

Gov<sup>r</sup> Hamilton

Dunville Nov 27. 65

Dear Sir

Some three weeks since, I laid before you (by the uncertain channel of mail) my pet<sup>n</sup> for pardon to Pres<sup>t</sup> Johnson, at some time addressing you on the same subject - of which I have yet heard nothing. - presuming it may have come safely to you and that it will receive due consideration, that is what you may deem proper. The pet<sup>n</sup> was dictated to a friend - by myself while in that erroneous state of mind common - generally so - to persons turning the corner of convalescence, away from the sythe and hour glass. I have re-read the copy, and still feel the truth of what I stated to the President, altho, if not accounted for by stating that it was written from the bed of prostrating sickness, it might appear fulsome. Should this Pet<sup>n</sup> have come to your hands - I beg favor, of what consideration you may be pleased to afford me on it. No evidence of what is averred was deemed necessary, as I felt the truth of the statement made, but if deemed essential I will readily supply them from reliable authorities, and the Citizens of the County -

In my letter to yourself, a matter was mentioned of serious moment, to which by other sources as well as my own information - request was made me to address you, mentioning the probability (coming from varied information) almost certainty, of

(TX)

Governor's Papers: A.J.  
Hamilton  
Folder 37  
November 26-30, 1865

insurrection at or about Christmas &c. I wish to  
mention what we have for our fears. For about 3 weeks,  
a negro blacksmith shop in Danville, of 3 hands, was mainly  
engaged in forging Butcher and Bowie knives for other negroes,  
the reason of this demand, so extensive, was not obtained  
of negro, if <sup>employed by</sup> Ed Tabb Esq of Waverly - "very reliable  
gentleman & planter, came to him, said "if you please pay  
me wages as I wish to leave. This freed man was very  
reliable, a favored one from his trust worth, but I said  
"Why any complaint - none said the man: but I want to  
go away before Christmas, the black men are going to raise,  
fight the white people and I do not want to be here, or  
they will kill me if I do join them. He I was warned  
and his observation has led him to the conviction that  
the intent to an insurrection prevails generally.

\* Col Offutt, Sug planter - who has at their request  
been preparing to carry his freedmen back to Louisiana,  
was waited on by Henry a sort of foster brother. He  
said to him, we must get away before Christmas, the  
blackmen are going to make war on the whites, and we  
want to get away before then, so as <sup>we</sup> will not be troubled,  
Col Offutt's place (rented) is 5 miles west of the town of  
Montgomery, dist from Danville 20 m, from Waverly 30 <sup>miles</sup>.  
So we see - similar (probably organized) intentions being  
Ed west 30 miles -

\* At Danville Dr Hughes had in his employ a freedman  
Ben Wood a steady trusty negro - Ben came on Monday  
and declined taking a Sow & Pigs he had bought of the Dr,  
Cecie right said the Dr, who enquired what had happened,  
B, responded - we are going to have the white people fighting  
one another Christmas, - about Corn and other things,  
all the Corn Cobs are to be burned and there will,

(IX)

be no Corn to be had to feed my boys - It seems those  
 who have made Corn have made, owing to the negroes not  
 working in the latter part of Corn working, and late planting  
 (impossible otherwise from Spring rains) short, in cases, very  
 short crops Corn, even these, short of Corn, having to raise  
 their own boys now, and dependant upon obtaining negro  
 labour by having good supplies - cannot now safely sell  
 Corn - to which, the no Corn makers appears very wrong  
 if has equited hostility. - There are six, you know, by  
 personal knowledge, in all communities, in the times when  
 Law, order, morality & religion prevail and enforce good  
 Social Conduct, as the rule - Men of lawless natures,  
 whom nothing but the strong arm of the law, and Social law,  
 prevent from best rages. This lawlessness is too often  
 evident in growing, race relations riots, and murders -  
 These are the original "jay hawk" elements. Now now,  
 under incident demoralization, are ready for all adven-  
 tures promising plunder, & power to do as they please,  
 and the freemen under the different ~~various~~ incentives  
 laid before them, become willing instruments of the  
 designs of the lawless. I could not point to any  
 one hereabouts, as engaged in this mischief, but if  
 I could, it would be unsafe to life and burdening to  
 to bring them forward to view - We see constantly  
 strange negroes passing about - there may be enterprises  
 establishing concerted measures for a "day certain" for  
 insurrection - Also negroes ~~at~~ having Guns, mostly  
 Enfields, going putendly hunting, who before they were  
 freed, knew as much of Deer hunting as many profession  
of the Kingdom of Beuca - These Enfields

IX

 Governor's Papers: A.J.  
 Hamilton  
 Folder 37  
 November 26-30, 1865

(4)  
are Arms which our Soldiers, upon the "Break up"  
throw away (imprudently) at the dist Stations, and the  
negroes have taken and traded them about among themselves  
we are satisfied that a search would bring out a good many  
which you think are held in secret for some occasions

These Guns, you think should be gathered by  
the Collectors and stored up to Govt.  
In conversation the  
negroes do not deny that other negroes lack of "rising up"  
and dividing out; but they themselves are not concerned -

Even Sir if there was no preconcerted insurrection,  
or one incited by "lawless persons" fear are justly to  
be entertained, that at Christmas, the negroes freed  
from the 1865 Contracts, and collected in large numbers  
at the Towns & Villages, will particularly if liquor be  
supplied to them by persons (whose desire of gain over  
powers all propriety) feel the strength and mo-  
mentum of numbers, first insult, then break  
open Stores, supply themselves with liquor, and  
proceed to indiscriminate outrage, violence,  
slayings, and burning to be no one who  
has observed the negro closely will, or can give him credit,  
for higher morality or any of the virtues. From the East  
Indian races, the docility & good conduct  
of either, like those of many of the white races,  
solely depending on the restraints, & penalties  
which the laws enforce - Give the negroes any  
power either in insurrection, or otherwise, and we  
would have no more mercy, or less cruelty, than  
that practised at San Domingo, in the late revolt  
in the British E Indies, or now raging in  
Jamaica - So if once they make head at any  
point, aided by white men, and can procure  
arms a war of races is inevitable

(IX)

Governor's Papers: A.J.  
Hamilton  
Folder 57 November 26-30, 1865

What has a material effect on the unenlightened  
negro mind - is precisely the same in its effects  
upon the enlightened mind of the white man,  
as you and I have personally experienced in  
ourselves, and equally witnessed in or upon others,  
it is this fact, an incident to our human  
being, and a necessary consequence to the structure  
forces and elements of our minds, to wit  
(that our hopes and wishes are ever operat-  
ing, swerving our judgements, from the proper  
conclusions, which the premises legitimately  
demand from us, as the true ones,

Negro-gogues

(permits to coin a word,) have been every where impres-  
sing the minds of the negroes, that at the New Year a  
general distribution of farms land & property will  
be made among them. And notwithstanding Earl's  
Gregory and Strong, backed by an imposing retinue,  
have most plainly every where, in print & speech,  
told them so - they return in a day or two to their  
own belief, founded on their hopes & wishes, that  
such will be the event, they say further  
that those who address them are not the  
"Great men" who are to come on after a while,  
and give to them what they desire. The  
more acute say, that mere freedom is nothing  
and therefore none is justly to be expected  
to render the freedom of any practical benefit  
to them - or so said in substance -

Again they

believe, that in the event of any struggle between  
the negroes and their former owners, the

(IX)

Governor's Papers: A.J.  
Hamilton  
Folder 37  
November 26-30, 1865

(5)  
The Federal forces will take no part against  
them - What is here stated is gathered in some  
part from themselves, both here and at Montgomery,  
and information from reliable gentlemen, who  
have visited <sup>me</sup> in my illness - I was a Store  
Keeper here some years - several years since,  
in my negro trading I was very particular  
not only to be correct but to make them see  
that it was so in fact - Since that I have  
employed many to labour for me, and to a degree  
I have their confidence and good will, many  
have also been to see me in my confinement  
and ~~to~~ I have questioned them generally, with  
answers, that leave no doubt upon our minds  
hereabouts, that some plan is intended  
of the nature of an insurrection and  
division of property at Christmas, -

The Lectures deliv-  
ered by Gen Gregory to the freedmen, show an earnest desire  
on his part to bring "Capital and Labor harmoniously and  
productively together in regard to our great Nation's  
staple - now a necessary means of National Strength  
In every thought and expression the Humanitarian  
and protector of down trodden races crops out or  
discloses itself. He Gen G. charges the Negro of  
his duties and obligations, but at same ~~to~~ emph-  
-atically informs the freedman of his rights and  
freedom of volition, that all of the obligations  
he makes first known to them is largely effaced  
in their minds by the more agreeable impressions  
of freedom in every way they can understand  
it to please themselves - They are told

(IX)

Governor's Papers : A. J.  
Hamilton  
Folder 37  
November 26-30, 1865

that they must at once enter into engagements for  
employment in 1866, which is offsetted again by  
telling them how much they ought to have, to work  
be found in every thing, and take 1/4 of the crop,  
less than that the Bureau will not approve. So  
if he cannot get employment on such terms, he is almost  
authorized not to work at all - In all we could  
see or have heard it appears that Genl G. ~~conveys~~  
falls into the error of all Philanthropic Theorists,  
which by the way wholly refutes them for the trust  
exercised, however good & pure their own life con-  
duct and motives. Measuring every thing, or  
human being, like P by his Iron bedstead, or Iron will,  
as the case may be. Genl G. practically (disclosed by  
his speeches) takes up the theory that the White Southerner  
is naturally and forever the enemy and oppressor of  
the black man. Conversely the Northern man and  
liberator the fast friend of the negro - while the  
negro the down trodden he requires for his very life and  
system the continued interposition of the Philan-  
thropist - Under this treatment the negro will not  
work - Cotton, which is the life blood of the Union  
in its present incipient bankruptcy and possible  
disintegration stands of that Union - (which we the  
Southern people now ardently desire should continue,  
are we not strangely changed Eastward & Southward  
Gen Strong, Inspector Genl of the proceedings  
of the F Bureau - spoke but little, simply enjoin-  
ing and requiring the Freed man to make his con-  
tract at once for Year 1866, and keep it faithfully  
or if he failed he should lose all his labor  
be brought to answer to the Government

MS. 3. 2. 4

(IX)

Governor's Papers: A.J.  
Hamilton  
Folder 37  
November 26-30, 1865

(IX)

(8)  
Every one knowing anything of Negro character, or rather  
of his mental and corporeal nature, knows full well  
that no fines or penalties <sup>of the kind</sup> will enforce his labour,  
We cannot and do not desire to return him to his  
former relations of servitude to us - the 'evil' is broken  
up and we are to be the real beneficiaries, if not  
all of us now living - our children will be, tell  
that we want now of the Negro is that he makes  
sufficient provisions, and makes cotton enough  
to take the Union out of insolvency and restore  
us freed from taxation <sup>and freed from negro institutions</sup> to our present conditions  
of prosperity; 5 good crops of cotton in all the State,  
will effect it - but probably under the present <sup>deracted</sup> conditions  
of the States, the uncertainties of seasons, frosts &c, it  
will take ten<sup>10</sup> years to obtain 5 large crops or  
its equivalent - Texas is the State of all <sup>in the South</sup> that  
can now make cotton, but with the Bureau  
on the planter's shoulder, with the negro conti-  
nually told that he is free, we shall make but  
little - the Negro cannot be depended on for  
the continued necessary labour which alone  
secures the <sup>cotton</sup> crop - requiring the entire year -

We are practically sub-  
jugated - the Negro must take the same conditions  
to which the Union man and the Sealer are alike  
subject. He must be made to submit to it, it is a  
duty on his part to the South, & in return for his freedom  
to make cotton for the benefit (practically) of the  
Government - when the Bureau is, or if it be early,  
removed there will be some hope for cotton, if  
done quickly, but we fear relief will come too late,  
- January is so close at hand - to secure a crop of cotton

(IX)

Governor's Papers: A.J.  
Hamilton  
Folder 37  
November 26-30, 1865



Scarcely any one - in the absence of the particular coercion to which the negro when a slave was subjected - can devise adequate means, whereby the negro can be compelled to fulfil his contract, to the fruition or extent of production formerly attained - The only one suggesting itself to me is one which will be permitted readily, when the <sup>Manufacturing, Shipping</sup> 'Manu<sup>g</sup>, Ship', Commercial, carrying trade & other interests, of capital and support, realize the <sup>terrible</sup> effects of the Cessation of Cotton crops - in which every one will be involved, alike. What presents itself to me, is the appointment in each tract of an independent officer - who will enforce contracts on either side, leaving the contracts to the mutual agreement of the parties without limit or restraint. The failure for the third time to work in the Cotton & Corn crop as formerly - which must be the standard to ensure good crops should become a crime, and to be punished as a crime with stripes as for other crimes - The salary of the officer made up from a tax on the planter and the freedman ad val, Here the authority provides not the employer, and the objections to the crime punishment will not be sustained, as it does not give power to punish without a judicial investigation and decision. Juries might I think be allowed for negroes are quite as willing to the infliction of punishment, <sup>as we are</sup>, as experience has fully proved. The Cotton planter pitching his crop on the number of hands he employs, cannot afford to lose a hand, so that driving one off, and keeping his labour, would not afford any compensation losing him out of the crop.

N13-3-5

(TX)

(TX)

Governor's Papers: A.J.  
 Hamilton  
 Folder 37  
 November 26-30, 1865

If the state is allowed control of these affairs  
there would be little difficulty in holding such officers  
to their full liabilities, duties, and penalties —

I have

X I have wandered away, so "à reverir nous  
moutons" — Can you not afford us  
some aid or protection against negro out-  
rages — Louisiana is organizing her militia,  
we are certainly here <sup>in Texas</sup> as reliable and loyal,  
and many think it essentially necessary,  
the men part of such organization will  
go largely to prevent an insurrection, please  
give the subject your good <sup>and early</sup> considerations

We learn that Houston is restored to Civility i.e.  
to its own authorities, and an election is ordered  
for corporate authorities in this town — You owe  
this return of civil authority <sup>with joy</sup> & presume to your  
good offices — for which we are thankful, for many  
have felt the might of military power lie heavy on  
their souls, that is, same thing, their purses — I can  
here freely express my own humble retired  
satisfaction at <sup>your</sup> forbearance in your  
official position — We did not expect it. Men  
of ardent and decided temperaments, under the sense  
of <sup>wrongs</sup> wrongs, are frequently implacable in resentment,  
I am all I hear you are popular, despising  
us, and there are many, among them, who  
are anxious for your continuance in public trust —

This is my best  
hand writing please  
excuse it

Very Respectfully  
Your servant & Well Wisher  
C. P. Stewart

(IX)

In addition I wish to mention the operations of the Bureau in Montgomery, Danville & Macon, as I have it from reliable sources - I presume it is known that most of the farmers contracted with their freedmen to continue to labour until Jan 1. 66 as they had previously <sup>and</sup> receiving food clo thing medicine &c as heretofore some added a tenth

Mr Duggell of Montgomery made this contract, but after Genl G had lectured the negroes at M, two of Mr D's negroes came complaining. The Genl issued an order, without a trial as to Mr D to pay them money wages at the rates he prescribed, which he had to do, from June last,

Mr Hulon of Danville incurred the same penalties, \$7.00 for two half grown boys whom he employed for food clothing & med, Mrs Deven a widow of Danville was required to pay 6¢ per day to a girl with two children, who driven from her former ~~home~~ home for idleness, sought work at M, & for her insufficient services, with travelling Judge Elmore treated with common dogs two regularly contracted negroes, found them no injury was intended to, or sustained by the negroes Judge E was arrested, refused bail (Bail was afterwards offered him <sup>by</sup> the authority but he came out on Marb Corps. Judge E is unusually hard to be any kind to his negroes, so far as we can learn Genl G's addresses were far from benign either to "Labour or Capital" and it has not

(TX)

Governor's Papers: A.J.  
Hamilton  
Folder 37 November 26-30, 1865

(TX)

and they have not had the effect of inducing the  
the negroes to enter into contracts for the next year.  
Genl G openly told the farmers, at the negro meeting,  
that the negro must have good food, clothing and  
medicine, and at least  $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the crop, or he  
would not approve the contract. The negro  
will only, ~~be~~ and does only, retaliate so much  
of the address as suits his wishes. He was  
told constantly fanned the imputations that  
he must go to work at once, (he honest, fastidious)  
that he was free as a white man, placed  
on the same equality, under the Law, that  
no one could whip or strike him, that he  
enjoyed all the rights of self defence. could  
return for "Sick for Sick" under the Lincoln  
proclamation, which was read to them. all  
of which true as it is, or may be, has the  
effect - (no doubt contrary to Genl G's wishes  
or intentions) of rendering him still less  
disposed to labour in the field, stating at the  
same time their unwillingness to contract for a Cotton  
Crop.

In a letter to Genl G at Danville, I asked  
him to inform the negroes that no disturbances  
or out breaks would be permitted, that the authori-  
= ties would put it down at once, and what would  
be the consequences to them, but he did not deem  
it necessary to do so in part

What no doubt militated  
seriously, against the good, Genl G's address,  
might have done, was the conduct of the <sup>Common</sup> Soldiers  
who constituted the Genl's escort or guard of  
honor. They fraternized greatly with the  
negroes

was overheard telling them how they had fought to free  
them. What good people the negroes were, better than  
than their masters. beseeching the negroes - as they were  
poor soldiers far from home - to give them money,  
which the negroes freely did - and two of them at  
different times exhibited hundreds of money to the  
keeper of a grocery, as profits made out of the  
negroes - this at Danville - I cannot doubt  
but these wretches assured the negroes of a general  
division of property, and that if they take up  
arms against the whites, they, the soldiers, will not  
take any part against the blacks. This has  
leaked out from the negroes themselves, (one of them)

It is more than probable, these soldiers  
desire an outbreak that they may be emp-  
loyed to put it down, and then plunder master  
and man alike - In the war, our own  
soldiers in too many instances, are said, to  
have plundered friend and foe without any  
discrimination, could or can we expect less  
from these soldiers, who are desired to get all  
they possibly can, by any means or opportunity,  
in proof of this - Gen G sent his troops to  
Huntsville direct by one road, and went  
by another road to Tracy. Half a mile from  
Danville on the main road some of the soldiers  
stopped at Mr Westmoreland's house, as they  
took the black servant, for water. Finding  
both Master & Mistress absent they took  
whatever they fancied out of the open rooms, and  
were in the act of breaking open a locked  
room, in which were all of his valuable  
when Dr Wright fortunately came in and  
prevented the robbery

I have the foregoing from the parties

Believing that unless  
the policy is changed, and the Negro forced to return  
(in labor, for the good of himself and the Country) in  
the production of Cotton, the debt of gratitude  
and duty he owes the Government, which has liberated  
him, ~~that~~ and unless good crops of Cotton are  
thenceforth made (for it will not come from White labor)  
next year, that we will all, Govt. State  
and individuals, be bankrupt and unable  
to pay taxes, falls me with anxiety, and its  
train, with the fear and consequences of a Negro  
insurrection, that urges me to address you. I  
hope that from the motives, you will excuse the  
trouble I may put you to in opening these letters

~~I am very sorry~~ And  
at some time to ask you if possible to have  
the Negro Bureau removed or mitigated if you can,  
by inducing the President to relieve us from the curse  
it brings upon us. You know in Alabama that I was  
not a Cotton planter. I had only family slaves.

I do not expect to have any Cotton made, but I,  
in common with every other citizen, am involved in  
the adversity of the Country, or benefitted by its  
prosperity - and <sup>a 7000</sup> Cotton crops regarded as the only  
source of the latter, as well as the only prevention of  
general bankruptcy

Very Respectfully  
and sincerely your well wisher

G B Stewart

Montgomery  
Nov 30 1865

IX

Governor's Papers: A.J.  
Hami Iton  
Folder 37  
November 26-30, 1865