told his auditors: "I hate to speak to you because I don't have an education. You'll think that you can get along without it, but you can't. If you hear my way of speaking too much, you'll think you don't need an education." It is also reported that Gale was fond of working with local societies, including the Order of Love and Charity and the Good Samaritans (he was "wrapped up" in the latter). He is supposed to have taught "classes" informally in the Samaritans' Hall, then located near the corner of the present Ehringhaus and McWorrie Streets. Hugh also held the offices of Senior Steward and Worshipful Master in the local Masonic Lodge.

According to Physician Jones, Hugh was a "pioneer in the intellectual world in Elizabeth City and Pasquotank County." In another citizen's estimation, Gale in local civic matters among Negroes was once the "main cog in the wheel." For example, among other activities he was one of the petitioners for the town's first fire engine, a trustee for the first Negro cemetery locally, and president of the first Fair held by Pasquotank's Negroes. The county's courthouse was erected while Gale was a Pasquotank commissioner. It is not surprising that Hugh Gale was closely observed during his lifetime and remembered after his departure.

Another reason for his being remembered -- besides his civic service and work with people -- was traceable to an event of November 3, 1868. On that day he not only made his first property transaction locally but, far more significant, became "black" (1) registered voter Number III, County of Pasquotank. From that point onward, Mr. Gale added great activity in Republican political maneuverings to his already busy agenda. Perhaps politics, more so than his
other activities, underlay the permanence of his being remembered. Mrs. Etta Thompson of Elizabeth City recalled that Cale, at the time a former State Representative, visited her family during her youth. Her late father, A. L. Hawkins, would introduce the guest with kindly jest: "We have with us today the Honorable Senator Cale!" After Delegate Cale attended the Republican national convention in 1896, Mr. Hawkins' daughter, the late Mrs. Annie Payton, enjoyed mimicking the Delegate: "I just come down from St. Louis to nominate the President." Mr. Cale drawled—intending the announcement as humor just as Mrs. Payton intended her quote to be a friendly one.

At different times, beginning with 1869, Hugh attended local, district and state meetings of Republicans and was three times a delegate to national conventions of the party (Minneapolis, Chicago, St. Louis). For the non-national events, Cale was mostly in attendance by being a delegate. He won officerships for assorted conclaves (e.g., secretary, vice-president) and spoke in and out of the county in behalf of Republicans; but for all his work he met rebuffs from 1872 to 1875 in becoming a candidate for the North Carolina House.

These defeats, the few he received in all his years of politicking, more accurately seemed to reflect non-unanimity among Negro Republicans in the county than disenchantment with or distaste for Cale's legislative aspirations. That assessment is the picture which emerges from reports of meetings, as printed in the North Carolinian (which had no reason to be inaccurate and seldom got caught befogging situations).

In 1872, Cale lost the Republicans' nomination for House candidacy to Francis M. Godfrey; three men had been placed in nomination. In 1874, Cale again lost, under the same auspices, with four men as candidates for the nomination. Perhaps a consolation prize was Hugh's being elected Treasurer of Elizabeth City on May 6, 1874.
Cale himself withdrew his name from nomination for House candidacy, on July 18, 1875. Finally, in 1876, Cale won his bid for the House (his opponent was Dr. Rufus K. Speed, Democrat) and from then on he often represented the county.

He was "Representative Cale" for the sessions of 1876-1877, 1879, 1880 (a special session), 1885 and 1891. Nor was he the first or only Negro to represent Pasquotank in the General Assembly. In between his own incumbencies, the county was represented by Noah R. Newby (1883) and Prince Albert Hinton (1887).2 Earlier, Thomas A. Sykes, also a Negro, was Representative from 1868 to 1872 (five sessions in all). Mr. Cale was even a candidate for the House in the bitter campaign of 1894. He lost his bid and this represented his only defeat, outside of the party's nominating machinery, during more than a quarter-century of political life.

Of twenty-two sessions of North Carolina's House, 1868-1900, in only ten of them was Pasquotank not represented by a Negro. The county seems to have progressed during the period — or at least lost no gains. Perhaps this is in contrast to extant stereotypes concerning so-called "Negro rule" (a Democratic shillelagh and at any rate an impossibility) during the first Reconstruction and its aftermath.

Hugh Cale obviously could often enjoy wearing his political 'hat.' He also had much interest in another of his hats. This one had to do with education.

2. Representative Hinton's descendants include Mrs. Ada Kee of Elizabeth City, his grand-daughter, and Miss Sarah M. Hinton, an Elementary Education major at Elizabeth City State College (Class of 1968). Representative Newby's grand-niece is Mrs. Mamie Taylor of Elizabeth City.
CHAPTER III

FROM SCHOOL COMMITTEE MAN TO TRUSTEE

Because Hugh Cale was a commissioner of Pasquotank County, 1880-1882 (his second term for that office), he was also a member of the county board of education, a situation prevailing throughout the 1880's. Mr. Cale, however, had still other opportunities to serve in the interests of public education through his membership on the local school committee for District 14. This activity altered the shape of his educational 'hat' and the chapeau sometimes caused a headache.

On January 16, 1883, the county board of education through its secretary, G. Brothers, notified Committee Cale, George W. Bell, and the Reverend W. W. Kennedy to appear before the board on Saturday, February 24, 1883. The idea was to show cause, "if any you have, why you shall not be removed from the office of School Committee in Dist. No. 14." Cale by then had completed his first term as a school committee man. Before being bounced, however, he should be appointed.

His colleagues-commissioners had constituted him and the other two men as school committee men for Elizabeth City on December 6, 1881. Thus, all three must work during that period in dual roles as school committee men and board of education members (not to mention Cale and Kennedy being county commissioners at the same time).

Examples of such activity start with a meeting of September 5, 1881 when the commissioners, as a board of education, attended to county-wide school

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matters just as they had done in their meeting under the same circumstances on August 8. In the September 5 session (Cale present as in August), they had the simple task of ordering that John Overman, county superintendent of instruction, be allowed $13.00 for his services during the month of August. On Tuesday, December 6 (the same day that Cale had helped insure $50,000 of performance bonds), the assortment of matters was wider. First the board of education ordered that $2.50 be apportioned for each school child. Next, they heard the figures on the school census. After that they received a catalogue of teachers (including the Negroes) who received certificates from July 14 through December 5, 1881. Nine Negroes qualified. Finally they voted $49.00 to Superintendent Overman - $12.00 for services during September, $10.00 paid for a blackboard, $27.00 for services during October and November. Before adjourning they appointed that school committee which their clerk, Mr. Brothers, would have occasion to call in, two years later.

The commissioners also acted as a board of education on January 2, 1882. With Cale present, they appointed a group to select a site upon which a school could be built for District 6 (colored), and they wanted an appropriate deed procured and filed. The school committee for District 8 requested a deed for an acre of land devoted to educational purposes for Negroes in that subdivision. An assessment for the acre was approved by the chairman and secretary, but the deed was returned in order to be perfected (the spouse had not been privately examined). Next, came disbursements: $12.00 to the superintendent for his services; $16.55 to the secretary of the Board.

Cale and other members were consolidation-minded on February 6, Negro school districts 15 and 16 were to become one; children in District 15 were to be allowed to attend school in District 16. Following this, a previous
order appointing a committee to condemn a site for Negro District 9 was revoked. Instead, a committee was appointed "in Said District to mark out, lay off and condemn a School House site for White."

March 6, 1882 found Cale present again for educational deliberations. The Superintendent was paid $30.00 for January and $27.00 for February, Cale was paid $4.00 for his services, the secretary was allowed $7.00, and then they formed a new district. Citizens of school districts 3 and 1 had petitioned for this creation which was to come from parts of the original subdivisions.

A motion in favor of Negroes was approved by Cale and colleagues in their June 5 session: "... resolved that $60 be appropriated out of public school fund for Col. race to the managers of the teachers institute to be held in this county for Col. race." The "Col. race" was no doubt appreciative.

Cale met with the Board on September 4; Superintendent Overman was allowed $63.00, covering his services for the quarter, and $4.00 was allowed for advertising.2 This stage of chronology also brings us back to that "show cause" order for February 24, 1883. The argument, while neither lengthy nor cataclysmic in import, was heated.

For all the fuss, Cale's image was not damaged. In fact, on September 3, 1883 he had been allowed $14.41 for taking the school census in "Dist No 14. Colored" and performed the same task a year later (district unspecified but probably the same). For the latter, he was allowed $17.13 on

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2. Data taken primarily from Item CR 75.4.57.1, Pasquotank County / Minutes, Board of Education / 1872-1885, State Department of Archives and History (Raleigh), with a few items from the MS Minutes of the Pasquotank County Commissioners (Office of the Register of Deeds, Elizabeth City).
September 1, 1884, for counting a total of 571 children at three cents per name.

Beyond these activities, Principal (later Congressman) Henry Plummer Cheatham of Plymouth Normal School (south of Elizabeth City) included a plug for Hugh in the schoolmaster's printed report to State Superintendent Scarborough for the 1884 session (November 5, 1883 - March 29, 1884). Boasting an enrollment of 102, Cheatham reported (at p. 176) that his scholars had "greatly benefited by lectures delivered by the following gentlemen . . .,"

who included "Hon. Hugh Cale, Elizabeth City." Cale's topic was "The Opportunity for an Education Afforded by the State Normal Schools." He no doubt yearned for one in his own home town.

Back on the Elizabeth City home front, Hugh continued serving as a committeeman for District 14, Colored, from 1885 to 1891. If one may consider him to be a dedicated public servant, this was the time for such an attitude, especially where education was involved.

Education in the county, particularly for Negroes, warranted great effort on the part of all connected with it. Although many people worked with diligence the situation still left something to be desired -- from official levels downward to the beginning pupil. With the majority of Negroes in the United States illiterate in the decade 1880-1890, even if attempting to do better -- and aside from American Negro degree-holders from the 1820's -- this was hardly the time for duality and juggling in educational precept and practice. More especially would these gyrations be deplorable with a slight decline in the percentage of school age Negroes, in school, during the same decade.3 But, so it was. Cale and men like him had problems locally as did

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the nation as a whole. A minute from the board of education's meeting of September 7, 1885 might serve to highlight the problem.

The Board, having appointed Cale, Jordan Glose and A. A. Small as committeemen for District 14, with two-year terms, then ordered the county superintendent of education to call in the colored committees (there were mostly two committees per school district). The Board further directed, "and in case, no two members of any committee were able to read and write than the County Superintendent should appoint other persons who can read and write to take the place of those unable to do so." Cale was not, but some committeemen of various districts were, illiterate.

The fact that over 1,000 Negro youngsters in Pasquotank were learning their ABC's was encouraging if one viewed illiteracy on school committees and assumed that school children who were better trained and (one hopes) equally dedicated, could grow up to take their places. But political events would eliminate that possibility and an item of June 30, 1888 indicated that perhaps the Negroes had too much education already. Reported the minutes: "Board met this day in called meeting. Messrs. Baker and Perry present. On motion of Mr. Perry\footnote{County commissioners and magistrates in joint session had on June 6, 1887, elected J. D. Perry (16 votes), N. R. Parker (14 votes) and George Baker (13 votes) as the Board of Education (Minute Book 3, p. 336).} the proposition to vote $100.- for a County Institute for Colored teachers was put to a vote and lost by a tie vote."

In this matter, Elizabeth City's 1887-1888 ordinances were perhaps more advanced than Pasquotank's educational practice. The City's speed limit was six miles per hour (violations, $5.00 and costs); for speed of more education for the county's Negro teachers, the pace was at that point zero.
Considering that the vote of June, 1888, however, it was encouraging to find that an institute had been held after all. The scholars were quite proud of their accomplishments during the session and held a little commemoration. The *North Carolina* (September 12, 1888) reported the event, which took place on September 7 (the microfilmed version was illegible in spots): "The Colored Normal Institute closed its two weeks session on Friday evening. The exercises embraced essays and singing ... [illegible], and especially [good] were those [essays] read by Mrs. Johnson R. Brown, Mrs. W. R. Reddick, Miss Fannie N. B. Lane [Whitnel’s daughter] and Mr. Albert Winslow. The singing by the class was very fine, and the duet by Mr. John Henry Manning Butler and Miss Lane, and the solo by the former could not be excelled. At the close, short addresses were made by Hon. C. C. Peck, Dr. P. John, Rev. P. W. Melick, J. P. Overman, esq, Rev. S. F. Dickson, Rev. Dr. Manley, Prof. S. L. Sheep and Mr. Hugh Cale. All expressed deep interest in the work of the Institute and much gratification at the results accomplished. We do not know when we spent a couple of hours so pleasantly or more profitably."

It also was pointed out that of the $100.00 cost, "not a cent [came] from the white"; rather, the twenty Negro schools in the county each had been assessed five dollars. Still more palatable perhaps, was the "reception at Mrs. J. R. Brown’s" that night. Presumably unpalatable — and certainly rather confusing — was a county board of education minute for April 13, 1889: "... whereas, the colored teachers had an Institute last term for which $100.00 were appropriated with the understanding that the same be deducted from their share of apportionment and whereas the same was overlooked in the January apportionment therefore it is ordered that fifteen dollars is hereby
apportioned to each White school District and ten Dollars to each Colored
district out of the general school fund now in hand." One gained a little,
lost a little.

It probably was from a matrix such as this, among other causes, that
Hugh Cale was strongly moved to look forward to a better means of improving
education locally. Cale, by 1891, had seen first-hand many educational needs.
His opportunities for viewing the panorama, moreover, had not been restricted
to Pasquotank.

Beginning with the 1882-1883 school year, "Hon. Hugh Cale Elizabeth City,
N. C." began serving as a member of what has been called the first board of
trustees for Zion Wesley Institute. The Institute, of course, subsequently
became known as Livingstone College.

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

The institution got itself incorporated in 1885 (Cale was a Representa-
tive during this session) and Trustee Hugh Cale was listed on the governing
body at that time. Later, the board became perambulatory: "Mr. Hugh Cale,
one of the trustees of Livingstone College, attended a meeting of the Board
held at Philadelphia on Friday," April 17, 1891, reported the Carolinian
for April 22.

There was no harm in a non-stationary board. So was the school's presi-
dent, J. C. Price, who might appear in England seeking funds. Price was a
"hometown boy" where Cale was concerned since the President's birthplace was
Elizabeth City. The *Economist-Falcon* of that town took note of this fact in its January 26, 1892 issue, praising "Mr." J. "S." Price, "colored orator" of Salisbury, "native of this town" and a "puzzler" on the race question while being a "staggerer" to those saying that the "sons of Ham are incapable of finer developments of humanity." He was a "big man intellectually and physically," said Editor Creecy. He was a "distinguished colored orator" with "few superiors on the platform," Editor John wrote on October 3, 1888, later on calling Livingston College the "leading Colored educational institution in this State" (October 17).

Newspaper announcements and commentary concerning President Price nor Trustee Cale did not cease with those of the *Carolinian* and *Economist-Falcon*. The *Raleigh News & Observer*, taking time out from its posture then as something of a Negrophobe, told readers on March 12, 1891 about another Negro school. This one was to be an industrial institution and had been created just a few months earlier by the same 1891 Legislature of which Cale was a part. Before the school got a home, it got a board of trustees. Hugh Cale, standing for the First District of North Carolina, was named to the board for a two-year term and thus joined the first direct governing body of the present Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina. By coincidence or perhaps because he represented the First District, Cale's name was the first one listed by the *News & Observer* in its announcement.

Of interest but not germane here is how the school came into being. Of unequal portent but pertinent are brief facts concerning Hugh's being named to that first board. It was quite uncomplicated. "Mr. Thomas H. Sutton, for the Joint Select Committee on Election of Trustees for the Agricultural and Mechanical College for the Colored Race, reports as follows: "The ..."
Committee beg leave to report that they nominate and recommend the following named persons for the several Congressional Districts as Trustees:

- First District: Hugh Cale.
- Second District: J. M. Early.
- Third District: John S. Leary.
- Fourth District: W. H. Pace.
- Fifth District: Charles H. Moore.
- Sixth District: W. B. McKay.
- Seventh District: W. A. Graham.
- Eighth District: S. McD. Tate.
- Ninth District: W. H. McClure.

"On motion of Mr. [R. R. R.] Peebles of Jackson, Northampton County, the bill is made a special order for 10:30 o'clock tonight." The next item on the agenda for this Saturday, March 7, 1891 night session, was the said special order. Balloting ensued, and Representatives W. W. Long (Warren County) and R. K. Denny (Guilford County), as tellers for the House, reported the tallies. The House gave all nominees except Cale and McClure three dozen votes; they received 35 each. Senators gave 26 votes to all except Cale, Leary and Moore, who received 24 each. Following that, the "Speaker declares that the gentlemen named in report of Tellers, having received a majority of all the votes cast, are declared elected, as stated in said report."5

Cale was re-elected to the Board by the General Assembly of 1893. There was some parliamentary maneuvering to accomplish this; Representative William Henry Crews, a Negro and former legislative colleague of Cale's worked in Hugh's behalf. The end result was that Hugh won a second, and six-year, term. For almost the first decade of the existence of A & T College, therefore, the Gentlemen from Pasquotank was a part of its immediate governing body. Virtually the same had been true for Livingstone College during the 1880's.

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Mr. Cale, in the late 1890's, reportedly won appointment to a third educational institution's governing body but this honor has been elusive of documentation. According to the *North Carolinian* he was named to the trustee board of an Elizabeth City school then; a week or so later, the list of members was given a second time, Cale omitted. It is thus unclear whether the newspaper made an error, or powers-that-be changed their decree. Available evidence, however, infers that although briefly or perhaps by forethought rather than afterthought, the Honorable Hugh Cale had fleeting tenure on the board of "local managers" (i.e., trustees) for what is now Elizabeth City State College. Someday, research may clear up the matter.
CHAPTER IV

"O TEACH ME ... THAT I MAY TEACH"

While all these educational activities of which Hugh Cale was a part had been in operation, other events related to schooling, in Pasquotank, had not been lacking. Twenty years before Cale's election as an A & T trustee, for instance, the North Carolinian had reported (December 14, 1871) in existence a "select school" conducted in the "Colored Academy" under the direction of a certain "Mr. Gardner from Massachusetts." The newspaper's edition of March 7, 1872 praised the closing exercises of the "Colored Normal School" under the leadership of "Miss Gardner."

Educational in tone, if not under the roof of a strictly educational institution, was a lecture "of a high order of talent" and "well delivered," given by a certain Mrs. F. E. W. Harper of Philadelphia. She spoke at the A. M. E. Zion church in Elizabeth City, repeating her performance on May 16, 1872. The Carolinian, that date, gave the report.¹

An October 9, 1872 item was that a "Colored Free School" opened in Elizabeth City on Monday, October 7. Beginning its session during the morning, "about" 50 pupils were in attendance. Miss Lizzie Thompson was the teacher -- the same person who was once Thomas Cardozo's assistant.

Another progressive measure took place March 2, 1873 when William Yost and wife Mary (both later of Cleveland, Ohio) and Robert O. Preyer and wife Ella J. X., conveyed a parcel of land to the school committee for District 6 (Negro). The Reverend Dr. Yost and his son-in-law (and their wives) received one dollar for a half-acre tract "on Dawson Lane and school house thereon."

¹. The speaker probably was identical with Frances E, W. Harper whose 21-stanza poem, "Anniversary of Zion A. M. E. Church," appeared at pp. 36, 38 of the church's Souvenir Program, 1896. (Centennial observance). Stanza three, lines one and two: "Where haughty tyrants once bore rule / Are ballot box and public school...." (Source: Elisha Overton Collection, Elizabeth City State College.)
The Committee's land was bounded on the north by "Poor House Road." The tract represented part of Lot #20 of Yost's and Freyer's allotment near Elizabeth City, it having a forty-foot frontage on the Road and running back from it two hundred feet. Although the transaction took place in 1873, the deed was not registered until May 6, 1893, it being copied into Deed Record XIV, at page 46 (Office of the Register of Deeds, Pasquotank County). A welcome dimension had been added to the County's educational possibilities.

Elizabeth City townsmen contributed to educational aspirations aside from purely local endeavor. On July 13, 1873 a colored educational mass meeting was held in Hertford (Perquimans County, North Carolina) at the A. M. E. Zion church there. Negro ministers and white politicians of imposing stature gave speeches underlining the necessity for education. Among the speakers were John and Wiley Lane, of Elizabeth City, "two colored young gentlemen," the Carolinian said on July 23, who provided "able and telling" addresses.

Messrs. Lane "have for sometime past been students at Howard University," the newspaper said.

Rooks Turner, to be known for education in Pasquotank, was present at this period but in a different capacity. County commissioners awarded him

2. Wiley Lane died young. His tombstone in a family plot near the corner of the present Culpepper and Grice Streets in Elizabeth City, reads as follows: 

"... Prof. Wiley Lane / Born Nov. 22, 1852 / Died Feb. 16, 1885 / at Howard University. / Washington D. C."

Frederick D. Wilkinson (ed.), Directory of Graduates Howard University 1870-1965 (Washington, D. C.: The University, July 1, 1965) has the Lanes at p. 220: "John J. Lane" received a Certificate from the Preparatory Department in 1873, "Wiley Lane, Jr.," likewise, same year. Wiley also won his A. B. in 1877, his M. A. in 1881. "Dr. Wiley Lane may be found listed as a Howard University assistant principal (Normal Department) 1879-1883 and Professor of Greek Language and Literature (1883-1884) in Louis D. Rubin, Jr. (ed.). Teach the Freeman, I (Louisiana State University, 1959), 107, second footnote #1.

Frederick Douglass, Senator-to-be Hoar of Massachusetts, and others, gave addresses in Wiley Lane's honor during memorial exercises in 1885. Alumni sponsored the occasion. Francis Cardozo noted in his eulogy then, that Lane had been a pupil of Cardozo's brother, Thomas, when the latter two were in Elizabeth City (Obituary Addresses /Washington, D. C.: Judd and Detweiler, 1885), passing from Elisha Overton Collection, Elizabeth City State College).
$4.00 (September 2, 1873) for his service as an election inspector during August, 1873, at Cartwright’s precinct. Meanwhile, Whitmel Lane and Salim Sutton continued to be active in local civic affairs, as did other trustees of the town’s colored school. Lane and Sutton were witnesses before the county’s Finance Committee for example ($1.50 each for their services), and Lane also received from the County $16.00 representing four months’ rent on the "Normal School House" and $6.30 for wood he furnished the "public school." These payments were authorized on November 3, 1873.

According to the January 7, 1874 issue of the Carolina, a teacher of a colored school in Nixonton Township (Pasquotank County) was jailed on a charge of forging a school order. The edition for September 27, 1876 reported the school census for the county as 1,450 whites and 1,286 Negroes, for a total of 2,736. It may be noted that Polk’s Handbook of North Carolina for 1879 (at p. 90) listed thirteen Negro schools in Pasquotank County at the time. These served a Negro population reported as 3,951 (p. 264). This was considerable contrast to the statement in the Year Book (II) of the Pasquotank Historical Society which, at page 78, reported "one colored school operating in Elizabeth City" in 1869, potentially serving about 50% (the Negro half) of a 2,710 school population.\(^3\) Thus, the county’s educational climate.

Educational advances would not be expected to proceed in uniformly smooth fashion. Whitmel Lane, as a trustee of the "Normal School," in contest with the Board County Commissioners, won and received judgement of $16.00 damages on December 19, 1878 according to an order by M. B. Culpepper.

\(^3\) Minutes, Board of Education 1872-1885, for Pasquotank County (documents in the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh), show that the commissioners as county board of education members apportioned $195.78 for colored schools (@ 151 persons) for the year 1873. They reported at July 1, 1874, 315 Negroes in the Elizabeth City school census, and 707, same locality and group, at July 1, 1878.
justice of the peace. The judgement was transferred to Attorney Charles
Guirkin, a Republican prominent, on May 26, 1879, Mr. Guirkin receiving
$18.71 on June 28, 1880.

Other rocks were in the educational path. On November 21, 1879 the
county's sheriff made a levy on the "Normal School" per execution of Pasquo-
tank's superior court. Jordan Close, a Negro and for some time a school dis-
trict committeeman, was in contest with Jesse R. Brown, "Whitman" Lane, Jacob
Spallman, Calvin Suffron and Harry Messenger, trustees of the school. The
land and its "tenements" were sold on January 6, 1880 (Deed Record II, p. 160,
Office of the Register of Deeds, Pasquotank County).

More progressive was the county's Board of Education Minute for December
1, 1879: "Ordered that a committee Dist. 5 be appointed to select, lay off,
and mark out one acre of land to be used for benefit of col. race as school
house site. Ordered that $10.00 be paid owner for land." (The last sentence
was the Board's order of January 5, 1880.)

Whatever the ups and downs, it was clear that provisions for common
school education were proceeding in an upward spiral even if the quality and
quantity were less than might be desired in some quarters. By the mid-1880's
Negro teachers had been able to take advantage of summer institutes locally.
The Carolinian for Wednesday, July 14, 1886 reported: "The Colored Normal
Institute opened on Monday [July 12] with some twenty teachers in attendance.
Prof. A. C. McNeal and Prof. Rocks Turner are the Instructors."

The edition for June 22, 1887 announced: "The Colored Teachers Institute
will open here on July 14th." That one of July 13 reported, "The Colored
Teachers' Institute open here on Monday. The Instructors are Prof. Rocks
Turner of Elizabeth City and Prof. C. H. Crosby of Plymouth." Crosby was prin-
cipal of the normal school in that neighboring town.
On July 20, 1887 the newspaper reported that the "Colored Institute is making fair progress. There are twenty-eight teachers attending." A week later, the Carolinian was moved to say: "The Colored Normal Institute here is ably conducted. In addition to the practical work of Prof. Turner, the assistance rendered by Prof. Crosby, of Plymouth, is valuable. He is a thoroughly trained teacher and he is giving great satisfaction." Later in its column of local news, the newspaper reminded readers, "The Carolinian has always been a friend to and identified with the cause of popular education...."

In keeping with that pronouncement, the paper in its August 4 edition advertised a "Stenograph Shorthand Machine"; also: "The Colored Normal Institute closed on Friday." Thirty-one attended, the paper said. "Several of these [in attendanço] evidenced considerable proficiency as well as a knowledge of the branches taught in our common schools," the journal beams.

Presumably in line with the newspaper's editorial policy was the statement of June 20, 1888: "As public sentiment is law, let it be rightly educated." This could also refer to appropriate attitudes desired to be developed at election times. Politicking was then being geared up in order that proper Republican representation (hopefully) might be effected. Quoth the Carolinian (July 25): "The campaign is now opening and the indications point to a 'red hot' one. But the Carolinian will not get excited...." It was a fact that a noticeable percentage of Negroes prominent in educational matters locally were either actively identified with politics (especially the Republican variety) or apparently supported those in the midst of such matters.

Matters educational meanwhile continued. The Republican journal announced on November 28, 1888 that the "Colored sic public Schools open on Monday
next. Rooks Turner and Mrs. J. R. Brown take charge of the one in the new building and N. H. Newby and Mrs. Wright of the one in the old one." The advice of February 20, 1889 was that the "Colored Normal School," taught by Prof. A. S. Dunstan, will continue operations to June 1. Then, on September 4, 1889 notice was given that the "Colored Teachers Institute now in session" was "fairly well attended." For this, Prof. S. N. Vass of Shaw University was the conductor.

Manuscript minutes of the county's Board of Education (records located in the Board's present offices) show that Henry Woodhouse was elected to a two-year term as committee man for School District 5 (Negro), the term beginning at October 1, 1889. Also of interest to local citizens was a short article in the November 7 Carolinaan praising Shaw University. Since Vass, of that school, had been in town recently, presumably the citizenry had particular interest in that institution at that time. Still another school item in Paleon John's newspaper (December 11, 1889) was that Rooks Turner was principal of a Negro school and that he was assisted by George A. Mebane, formerly of Windsor, North Carolina and once a senator in the North Carolina General Assembly.

By 1890, it was obvious that there had been a proliferation of educational possibilities for Pasquotank's Negroes. Nonetheless, these advances were not up to the calibre desired in some quarters. Of great significance, therefore, was a meeting of local Negroes, held January 22, 1890. The January 29 Carolinaan carried a report of that meeting:

**COLORED EDUCATIONAL MASS MEETING.**

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

Rev. F. W. Melick was called and spoke at length upon the condition of the colored race and of the importance and advantages of knowledge. He spoke earnestly regarding religion and Sabbath schools.

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

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

The assistant secretary here read letters endorsing the meeting from Messrs. D. B. Bradford, C. H. Robinson, J. H. M. Butler, J. F. Overman and Revs. E. M. Jordan, A. G. Thomas, J. A. Fleming and Hardy Moore, regretting their inability to attend the meeting in person, but took this means of assuring us of their approval and support of some such effort. Short speeches were made by Revs. A. L. Newby, Joshua Rowe and George Williams, pledging their hearty support. By request an article in the Carolinian was read expressive of the sentiments of Dr. John.4 The assistant

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4. John had an urgent editorial an values according to Negroes acquiring education and land, versus their seeking office (January 22, 1890, p. 3). It was a matter of some that one Negro shared; opinions of one of then appeared in the April 29, 1890 Carolinian. Others solved the problem by emigrating.
secretary read a series of resolutions setting forth what he conceived to be the object and purpose of the meeting, which were adopted. The chairman was authorized to appoint a committee to draft a constitution and by-laws to report at the next meeting, consisting of Revs. A. L. Newby, J. K. Lamb, J. A. Fleming and A. A. Small, Eliasha Overton, James R. Brown and Pompey Griffin. A motion it the meeting adjourned until Wednesday night, Jan. 29th.

J. A. Fleming
G. A. Mobane,
Sec'y

E. M. DAVIS
Chmn.

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

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

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

J. R. Fleming,
Sec'y

E. M. DAVIS
Chmn.

One presumes the meeting of February 5 was held, but no report of any subsequent meetings could be found in the *Carolinian*. What could be found in its issues for February 19 and 26, and those for March 5, 12, 19 and 26, was the following ironic and unfortunate information:
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, m 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

A "Colored Teachers' Institute" opened on September 15, 1890 according
to John's newspaper for September 16. Prof. S. N. Vass of Shaw University
was again the conductor. The notice of the event was careful to point out
that the teachers themselves had put up most of the money for the Institute.
The edition of September 23 reported that the Institute had its closing ex-
ercises at the A. M. E. Zion church, Friday, September 19. The Carolinian
so reported on September 23 including Dr. John's regrets that he could not
honor an invitation to be present.

Still another educational development was reported in the Carolinian's
issue for October 28, 1890. "The colored 'Farmers and Normal Agricultural
Institute,' in charge of Prof. Rooks Turner, opened on the 6th inst.," re-
ported the journal. Titles of schools were becoming more impressive.

Fancy titles, however, might be welcome but they did not resolve the
anxieties expressed in those mass meetings earlier in 1890. The local edu-
cational situation for Negroes, despite its upward spiral over two decades,
would seem to have reached a plateau. Something else was needed; something with an aura of permanency. In addition, someone was needed to help convert need into fact.

A fellow from Washington, D. C. appeared in the precincts during the summer of 1890. His coming to Elizabeth City, just at that time, resulted in an auspicious "visit" for him, indeed.

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CHAPTER V

ROUTE TO POSTERITY

Trumpeted the Elizabeth City North Carolinian on July 15, 1890, "Mr. Hugh Cale has returned from Washington City. He is one of the ablest and most influential colored men in this district."

Once again it was politicking time. The 1890 campaign had been mounted and a good time was being had by all. Earlier in 1890 Dr. John railed against the Democrats for gerrymandering the boundary lines of the town's five wards (the Fourth Ward reportedly had 17 lines). Implicit in the fulmination was the fact that the opposition had just about conquered. Lynching proceeded apace (none reported in Elizabeth City, however) and the local chapter of the Farmer's Alliance set its meetings for Tuesdays at 7:30 p.m., and Saturdays at 3:30 (in the courthouse) "until further notice." Political alignments and issues indeed were shifting.

Another less-than-subtle item was the half-column-long, apparently verbatim report of an anonymous colored gentleman's strong disfavor for Negroes who sought public office. The gentleman felt that Republicans had done great quantities of good for "his race" and that the best thing they (the Negroes) could do now was consolidate gains and not push too fast nor certainly too hard.

John himself noted in his March 26, 1890 Carolinian that education and land-owning would do more for Negroes "than all the offices, municipal, State or National." He perhaps sought an advance cushioning for the time when the colored vote would become a cipher; or perhaps he had become just plain disenchanted with such Negro office-holding as obtained, be that circumstance an emolument of citizenship and therefore to be expected or merely a party crutch in vote gathering.
Meanwhile, local and other Negros kept in political practice. Elisha Overton won election to the town's board of commissioners from the Fourth Ward. Local Negro enumerators for the 1890 Census came to be praised for their accuracy and neatness. Other little comforts were forthcoming. John in the April 16 edition of his newspaper had this tidbit: "A Northern correspondent, among other inquiries, asks the Carolinian: "Do any number of the colored people of Elizabeth City own their homes?" The answer is, they do. Among those whose residences are neat and very respectable are Jesse R. Brown, Elisha Overton, Whitmell Lane, Isaac Leigh, Hugh Cale, Jordan Close and Henry Starke. Quite a number of others have comfortable homes, all their own. And the number is increasing."

Genuine compliments, of course interspersed with political back-patting, occupied the Carolinian. More items: "Intelligent colored men" were not to "fall for the new combine." "Two of our active young colored men, J. H. M. Butler and Sumner Lane" opened a grocery on South Road Street. The Good Samaritans had a "very pleasant time" during the celebration of their anniversary; they were a "worthy and influential colored organization." Ex-Senator George M. Manley, "late of Bertie," had started the Industrial Advocate in Elizabeth City, printed it at the office of the Democratic Falcon, and won the comment from Editor John that Mabane's journal "appears to be largely made up with matter taken from that paper [the Falcon]."

The "Sankey" of the colored race, the Reverend J. H. Manley of Petersburg, Virginia, was in town for an address at the A. M. E. Zion church. His topic: "Shall the Colored Man take up his Bed and Walk, or Shall he Stay?" The Republican organ agreed with Manley's decision that Negroes should not emigrate. Judge Pool presented an address at the same church, this one some
six weeks later (July 10), his topic being strictly non-political; the audience heard about "Brazil." More to the point was John's comment on the opposition (which did not include Poli); "How coyly the Democratic spiders are coaxing the colored flies into their parlors." Equally to the point was a big picnic in Tyrrell County sponsored by the local Farmers' Alliance and sparked by the band of the Pasquotank Rifles. However Negro Republicans may have reacted to such frolics and being called "flies" (or the Democrats, "spiders"), such was the pre-election climate in Elizabeth City at mid-1890.

The Carolinian reported on July 15 that the "colored people had a large meeting at Nikonton on Friday," July 11 and thus drew attention to that section of Pasquotank. "Speeches were made by Hugh Cale and J. W. Barrington, both of whom were loudly applauded," the newspaper rejoiced.

Diverting as it was to titillate voters -- every group was involved in the pastime -- it was more instructive to learn the dimensions of the voting potential. Dr. John reported on July 22 that the 1890 Census for Elizabeth City "feet up" with 3,252 in the town and complained that some one thousand were uncounted because of what he called Democratic gerrymandering. According to his figures for each of the five wards, the total properly was 3,251; the one vote, however, might not change much of anything. In any event his report of August 5 was that fewer colored people were in town in 1890 than in 1880.

The colored Republicans of Elizabeth City met Thursday night, September 18, 1890. "E. M. Davis was called to the chair," the Carolinian reported, "and J. W. Barrington was appointed Secretary. Able and convincing speeches were made by Messrs. H. C. Gunson, Hugh Cale and Medicus M. Phelps. There was great enthusiasm. The action of the Congressional, Judicial and
Senatorial Executive Committee was endorsed." Not so unqualified was the endorsement contained in resolutions adopted by the colored Republican clubs during their district meeting in Edenton on September 30; they felt that selection of nominees by a committee was "not wise," but "heartily" endorsed those selected. W. W. Blair, secretary, and R. M. Lee, "Chm'n," signed the report as it appeared in the Carolinian on October 7. John felt that their resolutions "had the right ring."

All these events reflected sentiments for those representing wider areas. It was time to complete a slate for local environs. Pasquotank's Republicans unanimously got a ticket together on October 27, 1890. John P. Overman was listed for clerk of court; George W. Cobb, treasurer; Hugh Cale, representative to the Legislature. "The proceedings were harmonious and good feeling predominated," the Carolinian reported October 28. It also reported that "about a half dozen Democrats met in one of the rooms at the Court House on Saturday [October 25] and fixed up" a ticket which included James W. Weeks for the County's state representative. The "half dozen" Democrats would augment themselves considerably — so much so that John reported on November 4, "as we go to press the election is in progress. As to the result, the Carolinian has made no predictions." The situation definitely was not a settled one.

Baston John rightfully kept his fingers crossed. With some relief, he was able to report on November 11, "Representative Cale 'reads his title clear' notwithstanding the devious efforts of the 'combine' to down him. This will be his third term." It was Cale's fourth and he was fortunate. In the future, some Republicans would not get their first.
Mr. Weeks had given Mr. Cale a rather close run. Cale won 922 votes; Weeks, 881. Hugh was a veteran of the county's politics but obviously there were many who thought his political status should be a little different retired. Even so, the "election here ... passed off very quietly," the local Republican organ claimed, saying that votes cast were but 81 off the total registration. Perhaps this was in terms of registered Republicans. Nonetheless, the paper's lead editorial a week later (November 18) was the grump that Republicans from the District aspiring to national-level offices were "Defeated by the Stay-At-Home Voters." In short, Republicans, generally, were defeated. Cale, Republican, was not. He polled 50.7% of the final total of 1,817 votes cast for state representative, carrying four of eight precincts even if his tiny majority was but forty-one votes.

Nor was Weeks his sole opponent. A. A. Small, chairman of the same Elizabeth City district school committee of which Hugh had been a member, ran for representative and polled one vote. Earl (or Edward?) Davis did better, with three votes; William Henry "Stark" (Starke) tallied four, Joseph (or Jehu?) L. Oliver, five, and Rooks Turner in his second bid, one vote.¹

Yet, for all the post-election soul-searching and downcast mien, two items were pleasant. John announced that the November 11 issue of his newspaper appeared on his 63rd birthday, and, "How delightful the weather has been the past week." For Hugh Cale, nearing what one takes to be his fifty-fifth birthday (November 27, 1890) and approaching his fourth term as a

¹. Election totals for all except Small and Turner were given in the North Carolinian, November 11, 1890. The present text has used totals as given in the manuscript Election Book ..., Office of the Register of Deeds, Pascocotank County.
state legislator, the weather during that "past week" more than likely had been downright gorgeous.

The November 25 North Carolinian reported that "Hugh Cale has returned from a business trip to Washington." No doubt he must sever ties there in order to be a member of the North Carolina Assembly of 1891.

Two other items in the Carolinian perhaps caused Hugh to note once again some sad realities. John reported on December 16 that Dr. Rufus K. Speed had been conveyed to Raleigh's Insane Asylum upon the physician's own request — a lamentable close to the career of Hugh's opponent of 1876 and a sobering note amid political wrangling. It was not sobering enough to derail still more wrangling.

The second item appeared in the Carolinian for January 6, 1891: "Mr. J. M. Weeks, who wants Cale's seat in the Legislature, don't seem to be succeeding in obtaining the evidence he desires. There was to have been a hearing on Saturday January 3, but his witnesses failed to appear." This matter, raised by former county commissioner and justice of the peace Weeks, having died a-borning, the same issue of the paper was therefore able to include an event of January 5, 1891: "Representative-elect Cale left for Raleigh yesterday." "Hewey" had taken the route to posterity.
CHAPTER VI

HOUSE BILL 363

The 1891 Legislature, viewed from events in the House of Representatives, seemed to give its primary emphasis to tidying the details of everyday existence for the State's citizens and institutions alike. A concurrent dearth of legislation of a nature dear either to headline concocters or to historians mainly concerned with the "big picture" would not seem to be a defect. Not every session must make the State from mountain to ocean in order to justify lawmakers' per diems. Periodic editorial yawning or grumbling over "local and private" bills in profusion generated paragraphs of journalistic opinion even if bored issue-hunters claimed that Senators and Representatives did not. The sheer bulk of the House and Senate journals, and accompanying volume of laws, shows that the 1891 General Assembly of North Carolina did not just sit there; or debate, and draw pay. The aim seemed to be serve the citizens—the reason, of course, for the honorable gentlemen's being there.

Representative-elect Cale and other uncontested colleagues were on Wednesday, January 7, 1891, "duly qualified by Hon. R. W. Winston, one of the Judges of the Superior Court...." The Gentleman from Pasquotank then proceeded to vote with the majority for all House officers except the Speaker. R. A. Doughton of Alleghany County managed to squeak into the Chair, nonetheless, with 93 votes in his favor during a contest with John A. Hendricks of Davie County, for whom Cale and thirteen others cast their votes. Mr. Speaker Doughton included in his brief address his hope that "our associations be
pleasant.... Let conservatism and justice guide our footsteps...."1 The advice was worth heeding.

Mr. Cale came to the forefront on January 13 with his appointment to the 16-man Fish Interests Committee.2 He was the last man named to it, and it was the last committee listed in the "House Rules" as printed in the Appendix to the Journal of that session. It also was Cale's only committee assignment for the session in contrast to former terms when he was named, for example, to a group like the Corporations Committee. Yet, Representative Cale would be busy if he participated in all activities of the Fish Interests Committee. The oyster and allied businesses generated considerable noise during the session.

Saturday, January 17, Mr. Cale introduced his first bill, "to be entitled an act to regulate the shipping of timber out of the State." Labelled HB 225, it went to the Finance Committee. He then introduced HB 226, "to amend section 2285 of The Code, adding another cause for divorce." This went to the Judiciary Committee. On the following Tuesday, January 20, Mr. Cale got his answer about out-of-state timber shipping. Iredell County Representative J. B. Holman gave an "unfavorable recommendation" from the Finance Committee.

Two days later, Hugh buried his own bill: HB 225 "is, on motion of Mr. Cale, laid on the table." The same day he presented a petition "from the citizens

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1. House Journal (1891), 277, 12, 13, 14, 15, 26. On Thursday, the voting for Speaker was corrected to 24-11 (ibid., p. 16).

2. Ibid., 44. Cale's townsmen hatched a petition on oysters; Elizabeth City wind force had reached oyster proportions in dislike of existing law on the subject. The hometown North Carolinian (January 21) reported dramatic personae on subjects of interest: "We see that in the Legislature Senator Parker is chairman of the Committee on Banks and Currency; Senator Morey is chairman of the Committee on Finance, and that Representative B. A. Bond of Chowan [sic], is chairman of the House Committee on Fish and Oysters [sic]. Representative Cale is a member of the latter committee."
of Elizabeth City, in relation to an industrial school for white girls."

This, like many others of its kind, went to the Committee on Agriculture.

A school — now the University of North Carolina at Greensboro — would result from help given by similar petitions from all over the State. In addition, it could be seen from the nature of legislation thus far introduced by Representative Cale that he addressed himself to a variety of interests.

Thursday, January 29, Cale got an answer to his divorce bill. Representative T. H. Sutton of Fayetteville gave the Judiciary Committee's unfavorable report on Cale's HB 226. The Carolinian's legislative correspondent gave his own report of February 11: "Still a flood of local bills.... A bill giving another cause for divorce also provoked discussion. It provides that if either husband or wife be convicted of a felony and flee the State and remain for six months, it may be ground for divorce. Cale favored the bill and said there was a woman in his town chained to a man, and she couldn't get away from him to save her life."

The newspaper's report was unclear as to whether the reference was to Cale's bill or to another bill. All told, three bills on divorce came before the House; none passed.

Rather dismal was the fate of House Bill 190, introduced on Friday, January 16, by Durham County Representative W. B. Lowe. This measure would establish "an agricultural and mechanical college for the colored people of North Carolina, ... making appropriations for the same." The Agriculture Committee, to which it was referred, gave the proposal an "unfavorable recommendation" on January 31. The following Monday (February 2), "HB 190, a bill to be entitled an act to establish an Agricultural and Mechanical College for
the colored people of North Carolina and for other purposes, is, on motion of Mr. Cale, laid on the table." Perhaps Hugh liked better a similar bill (HB 437) already introduced (on January 28) by Warren County Representative W. W. Long. Mr. Long's bill, however, apparently was quietly interred by the Agriculture Committee.

Wednesday evening, February 11, a railroad controversy wore on. Representative Cale favored allowing railroad companies to extend the "usual courtesies to State officials," but most of his colleagues did not (22-76 was the vote). Next, Hugh buffetted the measure (SB 175, HB 760) on his own: "Mr. Cale moves to amend: Strike out section 3 and substitute in lieu thereof that any railroad corporation, operating a railroad or part of railroad in this State, shall not discriminate against any person on account of its rates in the passenger accommodations provided by said railroad company."

The amendment is lost."

Three hundred and fifty-two votes are recorded for the Gentleman from Pasquotank. In addition, he presented four motions, signed his name to a protest, introduced three bills and a petition, was elected to two groups — one legislative, the other supervisory (a trusteeship for the temporarily derailed 'A. & W. College), was himself the object of legislation, and had one official leave of absence (he took a few others unofficially). This total of some 364 recorded instances of official involvement by a Negro member of the minority party is not an insignificant record of attention to duty and

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3. Data from House Journal (1891), respectively, pp. 78, 79, 93, 128, 118, 183, 30, 141, 275, 365, 1,004, 1,018, 68, 230, 176, 352 (Cale's railroad amendment).
conviction, especially considering the 1,600-odd bills and resolutions which he and his colleagues experienced during a 53-day session. Not every member could justifiably claim so faithful attention to duty.

A great portion of the bills and other measures, as pointed out earlier, served to tidy matters of state citizenship. This could be said to be a characteristic of the 1891 House; the so-called "Farmers' Legislature" attended to the so-called "little" people. Moreover, the net total of new colleges—in name of fact—established or given firmer footing for North Carolina's citizens, at one point stood at no less than three. Interestingly, all three, insofar as education at public expense was concerned, took up the slack in the State's provisions for historically disadvantaged segments of the population. Two of the schools (the present Meredith College and the University at Greensboro) expanded educational opportunities for women; the other one (the present Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina) accomplished the same laudable aim for Negroes. The so-called Farmers' Legislature had done right well for itself and its constituency. Yet, one other proposed school had demanded attention.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

What the clerk read was recorded by J. M. Brown of Albemarle, Principal Clerk, as: "By Mr. Cale, H. B. 383, a bill to be entitled an act to establish a normal and training school for the colored race in the town of Elizabeth City." As word-painted by Lieutenant Governor Robert W. Scott on February 27, 1966 and in the formal prose of the House Journal of 1891, an educational idea had reached embryonic stage.

Representative Cale's bill went to the Education Committee. Just when that Committee reported the measure was not given in the Journal, but it was a month and a day before further recorded action took place. On Friday, February 27, HB 383 in the form of a substitute by the Committee, was put for adoption. Representative McGill demanded the ayes and noes on the bill's passage but the call was not sustained. Next, the bill "passes its second and third readings, and is ordered to be sent to the Senate without engrossment." The Journal also recorded that "Mr. Cale moves to reconsider the vote by which the bill passes its third reading and to lay that motion on the table." He thus 'bolted the door', in a manner of speaking, against a surprise attack on the bill.
The Senate duly received the proposal on February 28, numbered it HB 383, SB 1,096, and placed it on the Calendar. That evening (the session convening at 8 p.m.), Cala's bill "passed its second and third readings and was ordered enrolled." Back in the House, Representative J. P. Lowery on Tuesday, March 3, reported as correctly enrolled the bill "to establish a Normal School for the Colored Race in the town of Elizabeth City in the county of Pasquotank." The Speaker ratified it, and it went to the Senate. Senator Benjamin P. Grigsby of Ashe County also reported on March 3 that the bill was correctly enrolled, Senate President Holt added his signature to that of Mr. Speaker Doughton, and the matter became law. Chapter 265 of the Public Laws became the place to learn of provisions in the Act's four sections.4

The State of North Carolina had at long last provided for the higher education of a significant portion of the most northeasterly concentration of Tar Heel population — specifically for Negroes in and near Elizabeth City. A peak of educational aspirations by a citizenry had been reached. Hopes of thousands, nourished over nearly a quarter of a century were compressed into less than half a page of printed matter. A little normal school with 'borrowed' appropriation and no home had reached a state of existence. If some ten additional months (to January 4, 1892) must elapse before the "state of existence" was translated into pupils, teachers and a building, that 306-day wait was more comfortable than one which in the sector concerned already stood at nearly 300 years.

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4. Quotations from Lieutenant Governor Scott are from a transcription of his Founders Day address at Elizabeth City State College, and used with Mr. Scott's permission. Other data from House Journal (1891), 155f, 699, 700, 618; Senate Journal (1891), 631, 636, 687; Laws (1891), 213.
For the Gentleman from Pasquotank, March 3, 1891 must have been a beautiful
day whatever the weather beyond the walls of North Carolina's capitol build-
ing.

Mr. Speaker R. A. Doughton of Sparta had a few words of parting on March
9. Mr. Cale was among the 44 Representatives still in attendance to hear them:

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

I wish each and all of you long lives of usefulness, prosperity and happiness, and trust that if we never again meet in these Legislative Halls, we may meet in that Capital city of joy and bliss where there shall be more differencies or partings. I now declare this House adjourned without day. 5

CHAPTER VII
FRIDAY THE 13TH AND FRIDAY THE 20TH

Some people at home had wearied of the 1891 General Assembly well before it closed. Palamon John's Journal printed its correspondent's lackluster notes that local and private bills by the hundreds has been introduced. These bills were deemed to be of comparatively little or no importance. The March 4 (1891) Carolinian announced that the "Legislature is to adjourn next Monday. Elizabeth City and surrounding county would have benefited several hundred thousand dollars had it never convened." The newspaper's crystal ball, generally in fair working order, was never more cloudy than at that instant.

The March 11 edition reflected 'better vision week.' The newspaper dutifully reported that "Representative Gale returned from Raleigh yesterday" and, with typographical errors, the journal recorded a set of resolutions from local Negroes:

A VOTE OF THANKS.

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

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

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

Resolved, that the North Carolina Educational Association tender the Legislature its thanks for the interest manifested in the education of the colored race by making such provisions.

Resolved, that a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to our representatives in the Legislature and the State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

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

A. A. Small, C. McDonald, Geo. W. Williams, Jno. H. Manning Butler, J. Royall Fleming, committee.
This recognition was a pleasant response. Mr. Cale no doubt was made happier by seeing in the report names of his associates. Small was a co-committeeman for Elizabeth City's school district 1h. McDonald had been a co-witness years earlier in the Salomonsky burglary case. Butler and Fleming were, of course, younger men, albeit "rising" young men.

The March 18 Carolinian gave its own applause to Cale. "It was through the efforts and influence of Representative Cale that the Colored State Normal School was located at Elizabeth City," the Republican organ edited by a future chairman of the school's trustees announced on page three. The Negroes were not as terse about the matter. The same page carried their views:

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

A large and enthusiastic meeting of the colored citizens was held at the Public School building on Friday night, March 13th, at which Robert Fearing1 was called to the chair and Bryant S. King appointed secretary. After organizing, Mr. Hugh Cale, member of the Legislature, was introduced and delivered an account of the proceedings of the General Assembly and especially of the action taken on the establishment of Normal School at Elizabeth City. At its conclusion, the following preamble and resolutions were adopted:

Whereas, the Legislature of North Carolina during its last session appropriated $600 for the establishment of a colored State Normal School to be located at Elizabeth City, and

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

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

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

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

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

1. Grandfather of Barbara O. Fearing, student of Elizabeth City State College (Class of 1967). Miss Fearing, an English major, was 1966-1967 editor of the student newspaper, the Compass.
Resolved 2, that copies of these proceeding /sic/ and resolutions be sent to the Carolinian, Economist-Falcon and the Daily State Chronicle for publication. Also to the Supt. of Public Instruction.

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

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

This was a really significant gesture — in fact, a distinguished honor; nor should the typographical errors, perhaps especially including "Huge" Cale, have been disturbing under the circumstances. If the local press was any gauge, Negroes of Pasquotank during these days might help vote a man into office, but they seldom took time and money to accord such mass respect to one of their number. Further, should some deem the totality of appreciation versus that of the appropriation somewhat out of kilter, the practical facts were (1) nothing need have been appropriated; (2) with whatever appropriation, however arrived at, the school did not have to locate at Elizabeth City. Not without reason could Mr. Cale have basked in a sense of pride and accomplishment. Friday the 13th, 1891, had been far from unlucky for him. That Rooks Turner, late opponent in the 1890 Legislative race, was the first-mentioned committee member also should have done nothing to dilute the joy of the occasion. Small men were not in evidence; warm feelings prevailed.

What news of the new normal school? The July 22, 1891 Carolinian reported that "J. H. M. Butler, who recently graduated at the Colored Normal School at Plymouth, has left to take charge of the school at Hamilton, Martin County." The September 16 edition announced that "J. H. M. Butler has been appointed Superintendent of the colored Normal School to be established here." The normal school was being formed, but its shape was not yet clear.
The State Board of Education, comprised of Governor Holt, Secretary of State Octavius Coke, State Auditor Sanderlin, State Superintendent of Public Instruction Sidney M. Finger and State Treasurer Bain, had met on May 5, 1891. Messrs. Sanderlin and Coke were "requested to recommend, at the next meeting, a Board of Directors for the Elizabeth City Normal School which was directed to be established by the Assembly of 1891, under a Act entitled "An Act to establish a Normal School for the colored race in the County of Pasquotank." On June 2, with Mr. Sanderlin absent, the "Board of Directors" was constituted upon motion by Mr. Coke. These directors were S. L. Sheep, F. F. Cohoon, W. J. Griffin, Frank Vaughan and J. W. Albertson, Jr. (in the order listed). Superintendent Finger was to notify the men of their appointment and that they should "take such steps in the establishment and management of this institution as has heretofore obtained as to be the other Normal schools for the colored people." 2

The first Board of "Local Managers" for the school, as then they were called, had been established. The Board then acquired its officers, more than likely elected to positions by their own votes. William Joseph Griffin, who later would become county superintendent of education and still later lose his life in a tragic boating accident, became President. S. L. Sheep, who long since had been conducting his Atlantic Collegiate Institute and also had served as county superintendent of education, became Secretary. Mr. Cohoon, elected Treasurer, was a businessman. Mr. Albertson was the son of a Republican judge. Next, a change in personnel; instead of former County Examiner Vaughan, the remaining member (by the time the school closed its first session) was Enoch Perebee Lamb, "Esq.," former chairman of the county commissioners.

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2. MS Minute Book 3 of the Board (State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh), 106, 107.
Matters of organization taken care of, presumably the Board set about acquiring a staff for the school. If the Carolinian's September 16 announce-
ment was correct, then the Board apparently first chose John Henry Manning Butler to head the new normal school. Time and unknown circumstances later changed the assumed-to-be decision.

On October 28, 1891 the Carolinian made a polite announcement: "We had the pleasure the other day of making the acquaintance of Prof. P. W. Moore, the elected Principal of the Colored Normal School here. He impressed us very favorably." The newcomer not only paid a visit, he left a memento: "The prospectus of the Elizabeth City State Colored Normal School is on our table. The first session will begin on the 4th of January. P. W. Moore, A. B., has been selected as Principal. He is a fine scholar and has had a very successful experience as a teacher. Our young townsman J. H. M. Butler, also a young man of culture and experience, has been appointed Assistant."

Cale's bill was beginning to have more and more concrete manifestations.

Polite notices continued. "Mr. J. H. M. Butler and Miss A. G. Fleming, who have been conducting a select school at Hamilton returned" from that Martin County, North Carolina location, Republicans and other readers learned from the Carolinian on November 11. On December 2, subscribers were told that "Prof. P. W. Moore, the Principal of the Colored Normal School, was in the city this week." Everyone was reminded, "The school opens on the 4th of January."

3. Moore had been teaching at Plymouth Normal School. Principal Crosby in his report to the State Superintendent (Legislative Document 3, 1891, p. 49) praised his teachers: "Prof. Peter W. Moore and Miss Timberlake were faithful in the discharge of their duties...." J. F. Norman, treasurer of the school's Board of Managers, reported (ibid., p. 50) salaries paid as of June 6, 1890: Crosby, $750.00 for ten months; P. "M." Moore as "Assistant," $450.00 for ten months; Miss E. J. Timberlake as "Assistant," $400.00 for ten months. Additional biographical data for Mr. Moore may be found in N. C. Newbold's well-known Five North Carolina Negro Educators (Chapel Hill, 1939), 81-114.
The local Economist-Falcon also took note of the coming event, saying, "The State Colored Normal School will open in Elizabeth City on Monday January 4th for the training of teachers. P. W. Moore, of Clinton, Sampson county, a graduate of Shaw University, is Principal and J. H. Butler of E. City assistant. It will be in session 20 weeks and we look for much educational good to come of it. The system will be by practical lessons of instruction and occasional lectures."

The Carolinian on January 6 acknowledged that the school "was opened on Monday and will continue 20 weeks," and also reported that the teachers were "both well qualified for their work." According to Principal Moore's advertisement for the school, in 1897, twenty-five students were present to begin their schooling on that first day. According to Principal Moore's letter of January 23, 1892, to Superintendent Finger (an item in the State Department of Archives and History), the "Elizabeth City Normal School commenced on Monday 4, of January 1892, under favorable auspices." The thirty-two-year-old administrator continued: "I have enrolled 26 students, who represent the following counties: Pasquotank, Perquimans, Washington, Camden, Currituck, Dare, and Bertie. The outlook for a large attendance during the spring term is very evident."

"We have advertised for a twenty weeks term," Moore wrote, "but our expenses are more than we at first supposed. We need more money in order to run the school the designated time."

"Please give us $150 of the Peabody fund. The white and colored people manifest considerable interest in the Normal." In less than a fortnight the school had embarked upon one of its most consistent themes: "expenses." Mr. Moore would not be the last head of the school to ring changes on the tune.
For the time being, however, money problems might appear less obvious and the excitement of going to the new school, considerably more so. The county board of education and the city commissioners both met on January 4, the day of the school's opening, but their minutes were silent on the event. Living memory was better. "It was a big thing to go to school," Miss Isabella Hollowell remarked in recalling her experiences as a student during the first year. "There were different classes; the students boarded in different homes. Some families would take four or five girls." The board was minimal, she felt — "three or four dollars a month" — and the school was free from "scandal." Mr. Moore "looked after them" and it was "just like one family; everybody knew each other." The pupils, she said, would go the school "in the morning." Most of them were teachers seeking a firmer foundation for their pursuit.

Social matters also came to the forefront as a result of new status. Miss Hollowell recalled with glee her being advised that "Elizabeth City girls do not wear white aprons to Sunday School" as did those "in the country." She promptly shunned the habit.

In addition, it did not appear that progenitors were overlooked by early student bodies. The Honorable Hugh Cale "worked with the school," Mrs. Jennie Joyner said in 1966. "We give Mr. Cale the credit for working with the State until it gave the money" for the school, Miss Hollowell said. She also reminisced upon the difficult times when schools in Pasquotank sought continued existence minus state aid. A chief example which she recalled was Rooks Turner in his efforts to maintain additional educational opportunities for local Negroes.
Now it was young Mr. Moore's turn to nurture a normal school. In Mrs. Joyner's view, much could be done. The college-to-be existed for some years in a "one-room shack." Despite its undistinguished architecture, a school of some permanency was now established. Also, despite the school's undistinguished facade, locally distinguished personalities visited it. Principal Moore reported to Mr. Finger that the "Hon. W. Cale" had visited the little school in Elizabeth City to give a speech to its students during the first term of operation. This information duly appeared in Superintendent's printed report for 1891-1892 at page 56.

Palemon John thought he should look at the School himself. His newspaper recorded his comments on April 6, 1892: "The editor spent several hours at the Colored Normal School one day last week. There are 56 students in attendance, coming from some seven counties of the district. The Principal A. B. [sic] Moore, and the Assistant J. H. M. Butler, are doing a good work. The course of instruction is thorough and practical and the system and discipline are excellent." Dr. John's report also revealed over 100% increased enrollment.

Moore apprised his Superintendent of progress in a letter written April 26 and preserved in the State Archives. The session had been so encouraging that he already glowed with plans for the year yet to come. Said he:

Please accept my sincere thanks for the $125.00 of the Peabody money. I have conferred with two of the members of my Local Board about using it for this session's work, and they decided to defer the matter until the next meeting of the Board.

In a few days, the Board will decide when the next session will begin and how long it will continue. I understand that we will have $1350 for the next session's work. Please inform me whether or not, I am correct.

The Principal added a "P. S.: "I am preparing to represent or exhibit a picture of our building and students, catalogue, etc., in the World's Columbian Exposition. I shall send it to your address at Morehead City, June next."
The little school sired by Cale and kept alive by Moore and Butler came to the end of its first session. It offered local citizens a series of programs on May 18, 19 and 20. These signalized the school having arrived at a milestone.

The Carolinian for May 18, made announcements: "The closing exercises of the State Colored Normal School will begin at the Court House to-night, and continue tomorrow and Friday nights. On to-morrow night the Annual Address will be delivered by Rev. C. S. Brown, editor of the Baptist Pilot and principal of the Normal Institute at Winton. A special invitation is extended to the white citizens to attend each night."

A brief account of the festivities appeared in the May 25 edition: "The closing exercises of the Colored State Normal School at the Court House on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday nights were decidedly creditable both to the teachers and the students. The annual address, on Thursday night, by Rev. C. S. Brown, of the Winton Normal Institute, was a decidedly able one. His Theme was 'Our Country, and the Negro as a Citizen.' He is a forceful and pleasant speaker, and he made a very favorable impression. This institution has done a good work and should by all means be encouraged and sustained. Prof. P. W. Moore, the Principal, and J. H. M. Butler, the Assistant, have faithfully performed the work committed to their charge and have satisfactorily demonstrated their competency for it."

Dr. John then acknowledged a visit (on May 20) from "Rev. C. S. Brown, A. M." and reminded readers that this school principal was also editor of the Baptist Pilot, headquarted in Winton. Mr. Brown was an active and well-known Republican. Appropriately, it would seem, it was another Republican Negro deeply interested in education who had planted the 'seed' for
the new normal school in Elizabeth City. It may have been in keeping with
the spirit of things, then, that Principal Moore -- not averse to Republi-
canism himself -- invited a Republican Negro, but one directly involved in
education, at 'harvest time,' to lecture the little school's first 'crop.'

Notwithstanding such harmless politics as may have entered the picture,
the school had reached a significant point on Friday, the 20th of May, 1892.
That was the important thing -- reaching such a point and gearing itself
for many other such points of assorted characteristics, yet to be attained.
In this endeavor, during the seventy-five years ensuing, the school's suc-
cesses have not lacked distinction.

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CHAPTER VIII

N. & I. TO, BUTLER, ET AL.

Another school, a local one, began appearing in the news. The Carolinaian's column, "Our Colored People," reported on January 16, 1895: "A literary auxiliary of the N. & I. Normal and Industrial School, to be known as the 'Parker Literary Circle,' was organized on Friday night last." This referred to January 11.

This institution, the Normal and Industrial Institute, was distinct from the colored "Normal" now known as Elizabeth City State College. Understandably, some confusion has existed, resulting in a linkage of the two institutions.

The Institute apparently dates from 1892 and may have resulted from the colored educational mass meeting of 1890. The school's earliest history appears to be as follows (that is, insofar as data were available at the time of writing). House Bill 305, "to establish a Normal School for the Colored Race in the town of Elizabeth City," was introduced by Pasquotank Representative H. M. Pritchard on January 17, 1893. Later, on February 22, HB 1,200, to incorporate the Elizabeth City Normal and Industrial Institute, was introduced. The latter bill, "to incorporate," passed its House and Senate readings and reached ratification on March 6, 1893, at which date it went in force. HB 1,200, now an Act, became Chapter 262 of the Private Laws of 1893, the Act containing five sections.

Remaining sections of the Act provided for operation of the school. The trustees could appoint a president, vice-president, treasurer, recording secretary, general superintendent and "such other officers and teachers" as might be deemed necessary. The institution's property acquisitions and resultant assessed valuation should not exceed $200,000. There could be an executive committee of the trustees to include the president, vice-president, treasurer, recording secretary and superintendent, but this committee should not exceed ten persons. The executive committee had the power "after the first two years next ensuing after the adoption of the act" to fill vacancies.¹

Apparently Pasquotank had need of a normal school, a normal and industrial institute, various summer teacher's institutes, the Roanoke Institute of a year or two after the aforementioned incorporation, and the sundry public schools maintained for varying periods. It could not be said that a person of color was denied access to a variety of educational routes. It would remain to be seen whether the proliferation was feasible.

With educational institutions in Pasquotank burgeoning, educational news did not lag. The Carolinian was rich in tidbits: commencement activities of the local normal school, featuring an address by E. E. Smith, "A. M., Ph.D.," of Goldsboro (and sometime minister to Liberia); Elisha Overton, noted Negro builder of Elizabeth City, putting up a new structure for the Waters Institute in Winton (the school headed by C. S. Brown and now named for him); Livingstone College celebrating its centennial. It would appear that a favorite topic

¹ See House Journal (1893), 111, 585, 892, 1,048; Senate Journal (1893), 735, 753, 811; Private Laws (1893), 428-429.
locally was the paths taken by agencies seeking to impart education. Perhaps a bit anti-climatic, then, was the announcement in the January 23, 1895 *Carolinian* that the State Legislature had under consideration a bill to abolish the office of county superintendent of public instruction.

The Carolinian's 'freshest advices' for February 6, 1895 were that 181 students were enrolled at the "State Agricultural & Mechanical College" in Greensboro, and that a local citizen would be one of their instructors.

"Our gifted and cultured young colored townsman, J. H. M. Butler," the newspaper's "Local Mention" column beamed, "has been elected to the Professorship in English in the ... College at Greensboro. He left on Friday, February 1, 1895 to enter upon his work." The colored column was less inflationary about the title: "Having been appointed one of the assistant instructors of the ... School at Greensboro, Prof. J. H. M. Butler left on Thursday last to assume the duties of the new position. Mr. Butler is young, able and progressive and in every sense worthy of the position." Even though the paper could not agree in its columns upon Mr. Butler's date of departure nor concerning his academic title, it did agree upon his ability and, tacitly, that the local State Normal had lost for good the very first teacher the paper ever reported as being connected with the school's academic staff.

More strictly localized were two other news events in the February 6 issue. Mr. A. A. Small, once a school committeeman if not one now, visited the "Public School" on Monday evening and "made a brief but instructive talk." The other item (in the colored column as was the first one) was that a gentleman posing as a minister, from out of town, had lodged with former school committeeman Jordan Close at the latter's South Road Street residence.
When the visitor left, he took Mr. Close's overcoat and pawned it for ten cents before leaving town. Not all of the educational problems involved books.

Lost overcoats did not retard pedagogic efforts. John W. Barrington, of Elizabeth City, conducted a school in the town's "Preyer-town" district. J. A. Fleming was elected president of a newly organized teachers association for Negro educators in Pasquotank County. "Our Colored People" reported these items on March 27.

On June 5 a local favorite in educational matters was given another pleasant notice in John's journal. "Our Colored People" rejoiced: "Prof. John H. M. Butler, Instructor of English in the A. and M. College at Greensboro, is at home to spend the vacation. Prof. Butler's work for the time he has spent at the College has been so satisfactory that his salary for the next term has been increased." News in the same column, the week following, was that Mr. Butler had been "confined to his room the past few days." On Friday, July 5 (the July 10 issue announced), Butler left for Norwich, Connecticut to attend summer school there.

The Carolinian reported on August 7 that Livingstone College's President Goler had lectured at Elizabeth City's Mt. Lebanon A. M. E. Zion Church. The news on August 14 was that Mr. Butler had returned from Connecticut. "Our Colored People," in that edition, reported the Norwich Daily Bulletin as listing Butler to be the only "person of color" who made an "address" at a "reception tendered the Secretary of the State Board of Education" of Connecticut. Elizabeth City people had a right to be, and were, proud of Mr. Butler.
On a less elevated plane, the Carolinian often included quips on almost any subject. Some of the topics could be construed, by stretching the point, as pertinent to practical education. A sample from March 15, 1893: "If some men would get nearer to the Lord they wouldn't have to make so much noise in church." One from 1895 (October 23): the defense of the drunk-hauled before the Mayor was the extenuating circumstance of the man's being under the influence of liquor. Omnipresent speakers to student bodies had only to peruse the local journals and find much to interlard their remarks.

So went the comings and goings. A new school term was in the offing. As in previous years, much about educational activities could be found in Palemon John's North Carolinian as well as from other sources. The richest source for Negroes' efforts in Pasquotank, however, probably continued to be the local Republican journal. The paper had spoken its views interestingly and sometimes in trenchant terms for twenty-six years. On three things it kept especially close watch: Republican-Democratic seesawing, education, financial matters. It could speak for itself; it can do so now. What follows is mostly its own language, minus very much commentary, showing the panorama.

September 18, 1895: Butler left, September 12, for Greensboro, to resume teaching there. "Mr. Jos. Woodhouse left for Philadelphia on Friday. He was accompanied by his brother Amos." Mr. Woodhouse was a sometime school committeeman in Pasquotank.

September 25, 1895: 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.
October 2, 1895: William Overton went to Hampton to attend the "normal school" there.

October 23, 1895: "Mr. J. W. Holley lectured on 'Douglass' at the Normal School Building on last Friday evening." No one could say Pasquotank was not up with current luminaries.

November 13, 1895: "Mr. J. W. Dance left Monday to begin teaching in Bertie county."

November 20, 1895: Mr. F. S. Lane, a "rising young mechanic," will go to the A & M College in Greensboro, "tomorrow," to enroll in a "special course in Carpentry and Architecture."

November 27, 1895: "Work on the N. & I. School Building is being vigorously prosecuted. Those in charge are endeavoring to have it ready for occupancy by January 1st."

December 11, 1895: "Prof. Rooks Turner opened a school at Nixonton on Monday." "It will be gratifying to the many friends of Prof. J. H. M. Butler to learn that he has been appointed Musical Director of Emancipation Day Exercises at Greensboro. Prof. Butler is one of our Elizabeth City boys, you know."

December 25, 1895: J. W. Dance, a "rising young man," was home from his Bertie County school, for the holidays.

January 29, 1896: A certain Professor H. E. Earle (reported as "Early"), of Philadelphia, had opened the N. & I. school on January 27. Earle visited the Carolinian's office on February 1, resulting in an item (February 5) calling the professor a "gentlemen of culture" and "evidently fitted for the work he is entering upon." With the school boasting one hundred pupils, "Our Colored People" was moved to say, "Prof. Earle is a worker."

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2. Wilkinson, op. cit., 375, reports Turner's receiving a Preparatory Department Certificate (1873), an A. B. (1877), and M. A. (1900).
May 6, 1896: "Hon. G. A. Mebane is back from the North." Mr. Mebane had been in that locale in the "interest of the N. & I. School."

May 13, 1896: "Our Colored People" congratulated John H. M. Butler upon his receiving an honorary master of arts degree from Livingstone College. It was a "testimonial of his scholarly attainments and manly ability," the column said.

May 20, 1896: Mr. S. F. Lane attended the commencement of the Waters Normal Institute (Winton) "last week."

May 27, 1896: "The closing exercises of the Colored Normal and Industrial School will take place at the Court House next Monday and Tuesday nights. Address Tuesday by Rev. T. W. Babb (Hertford)."

June 10, 1896: The N & I Institute received an extra compliment to supplement a "brief notice" given a week earlier. John Butler, "A. M.," would speak at the exercises for the Negro high school in Edenton, June 18.

July 8, 1896: Butler left to study at the University of Pennsylvania. Joshua Royall Fleming left on July 6 for Shiloh (North Carolina) to teach there. M. W. D. Norman, formerly a teacher of theology at Shaw University, was reported elected president of the Roanoke Institute in Elizabeth City.

July 15, 1896: The Roanoke Institute's advertisement announced that it was under the auspices of the Colored Missionary Baptist Association. The newspaper said the Institute's president "is a man of fine ability and is abreast with the educational progress of the age." The school's advertisement indicated that special attention was given vocal and instrumental music. "Our Colored People" regretted that a local speech by President Norman had been thwarted by weather conditions.
July 22, 1896: Rooks Turner was teaching at the tiny Pasquotank locale of Okisko.

August 12, 1896: "Our Colored People" announced that on "Friday night next at the new Samaritan Hall, will be given what promises to be the most select musicale of the season. The fact that Prof. Butler has the music in charge is a sufficient guarantee that the effort will be a success."

August 19, 1896: The colored column announced that former school committee man A. A. Small was ill and that Butler had been invited by telegram to speak in Hertford. (On August 12, during the morning, Mr. Butler had given the "opening address" at the A. M. E. Zion Centennial Bazaar held there.)

September 9, 1896: A certain "Prof. Stone" would give a "granophonic exhibit" at the Samaritan Hall "tonight." A certain "Prof. Green" had been conducting an "art course" at Mt. Lebanon Church; diplomas would be awarded on September 14 during the evening.

September 16, 1896: With a new school term came news of local citizens, white and Negro, leaving for educational reasons. Mr. J. C. Spence had gone to the University of North Carolina for "a course." "Our Colored People" reported that Mr. Butler had returned to Greensboro.

September 23, 1896: A branch of the Southern Library Association had been established in town, on Water Street, occupying space in Benbury & Dawson's millinery store.

October 7, 1896: "Our Colored People" reported that Roanoke Institute opened on October 5 "with encouraging prospects."

October 14, 1896: "M. D. Spellman closed a successful school term in Currituck last week and has returned to this city."
November 18, 1896: "Prof. C. A. Whitehead, of Goldsboro, Principal of the N. & I. Institute, arrived Saturday and has assumed the duties of his position." Also announced: "The teachers of the public school have been appointed as follows: Principal J. W. Barrington; assistants, Mæsames L. V. Skinner and L. A. Brown. All are equipped and experienced."

November 25, 1896: "Miss M. Kelley, an accomplished and successful teacher of Norfolk, has been employed at the Roanoke Institute." The column also mixed in understanding: "These are the days which the pedagogically inclined enjoyeth not."

December 2, 1896: "We see that our young townsman J. H. M. Butler, now one of the Instructors at the Colored A. and M. College at Greensboro read a paper before the Y. M. C. A. Conference of Southern Colleges at Hampton, Va., last week. Prof. Butler is one of the rising young men of his race." This item was in the regular columns of the Carolinian. "Our Colored People" also covered educational matters: "Mr. M. L. Newby has taken charge of a school at Okisko." "The public school, in charge of Mr. J. W. Barrington, opened Monday with a fairly good attendance." "Rev. M. W. D. Norman and one of his assistant teachers, Miss Payte, were at Moyock on Saturday in the interest of their school." The column also repeated mention of Butler's Hampton speech and said he had returned to Greensboro.

The column closed with a pat on the collective back: "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 Carolina, to which some of our foremost spiritual and literary workers have already come and others are soon to follow."

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3. Butler became principal of N. & I. then headed a Courtland, Virginia school (1901). Next, he married Fannie O. Newby (Carolinian, January 2, 1902) and left for the Philippines a month later. Journal of Negro History, XXX (1945), 243-244, has a warm summary of his life.
CHAPTER IX

"BRIGHTEN THE CORNER ..."

Although not mentioned, the "educational advantages and facilities" cited by the anonymous reporter for colored people's events, in December, 1896, surely included the resources of the local State Normal School. It, too, had progressed since it closed its first session in May, 1892 with sixty-nine pupils. The reporter (Joshua R. Fleming?) had good reason to brag.

The encomiums continued throughout the first decade of the school's existence. More were to come. Especially at commencement time did the *Carolinian* expand its congratulatory coverage of the "Normal's" progress. The school's Board of Managers had joined the enthusiasm early in the institution's history. Moore proudly printed in his third catalogue (1893-1894) resolutions adopted by his Managers on May 31, 1893:

> At a meeting of the Local Board of Managers ..., the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

> Whereas, the general management and Closing Exercises of the State Colored Normal School of this place were so meritorious in every respect, and evidenced the skill of Prof. P. W. Moore as a successful teacher; therefore, be it Resolved, 1st. That we, the Local Board of Managers, take this means of expressing our entire confidence in Prof. P. W. Moore as a teacher eminently qualified for the important trust we have placed in his hands.

> 2nd. That we believe this school to be an institution of superior merit and one destined to accomplish great good among the colored people of the Albemarle section.

On July 5, 1894, the Managers voted that they were "fully confirmed in our opinion as set forth in the resolutions of May 31, 1893, and fully endorse the same after seeing the greater success of the School during the past scholastic year."

Palemon John, Chairman of the Board, was equally laudatory after his visit of May 25, 1898: "We paid a visit one day last week to the Colored State Normal School here and we were greatly interested and more than favorably impressed....
This Institution now ranks among the very best of the Colored Normal Schools in the State."

In his newspaper, the colored column on June 1 added its own flowers to many more, already presented via regular columns. The Commencement of 1898 was revealed to have new features and the season, old friends: "On Wednesday and Thursday nights of last week the Junior and Middle Classes entertained large audiences with choice selections, dialogues, declamations and music. Short addresses were also delivered by Messrs. D. W. Perkins and Hugh Calo. On Friday night the Senior Class program of essays, orations and music was very commendable and was effectively rendered. Through the kindness of Messrs. I. M. Meekins and B. F. Spence, (white) both of whom were present, medals were offered by the first for the best oration and the second for the best essay. This was a complete surprise to all, though nevertheless highly appreciated. Mr. G. R. Whitfield, of Stokes, was awarded the first medal and Miss Carrie Stallings, of Gatesville, the second. The presentation was made by Prof. T. H. Briggs, of the Atlantic Collegiate Institute.¹

In consideration of such coverage, the item following, of February 10, 1899, was of interest: Representative F. H. Nicholson of Belvidere (Perquimans County) introduced a petition requesting "removal of the Normal School (colored) from Elizabeth City, North Carolina, to Hertford, North Carolina."² Whether petitioners meant the State Normal or the N. & I. Institute was not clear from the language used. The State Normal stayed home.

While home, the school expanded opportunities. The colored column reported on May 25, 1899: "Through the efforts of Prin. P. W. Moore, it seems to be now

¹ Of the participants, Mr. Meekins became a judge; Daniel Webster Perkins (57) became a lawyer; Miss Stallings became J. R. Fleming's bride on August 6, 1901 (according to the Carolina for August 8).

² House Journal (1899), 281.
an assured fact that a county institute for teachers will be held here in July. The need of such has been evident for some time and it is hoped that every teacher in the county and every friend to education and general progress will join forces and help make it a permanent success."

Thus was announced the earliest known 'Summer School' for the local college-to-be. Principal Moore placed his own announcement in the June 1 Carolinaian, featuring several items: "exceedingly helpful to teachers ... efficient corps of instructors have been engaged. Tuition will be free." On June 8 the colored column urged, "The success of the pending institute as well as possible ones in the future depends largely upon the interest and appreciation of those to be benefitted. Let there be unanimity of action and if necessary a little sacrifice in order to assure its success."

On July 20, John said that "Prof. Moore is to be congratulated" for the summer institute, which had just closed. Moore "ranks among the foremost educators of his race in this State," the editor concluded. The colored column echoed, and if anything, surpassed the sentiments. It reported 103 in attendance, representing fourteen countries. It concluded: "If interest and attendance are at all indicative then the teachers of this section are resolved to blend their every effort to raise their profession to the highest possible standard." Those who had attended published later their own resolutions of praise.

The Elizabeth City State Normal School by now had graduates, a history, plenty of commendation, its first 'summer school,' a budget more clearly visible to the unaided eye, and fulsome community support. That support was invaluable during great anxiety lest the Normal be moved elsewhere. The support was soothing to the school's ego after on the front page of the Elizabeth City
Tar Heel a local Negro minister blasted Moore with greater vigor than apparent veracity. Thus the first years of this century.

What the school itself still lacked was its very own home within the county. It acquired land (five acres) in 1903 and compliments and financial assistance from the county board of education (in 1909 among other occasions) but it still needed a home. This it won in 1910, but did not occupy until 1912.

Trustees and local citizens, as well as Normal School personnel, had worked very hard for a long time to reach the 1912 achievement. Peter Weddick Moore perhaps reflected the pride of all concerned, after two decades of quasi-nomadic existence. He reported to his Board of Trustees on May 30, 1913:

After conducting the school twenty-one years in delapidated wood buildings, on the morning of the 9th of September, 1912, the twenty-second annual 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 which last until April 25th, the day on which another very successful session was closed.

He said, "As the years go by the wisdom of locating the school here ... is more and more apparent." He concluded; "The great success of an Institution depends not alone upon its material equipment, but ... upon the devotion, faithfulness, character and efficiency of the teaching staff, who infuse their life into the life of the student-body and make real men and women in the battle of life."3

In 1913, Charles H. Gabriel copyrighted his music to another's text which noted, "to the many duties near you now to be true, / Brighten the corner where you are." In 1705, Pasquotank County, Charles Griffin had done so with the State’s first school; in 1912, Moore and friends added illumination. It now remained for successors to guard well the 'light.'

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3. Minutes of Board of Trustees, Colored State Normal School, April 1897-December 5, 1915, pp. 97, 101, used with permission of Dr. Walter N. Ridley, Secretary to the Board.