

## **Scalawags Among Us: Alamance County Among the “Other Souths”**

BY CAROLE WATTERSON TROXLER

I grew up in the Deep South and have lived in the South all my life. When I think of Reconstruction, two words come to mind: carpetbagger and scalawag. Perhaps they hold some power for others in the audience as well. “Carpetbagger” and “scalawag” are not “nice” words. They have been loaded with denunciation from 1867 onward, and they have dominated the way we have thought about Reconstruction. Words do matter.

“Carpetbagger” was a new word in 1867, invented by the media, which was newspapers, a full two years after the war ended. The context was the shift from what has been known as “presidential” Reconstruction to “congressional” Reconstruction.

In 1867, the Republican-led Congress nullified the post-war governments that President Andrew Johnson had created in the defeated states. Congress divided the states into military districts until such time the states should reorganize and be readmitted to the Union. For North Carolina, that period would be a year and three months, from March 1867 to July 1868.

Basically, Johnson’s Southern policy had left power in the hands of people who had run things before and during the Civil War. That was certainly true in North Carolina, including Alamance County. Now, in 1867, after about two years of comforting inaction, there was threat of a local power shake-up. The Republican-led Congress passed policies that promised long-term changes for the South and the nation. This was particularly true of the Civil Rights Act of 1866, which established African Americans as citizens, and the Fourteenth Amendment, specifying that no state should “deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.” Johnson had vetoed the Civil Rights Act, but Congress overrode the veto. North Carolina and other southern states had rejected the Fourteenth Amendment. Beginning March 1867, the expectation was that states would not be readmitted to the Union until they wrote and adopted new constitutions that would provide voting rights for all men and then accepted the Fourteenth Amendment.

The new state constitutions were to be written by elected constitutional conventions. Men who had not had the right to vote under the old state constitutions were encouraged to register and vote: these men were both newly freed blacks and white men who had not met the old property qualifications for voting. It was expected that these new voters would vote Republican. Throughout the South, contests for local political power were enmeshed with party issues: variously labeled Republican vs. Conservative. (“Conservative” was a reformulation of old “Democrat” and “Whig,” eventually to be called “Democrat”). Most of the men elected to the 1868 North Carolina constitutional convention were Republicans. Fifteen of them were African Americans, eighteen were white carpetbaggers; the other eighty-seven were white natives of the state.

The Republican-Democrat animosity was not the only division during Reconstruction. There was an element of class animosity, the newly enfranchised vs. the old leadership. Moreover, in some areas, including in particular Alamance County, old divisions over slavery, secession and attitude toward the Confederacy still were raw. Indeed, in some respects, in Alamance County there is a continuous pattern of deep conflict from the 1840s onward. To oversimplify it, it goes like this:

1. Antislavery vs. Support for slavery and the leadership of people who benefited from it
2. Anti-secession sentiments vs. pro-secession sentiments in 1860-1861
3. Pro-Union loyalty (overt or private) vs. pro-Confederate loyalty during Civil War
4. Cooperation with Congressional Reconstruction vs. Resistance to Congressional Reconstruction

To return to the word “carpetbagger,” it seems to have originated on the pages of an Alabama newspaper. It was taken up quickly by other Southern newspapers during 1867 and 1868. Newspapers were an organ of the old Southern leadership that was not silenced by ending the old state governments. By 1868, the term “carpetbagger” was being used in the North by Democratic papers, and thereby it gained national acceptance while the events of Reconstruction were taking place. “Carpetbagger” was an epithet referring to outsiders, usually northerners, who went into southern areas as officials of some sort during the period of Republican-led Congressional Reconstruction. The word was a dig on the cheap suitcase of the day: large bags manufactured out of fabric salvaged from worn-out carpets.

“Scalawag” on the other hand, was an old word, not limited to any region. *The Oxford English Dictionary* associates “scalawag” with Ulster Scots, (or “Scotch-Irish”). Originally it meant skinny cattle, a bag of bones. When it came to be applied to people for the first time – in the newspapers of the Reconstruction South – the word “scalawag” suggested that the person to whom it referred belonged in poverty or had been in poverty until recent events. So-called “scalawags” were local people who supported local Reconstruction policies as distinct from the outsider “carpetbaggers” who were their allies.

Both of these derogatory terms were class-driven, from the point of view of the people who had run things locally before 1865; they were digs against “new people” who might displace old power under Congressional Reconstruction, as they had not done under Johnson’s policies.

***Who were the local people who were called by these names here?*** Let us look briefly at one carpetbagger and two scalawags. (We are leaving aside the fact that there were also some local *scalawomen*).

The local carpetbagger of note was Albion Tourgée. Before the War, Tourgée had been a farmer and schoolteacher in Ohio, and in 1865 he moved his young family to Greensboro and went into the nursery business. He championed civil rights for African Americans and helped organize the Republican Party and Union Leagues in Guilford County, using two local newspapers that he edited. Tourgée was elected to the state constitutional convention of 1868 and was one of its most influential delegates. He successfully advocated for equal political and civil rights for all citizens; for popular election of all state officers; for ending property qualifications for office holding and voting; for free public education; and for uniform taxation. The new constitution changed a lot. It transferred some local power from appointed justices of the peace to elected county commissioners. Also, it changed representation in the state senate from districts based on wealth to districts based on population. (The state was readmitted to the Union with this constitution in July 1868. Its essence still is in effect; our current constitution, adopted in 1971, continues the form and much of the language of 1868). Tourgée is considered responsible especially for the judicial reforms of the 1868 constitution, and he was elected a state superior court judge, serving from 1868 until 1874. His circuit included Alamance County. During these six years, he learned that it had been easier to put the new practices into the

constitution than it was to put them into practice. The reforms, after all, were a threat to the old local leadership, and the repeal of the 1868 constitution was the stated goal of the Conservative, or Democratic, leadership. Today, historians in particular appreciate Tourgée for holding on to his papers while he was judge in this area. White and black men and women who were victims of ku klux attacks swore statements before Tourgée, and quite a number of men who admitted committing violence in ku klux attacks confessed and named their accomplices. Also, even after he moved away – he said, to preserve his life – Tourgée produced three novels based on his observations and experiences in the Piedmont.

Let us shift attention to local so-called scalawags, people who, unlike Tourgée, were “from around here.” We can start with another member of the 1868 constitutional convention: Reverend George William Welker. He was born in Pennsylvania, but through migration he was related to people in the Alamance Creek network in the central part of western Alamance and eastern Guilford counties. In 1841 he became pastor of a church on the county line, Brick Reformed. He served several area Reformed churches concurrently, traveled among others, and headed the denomination’s ministerial organization for years. He was a man with some influence. Regarding slavery and secession, Welker opposed both, obliquely but consistently. After the war, Welker wrote histories of the Reformed churches in the state, but he avoided writing about the Civil War; tellingly, he referred to it as “The War of the Rebellion.” He continued as pastor throughout the Civil War for part of the Brick congregation, but the church effectively split over political matters during the war years.

During Reconstruction, Welker entered politics as a Republican, and like his friend Tourgée, he was elected to the constitutional convention. Shortly after it ended, there was a physical attack on Welker and his followers on their way into church.<sup>1</sup> The anti-Welker group organized a new church in the community, but Welker continued as pastor of Brick until 1893. He continued to lead other congregations as well, including St. Marks Reformed Church two miles from our meeting place today.

Today, Welker is highly regarded by people doing family history; they are grateful that he kept his records of baptisms, marriages and funerals – and that his records survived. This particular “scalawag” has been called North Carolina’s greatest theologian and preacher of his time. The fact that he toughed out the anger over his Reconstruction politics may reflect his personal qualities. What I wish to point out, however, is that there was enough support for his Reconstruction politics – in his white congregation – to enable him to tough it out. This was a much divided county during the Civil War.

One visible indication of Welker’s support during Reconstruction can be seen in Brick Church’s cemetery, on the tombstone for Buddy Clapp; Clapp died in a train wreck at Danville in 1903. (You have heard of the tragedy from the song, “The Wreck of the Old ‘97”). Buddy Clapp had been born in 1870, the year when Alamance County was swirling with ku klux violence and with the state’s hard-fisted attempts to punish its perpetrators. Buddy Clapp’s parents, members of Brick Church, must have thought well of the politics of their pastor and of Judge Albion Tourgée in 1870, for they named their son -- Albion.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Guilford County Superior Court minutes, July and September 1869; George William Welker to Albion Tourgée, 28 August 1868, Tourgée Papers reel 10 Chautauqua County Historical Society, Westfield, New York [hereafter Tourgée Papers].

<sup>2</sup> Albion Clapp (1870 – 1903) grave marker, Brick Church Cemetery. James R. Cress, "Brick United Church of Christ History."

A so-called scalawag who was a neighbor of Welker but who did not remain here was Manuel (T. Emanuel) Shoffner. He was elected to the state senate under the new 1868 constitution. What little that is known about the blacksmith before that time suggests that he opposed secession and zealously avoided Confederate service. Other evidence of Alamance County's division over these issues would indicate that Shoffner was not alone; one supposes that likeminded white men voted for him in 1868. Many of them, like the blacks, would have been first-time voters.

On the eve of secession, Shoffner's father Joel and another relative publicly took a firm pro-Union position. They provided the minutes of their March 30, 1861 meeting to the Hillsborough newspaper for publication. Firmly anti-secessionist, the minutes included the statement, "the President is acting in a constitutional manner for which there are no grounds of secession." The paper published this April 17, 1861, after the firing on Fort Sumter was known. The intent of the March 30 meeting – though the Hillsborough paper failed to mention this – was to host a flag-raising ceremony on the grounds of the Battle of Alamance on the 90th anniversary of the battle, which was coming up on May 16. The flag to be used was the "flag of this nation, with the following inscription. . . 'The Union and the Constitution.'"<sup>3</sup> The organizers invited nine prominent office-holders to attend (and presumably speak, thereby putting them on the spot). Textile manufacturer E.M. Holt, who owned much of the battleground, proclaimed himself to be "embarrassed" by this action. Holt profusely apologized for his neighbors' conduct to Judge Thomas Ruffin, one of those invited. Throughout the war, the task of enforcing a pro-Confederate consensus in Alamance County would fall largely on Ruffin's broad shoulders. A respected jurist and legal scholar with homes in Alamance County and Hillsborough, Ruffin owned more enslaved people in Alamance County than anyone else: exactly 100 in the 1860 census. Although he made public statements against secession early in the controversy, his correspondence shows that he promoted it behind the scenes.<sup>4</sup>

Another prominent office holder whom the Shoffner-led Unionist group invited to the flag-raising was Giles Mebane. Mebane and Ruffin represented Alamance in the Secession Convention that took North Carolina out of the Union four days after the planned flag-raising. Mebane was Speaker of the Senate during the war – second to the governor, for the state had no lieutenant governor until 1868. Mebane pressured 21-year old Manuel Shoffner to raise a company for Confederate service early in 1862, giving Shoffner a right to a captain's commission. Shoffner, however, obtained an exemption from military service by working in a gun factory in Jamestown.

The tradition and technology of gun making had flourished in scattered small shops in Alamance and Guilford counties and in larger operations in Guilford long before the war. With wartime demand, there was some consolidation, and the big contractors alone provided at least 4,000 firearms for state troops. In addition, the "Alamance Armory," about four miles south of Gibsonville, supplied the state and also the Confederate States Quartermaster at Greensboro. Workers there produced more than 1,200 guns as well as wagons, horseshoes and carbines for other gun makers.<sup>5</sup> Employment in a gun shop did not guarantee a military exemption, but it was

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<sup>3</sup> Hillsboro *Recorder* 17 April 1861; Raleigh *Standard* 10 April 1861.

<sup>4</sup> Joseph Gregoire de Roulhac Hamilton, ed., *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin* 4 vols. (Raleigh: N. C. Historical Commission, 1918) 3:142.

<sup>5</sup> John Braxton, "Manufacturing at Clapp & Gates," presented to Clapp Family Association, 1992; Frank L. Clapp, "A Story of Cedar Hill Foundry and Machine Shop." [Newton, N.C. 1971], courtesy of John Braxton;

well worth a try. Young Shoffner was nervous when he made his monthly journey home on the railroad. He wrote Governor Zebulon Vance several times about his fear, observing that others from Alamance County had been captured and drafted once they left the factory grounds. The offended tone of his letters suggests that he was truly not a participant in the pro-Confederate consensus that Ruffin, Mebane, Holt and others were striving to maintain. Indeed, Shoffner's tenor matches an observation with which a Rockingham County man complained to the governor. The man lived in the corner of Rockingham that adjoins Alamance, and he may have been referring to this county when he told the governor that able-bodied men in an adjacent county were fraudulent avoiding conscription, as follows:

Some are pretending to make Salt petre for the Government... and the whole company of six men dont make 12 lbs a month.... I know also several Post Master[s] who should be in the Army stout able bodied healthy men who are glorying in their exemption whose places could be as well or better filled by men too old for service. I know also several men who are pretending to carry on government shops -- Making shoes and guns & various other things who are no workman and have given large premiums to get employment to save them from the Army -- there is a Screw loose in the government Waggon some where.<sup>6</sup>

The granting of exemptions was one of the most powerful forms of patronage wielded by Judge Ruffin, and his correspondence attests to its recognition and to his careful attention. If gun making in Guilford was an easy route to exemption for men with metal working skills who lived near the railroad, further south in Alamance and Chatham counties, the Quaker-based communities also found ways around military service. A favored method was to go to eastern North Carolina and work in the state-run salt works. Networks of Quakers in particular matched potential workers with state-contracted employers, and southern Alamance County had a pipeline to the eastern salt works that paralleled the central and western Alamance pipeline of workers to the Guilford gun makers.

The eastern salt works, in turn, were a conduit for a secret Unionist organization known as the "Heroes of America" or "Red Strings." As early as 1861, the Red Strings had meetings in Guilford County, and they were active in Alamance. It has long been supposed that they originated in Quaker-influenced areas, such as Guilford, southern Alamance and northern Chatham counties. Some of the Piedmont men who went to the eastern salt works took the organization with them. In 1864 the Confederate commander at Wilmington complained about salt workers, noting that "the circumstantial evidence of their intercourse with the enemy is very strong."<sup>7</sup>

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Greensboro *Patriot* 11 October 1860; Quartermaster Contracts, box 107, Adjutant General Dept., North Carolina Archives [hereafter NCA].

<sup>6</sup> Frontis W. Johnston ed., *The Papers of Zebulon Baird Vance* (Raleigh: Archives and History, 1963) I: 236.

<sup>7</sup> United States War Department, *The War Of The Rebellion: A Compilation Of the Official Records Of the Union And Confederate Armies* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901) 70 vols. Reprint Pasadena, CA and Wilmington, N.C. 1971-1972, 1985, W.H.C. Whiting, 22 April. 1864; Deposition of Anderson Jones, claim 37,450, [Davidson Co., N.C.] Records of the Southern Claims Commission, Record Group 56, National Archives, cited in William T. Auman and David D. Scarborough, "The Heroes of America in Civil War North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review* (1981) 58:327-363.

Manuel Shoffner was not a Quaker but a Lutheran, and his behavior as a delegate to the Synod of North Carolina in May 1862 reflects his chagrin over secession. This was the session in which the synod cut its connection with the General Synod of the United States. Shoffner was a delegate from a three-church unit that included his congregation at Low's Lutheran, in the same community as Brick Reformed. When a resolution of severance appeared on the agenda, Shoffner and a few other delegates requested to be excused and went home. The resolution annulled "our former connection with the General Synod of the United States of America." The synod concurred: "We are for forming a general synod of the Confederate States of America and will send delegates to Salisbury to organize it."<sup>8</sup>

Shoffner kept his head down throughout the war and was not conscripted. Apparently, he was ready for Reconstruction and took the Congressional tightening of its requirements in stride. He was a confidant of Governor William Woods Holden, a pre-war powerbroker who ran for governor as a Peace candidate in 1864.

Some months after losing that election, Holden was appointed interim governor by President Andrew Johnson but was defeated in a special election for governor six months later, in November 1865. Holden recognized that President Johnson's position was weakening and that a Congressional overhaul of Reconstruction was likely; in 1866 he began making nice with national Republicans by supporting the Fourteenth Amendment when it came up for its unsuccessful vote in North Carolina. Having taken that stand, he became head of the Union League in the state and chief organizer of the Republican Party.

In the first election under the 1868 constitution, Holden was elected governor. His start-up duties with a new constitution in a readmitted state included making local appointments. Holden asked the state senator from Alamance, Manual Shoffner, to recommend names for town commissioners for Company Shops and Graham, and Holden appointed them. They were, for Graham, John W. Harden, William A. Albright, Henry A. Badham, William G. Clendenin and Wyatt Outlaw, and for Company Shops, G.L. Sellars, George Boon, Thomas Fox, B.E. Sergeant and John Lane.

Who were these 'scalawags'? Harden was a Graham merchant and large-scale tobacco grower. Albright also was a merchant in Graham, and he had been elected clerk of the county court in 1865 by the Holden-appointed justices. Clendenin and Sellars were young physicians, and Badham was a lawyer. Boon was a substantial farmer, and the remaining four were skilled workers: a cabinet maker, a moulder, a machinist, and a tinsmith. The moulder and machinist worked for the North Carolina Railroad. They had moved their young families from Delaware and Maryland to Company Shops in the 1850s. The lawyer Badham was from Arkansas but would remain in North Carolina.<sup>9</sup> The only one with known African ancestry was Outlaw, the cabinet maker. An Alamance County native, at forty-eight he was the oldest of the town commissioners, and he is the only one to have served in Union forces. Outlaw was the chief organizer of the Union League in Alamance County.<sup>10</sup> Throughout the South, Union Leagues

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<sup>8</sup> *Minutes of the Fifty-Ninth Annual meeting of the Evan[gelical] Lutheran Synod and Ministerium of North Carolina Organ Church May 1862* (Salisbury: 1862) p. 17.

<sup>9</sup> Governors Papers Holden GP 211 "For Commissioners of town of Graham," 27 July 1868 NCA; 1860 Census, Alamance County, N.C. Agricultural and Free Population Schedules; 1860 Census, Phillips County, Ark., Free Population Schedule; 1880 Census, Mecklenburg County, N.C.

<sup>10</sup> For Outlaw, see Carole Watterson Troxler, "'To Look More Closely at the Man' – Wyatt Outlaw: A Nexus of National, Regional and Personal History," *North Carolina Historical Review* 77(October 2000) pp. 403-33.

encouraged freedmen to register to vote. They functioned as auxiliaries of the Republican Party that had provided the Civil Rights Act and the Fourteenth Amendment.

Outlaw's murder less than two years later is one of the most widely known events in Alamance County history. It occurred three weeks after an attempt to murder Shoffner, who immediately fled to Indiana. There were plans to murder Albright, but they misfired. These and similar episodes were not considered vigilante justice; neither of these men was accused of wrongdoing. The motivation was political. However, the violent episodes were not efforts to shake off Republican control, for Republicans never controlled the government in Alamance County. Shoffner's election to the state senate was the greatest success that local Republicans scored. Other legislators from the county were part of the pre-war leadership and were solid opponents of Holden. There were several local men who had not held office before the war who were elected as county commissioners from 1868 through 1872, and that fact is significant. They did not lose their elections until 1872, as a result of increasing the tax on local cotton mills, in particular E. M. Holt's.<sup>11</sup> This was well after the ku klux activities ended, after the so-called "Kirk-Holden War" was over, and after Holden had been impeached for his actions in quelling the ku klux in Alamance and Caswell counties.

The timing Outlaw's murder and efforts to kill Shoffner and Albright, in February-March 1870, came after a crescendo of nighttime violence by white men in disguises who altogether were referred to as "ku klux," though there were different groups. When looking at these attacks individually, one sees several different patterns of motivation. The two purposes that show up most were 1) intimidation to keep black men from voting and 2) efforts to break up cooperation of white and black workingmen. Victims who were bold enough to report their attacks to officials had pitiful success in getting any legal protection, testimony to the fact that local officials largely protected the intimidators.

Shoffner earned his reputation as Alamance County's Number One Scalawag when he got a law passed in the state legislature that empowered the governor to put any county under martial law whenever the county officers could not or would not keep the peace. Specifically, the Shoffner Act enabled the governor to declare a county "to be in a state of insurrection, and to call into active service the militia of the state . . . to suppress such insurrection." Shoffner introduced the bill, clearly designed for his home county, and it passed in late 1869. The law also made it possible for persons who were charged with murder or conspiracy to be tried outside the county where the alleged crime appeared. The supposition was that these defendants would not be convicted by local juries. In other words, with the Shoffner Act on the books, the governor had the authority to bring in state militia to stop the violence.

This was the infamous legislature that featured a series of railroad frauds. The key money funnel for the frauds was the man for whom Swepsonville was named. George Swepson is "remembered as one of the greatest rascals in the history of North Carolina."<sup>12</sup> But Shoffner, and not Swepson, was the target of violence and damning memory. The mill owner Swepson was not a threat to the pre-war rulers of Alamance County. Also he was not vilified in the newspapers as were other members of this legislature.

<sup>11</sup> During 1866-1872 the county was represented by John A. Moore, A. H. Boyd and Alexander C. McAlister. John Cheney, Jr., ed. *North Carolina Government* (Raleigh: N.C. Dept. of the Secretary of State, 1975) pp. 1035-1036; Minutes of the Board of Commissioners of Alamance County, volumes 1-3, 1868-1884, NCA.

<sup>12</sup> *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography* 5:490.

Recall that the words “carpetbagger” and “scalawag” were used first by newspaper editors to denounce congressional Reconstruction. I will close by mentioning the role that one particular editor played in Alamance County. Josiah Turner shaped the violence here. And his writings have shaped our history of these events, both as they have been handed down orally and in published accounts.

Like Shoffner, Turner opposed secession, but he raised a company for Confederate service. Harshly critical of the Confederacy, Turner was elected to the Confederate Congress as a Peace candidate in 1863. Just after the war, he was appointed director of the state-owned North Carolina Railroad, and in 1867 he became its president. Before the war, free black skilled workmen had worked at Company Shops, along with white workers, some of whom were from the northern states and Britain.<sup>13</sup> Turner fired many of them and went on the war path against the spread of Union Leagues, with their mixed meetings of workingmen and their organization of churches and schools near the Shops and in Graham. After Holden was elected governor in 1868, he removed Turner from the railroad.

Then Turner went into full combat mode. He borrowed money from George Swepson and bought a Raleigh newspaper, the *Sentinel*, and made it the leading Conservative (or Democratic) instrument. He encouraged “every Conservative [Democratic] opposition device including the Ku Klux Klan.” Other papers quoted the *Sentinel* or took its lead and so magnified Turner’s impact. Turner thereby “contributed as much as anyone in the state to the overthrow of... Holden in 1870.”<sup>14</sup> During the height of the ku klux violence in Alamance, Turner visited from his home in Orange County. He masterminded the violence privately and fomented and justified it publicly. Testimony of klansmen and others who participated in the violence points to Turner as instigator and also contradicts much of what he published about local Republicans.<sup>15</sup>

During the newspaper age, someone observed that newspapers wrote the first draft of history. That was certainly true here. The magisterial history of Reconstruction in North Carolina was published in 1906, by the state printer.<sup>16</sup> It was written as a dissertation at Columbia University, directed by William A. Dunning. The author was De Roulhac Hamilton, who continued a productive career as a historian of North Carolina. For Alamance County and surrounding areas, Hamilton followed the accounts as published in Turner’s *Sentinel*, to the “t.” The book was reprinted and for most of the twentieth century, Hamilton was the single source for information about Reconstruction in North Carolina, quoted and paraphrased exuberantly.

There is something else notable about Hamilton, besides his dependence on Turner’s newspaper accounts. Hamilton’s mother was a granddaughter of Judge Ruffin, enforcer of the pro-Confederate consensus in Alamance County. Hamilton was born in Hillsborough just eight years after Ruffin’s death there.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> 1860 Census, Alamance County, N.C., Free Population Schedule, Households 103-134.

<sup>14</sup> *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*: 6: 66; For race, labor and railroad politics, see Scott Reynolds Nelson, *Iron Confederacies: Southern Railways, Klan Violence, and Reconstruction* Chapel Hill: UNC Press 1999, 105-109.

<sup>15</sup> Ku Klux Klan Papers, Duke University Special Collections; *Trial of William W. Holden, Governor of North Carolina, before the Senate of North Carolina*. . . . (Raleigh: "Sentinel" Printing Office, 1871) 3 vols. Most Alamance evidence is in Volume II; Tourgée Papers reel 10.

<sup>16</sup> Joseph Gregoire de Roulhac Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*. Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton 1906.

<sup>17</sup> Joseph Blount Gregoire Roulhac (1795-1856) married Ruffin’s daughter Catherine in 1836. The historian Joseph Gregoire de Roulhac Hamilton (1878-1961) was the son of their daughter, Frances Gray Roulhac Hamilton,

This is not to suggest that Hamilton was poor historian in 1906. But he did have a filter. It is not unknown for historians to have filters! But part of our craft as historians is to recognize the filters, point them out, and take them into consideration as we examine the past.