

Lucas Clawson Lecture
“The Aftermath of the American Civil War in Delaware”
July 20, 2017
Transcribed by David Cardillo
Center for Digital Collection
University of Delaware Library

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[00:00]

Ms. Olney-Zide: I promise I will try and keep this short, cause we want to have as much time as possible to listen to Lucas’ anecdotes and knowledge. So, good morning! Thank you for going through this very hot morning to get here. My name is Molly Olney-Zide. I am the interim head for the Center for Digital Collections here at the UD Library. And I’m also the project manager for the Delaware Digital Newspaper Project, which is the sponsor of this event today. Again, I want to keep this short, but I do, before introducing Lucas, I would like to thank a few people, and I have a few announcements to make. The table of swag or bookmarks, posters, and information flyers has been moved to the outside of the room, but please help yourself. I mean, if you want to give them to your friends, you can take as many as you like. I can always get more. And I have my card out there if you would like more. So, I did want to mention the Delaware Digital Newspaper Project is coming to a close on August 31st of 2017. We do not know yet if we got our renewal grant, but we hope to hear by the end of this month. Just to give you an idea of the project, we had a total of one hundred and five titles, roughly ninety-five thousand pages of Delaware newspapers from as early as 1798 with the *Wilmington Mercury*, I believe is the name of that, and to 1922, so everything in the public domain. And currently there are about seventy-five thousand pages available for you to research at home, no login, freely accessible, full-text searchable. So, I do want to thank a few people beforehand. They all helped make this possible. Of course, or project director, Gregg Silvis, who’s somewhere in the back. And all the project team members. David Cardillo, Theresa Hessey, Tom Pulhamus. Susan Davi and Leif Erickson have helped for discoverability of the newspapers. Anna Ashikhmina for cataloging assistance. Ken Todd, he helped us with German translation for one of our German titles. Nico Carver for videotaping today. Mark Grabowski in our server management; he is essential. Allison Ebner and Sean Diffendall for helping with promotion of the event. Vicky White for all of her event help. And I know I’m missing so many people, but thank

you to everyone who has been helping me out with this. All right. I am very happy to introduce today's speaker, Mr. Lucas R. Clawson, Historian and Reference Archivist at Hagley Museum and Library. And also has been a good friend of mine for almost a decade, I would guess. Lucas has his bachelor's degree and master's degree in public and applied history from Appalachian State University in Boone, North Carolina. And his master's in history from the University of Delaware, with a research focus on the DuPont Company and the American explosives industry. He began working at Hagley in 2006 as a Hagley Fellow, and he loved it so much he decided to stick around. Still there. He's now a Hagley Historian and Reference Archivist in the library's Manuscripts Department. He works with the DuPont Company and DuPont family records to help researchers and help interpret the site's history. He curated Hagley's 2011 to 2012 exhibition on the American Civil War called "An Oath of Allegiance to the Republic: DuPont and the Civil War." Lucas' talk today is entitled, "The Aftermath of the American Civil War in Delaware." For the sake of time, we ask that you hold your questions until the end of the presentation, so jot down notes if you need to. But please help me in welcoming Lucas.

(Applause)

Mr. Clawson: Well, good morning, everyone!

Audience: Good morning.

Mr. Clawson: Thank you for coming out on such a sweltering day to sit in the air conditioning. So let me lead off with a couple of statements. First and foremost, what you're going to see comes out of the exhibition I did for Hagley in 2011 about DuPont, the company and the family, during the American Civil War. I am not a native of Delaware, which you'll probably figure out after hearing me talk for a few minutes. So I'm coming into this with kind of a fresh perspective, in a way. When I was tasked with doing that exhibition, the first thing I thought was, "Okay, so what else can we really say about the Civil War in Delaware?" Certainly somebody has had a lot to say about practically everything, given the amount of ink that's been spilled over time on the American Civil War. **[05:05]** But come to find out there's a lot of good information out there and there's so much fascinating information that I made a whole exhibition of it and am going to tell you about it today. The second bit I'll lead off with is you'll notice that there's this kind of a bit of a bias on DuPont here, and that, in part, is because of my proximity to records and also it comes out of, again, this exhibition that I did for Hagley. But what you'll find with the DuPont family and DuPont company is that they make a wonderful counterpoint to a lot of what's happening in the state of Delaware, you know, so it's not just a bias toward DuPont. And also they make a good representative study of the people who were on one side of

the issues that you'll see happening with the American Civil War. Another bit on sources as well... One of the things that you cannot ignore in doing any kind of research on the American Civil War is newspapers. You know, that was such a big help, particularly since Delaware is such a colorful state, you know, and there are wonderful newspapers out there that are for one side or the other, so, there's no lack of good information. Having all of these newspapers, or most of them, anyway, digitized and accessible is going to be a fantastic resource for anybody doing research into the American Civil War or other aspects of Delaware history. So without further ado, let's launch into the aftermath of the American Civil War for Delaware.

So in January, 1865, this fellow, William Cannon, gave his New Year's message to the Delaware General Assembly, and he wanted to make a few main points in his message. First of all, he wanted to get a bounty, an enlistment bonus, for people who joined the Union Army. That's one of the things that was quite contentious in Delaware because a lot of folks in Delaware were not Unionists. The Democratic Party which mostly sided with Confederates, with Secessionists, more or less, you know, didn't want to see this happen. They didn't want people to be paid to go into the Union Army. But this is something that Governor Cannon, who was himself a Republican in opposition to the Democratic Party at that point, wanted to see happen. He wanted to see people get enlistment bonuses for joining the Army. He also wanted to see the General Assembly give a resolution of thanks for Delaware soldiers who, up to that point, had fought either in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps, some way had been part of the military establishment. He also wanted to see the state devote land for a fort near Lewes, Delaware, another training camp. So one of the things that had ramped up in a big way in 1864 and they saw could be big in 1865 was incorporation of black soldiers into the Army. A lot of enlistments in Delaware. So he wanted to see another training camp in the lower part of the state. And also to help pull in other soldiers who may feel compelled to join up toward the end of the war. He also wanted to see, and this is quite a contentious issue, the abolition of slavery by state law. Delaware was a slave state. Keep that in mind throughout all of this. Delaware was a slave state, so slavery was still legal in the state of Delaware. The Lincoln Administration had been trying to eliminate it and had put forth a proposal during the war to try to buy out slaves in Delaware. This was one of the ways that the Lincoln Administration was trying to eliminate slavery in the United States. It did not fly with the Delaware General Assembly. And in fact the person who was tasked with bringing it to the Delaware general Assembly lost his next election because it was such a big issue within the state. And he also wanted to see representation in the Delaware General Assembly to be changed to be proportional by population. In 1865, every county in Delaware had equal representation within the state, which some people thought was a big

problem because more people lived in New Castle County than in Kent and Sussex. But of course people who lived in Kent and Sussex didn't want to see that happen because they didn't want to see New Castle County control what happens with the rest of the state. So again, these were contentious issues. This was something that he brought before the Delaware General Assembly. It's also important to note, too, that in 1865, the Delaware governor is a relatively weak position. The Delaware governor does not have veto power then. So, all he can do is strongly suggest. He can go in front of the General Assembly and try to persuade people to go his way through force of will, so he's trying his best to make this happen. The Delaware General Assembly can tell him, "No." And he was on the outs because a majority of people in the Delaware General Assembly were Democrats, of the Democratic Party. So his party did not, by any stretch, hold any kind of majority or enough of a proportion within the General Assembly to get any kind of traction. So all he could do, again, was strongly suggest things.

So the response, led by Gove Saulsbury, who was the president of the General Assembly in this period, the president of the senate, was to formally censure Governor Cannon and reject, point-by-point, everything that he asked for in his statement in his January address. [10:06] And so some of the biggest things to throw out here, some of the biggest arguments with which the Democrats pushed back against Governor Cannon, were first... They argued against what they saw as race-mixing and attempts at black suffrage, and they accused Republicans of wanting perfect equality for the races. You know, this was, again, a big issue within the state of Delaware. Keep in mind that the Democratic Party in this period were the ones who were, more or less, they were not outright secessionists in a lot of cases, but they were people who were more sympathetic to the Confederate cause, you know. They were people who did not want to see the end of slavery in the United States. They were people who certainly did not want to see equality of the races. So some of Governor Cannon's suggestions about ending slavery, about citizenship, other minor points in his address, you know, this is what they're pushing back against. They did not want to see this happen in the state. And they kind of thumbed their nose at Governor Cannon; they passed a law that provided two hundred dollars to hire a substitute for white volunteers for substitutes. Or would provide two hundred dollars for white volunteers, but would provide three hundred dollars to hire a substitute for one year, four hundred dollars for two years, five hundred dollars for three years. So the one bit that Governor Cannon got, the add-on was that you got paid more if you could find somebody to go in your place. You know, so this was the contentious stuff that's happening within the Delaware General Assembly. This is all stuff happening in Dover, and this is reflective of what's going on within the state of Delaware that at the end of the Civil War, it's, you know, quite a contested, contentious place, you know. It's

not given that Delaware at any point during the war until toward the very end is going to whole-heartedly support the Union. So that's something to keep in mind as you're thinking about the Civil War in Delaware and what happens afterwards.

So on March 1st, 1865, Governor Cannon, unfortunately, died of typhus. So the one main Republican person in the Delaware General Assembly is now gone. He is replaced by none other than Gove Saulsbury who served as both governor and president of the senate. So you can see where the power lockdown is happening. This is something that the General Assembly readily and whole-heartedly approved because they wanted to see again the southern influence kind of pushed to the side. One of the main people who was in opposition to the Democratic Party in Delaware was this guy, Henry DuPont, who ran the DuPont Company and was kind of the head of the DuPont family during this period. His daughter, Evelina, said that, as she wrote in the period, "Papa is more indignant than ever, or more indignant with our governor than ever. But he has behaved as if he was the king of Delaware, everyone says." Not a lot of people in Delaware were happy about the fact that Gove Saulsbury was both governor and president of the senate. They did not like to see this power grab that was going on. They saw this as indicative of some of the larger issues that are going on within the state of Delaware and national, too. So to further set the stage for what's going on in Delaware at the end of the war, there's kind of bad economic conditions, you know, that war is not necessarily a good thing for business. It depends upon what business you're in. And we'll touch on this subject again later. But many businesses in Delaware were having a hard time getting by. There was a shortage of labor. A lot of people were joining the Army. A lot of people were going other places. Often it was more profitable to go to another state and join the Army because you got that enlistment bonus that Delaware was trying to provide. And also, material shortages were a big deal. Whenever the Civil War started, it's hard to get things in because there's Confederate commerce raiders that are out on the high seas trying to keep raw materials from coming in to the United States. And also, the United States government immediately put restrictions on what you can ship, where you can ship it, how it can be shipped. The US government took over railroads, so it's hard to move things back and forth, so it's incredibly difficult for a lot of manufacturers to get raw materials in and then get their final product back out. And there's also wildly fluctuating prices. So think about food prices, you know; if there's not a lot of farmers out there, what happens to the price of food? The little bit of food that you can get, the prices skyrocket. Raw materials prices are all over the place because you don't know when you're going to be able to get them in or to get your finished products back out. You know, so there's a lot of uncertainty going on in the business realm within the state of Delaware. So as you can see, Delaware was a troubled and divided place

as the Civil War came to a close. So this is all across the board. Socially, economically, in practically every aspect of what's going on in Delaware. And what makes Delaware an important case study is it is, in a lot of ways, a microcosm for what you see happening around the country, that you see the same sorts of issues happening in the upper South, you see this within the Confederacy, you even see these same sorts of issues happening in the North in places like New York where there is a strong Democratic Party, a strong presence of the Democratic Party in that state. **[15:06]** And so keep in mind though Delaware is a good case example of what's going on for, you know, in a lot of ways.

So we get toward the end of the war. Richmond, Virginia, capital of the Confederacy, fell on April 2nd, 1865. This was quite a big deal for people in Delaware because the fall of the capital of the Confederacy means the end is in sight. Richmond fell on April 2nd, people in Delaware knew on April 3rd, so they rang church bells in Wilmington on this day, shot firecrackers, had a general celebration. And of course a few days later, you get Lee's surrender, Robert E. Lee's surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia at Appomattox Courthouse. This was not, of course, the last Confederate Army to surrender, but symbolically, this was a big deal. This is the biggest army that's out there, it's the most symbolic... Or, not the biggest, but the most biggest symbolically army that's out there. And of course Robert E. Lee's defeat is a big moral boost for the Union. This is again quite a big deal for people in Delaware.

Two people who were Democratic stalwarts, one Thomas Francis Bayard, Senior, and George Read Riddle. Thomas Bayard was a lawyer in Wilmington, his father was US Senator James A. Bayard, both of the Democratic Party. And George Read Riddle was a Democratic US Senator from Delaware. Angry mobs went to both of these guys' houses and forced them to celebrate. Oh, yeah, George Read Riddle said that he was quite upset by all this and hurriedly went inside and found an American flag and flew it from his porch. There's great newspaper accounts of this. And he flew it from his porch so the angry mobs wouldn't bash out his windows and drag him through the streets, you know. So this is quite a big turning of the tide. There's a lot of, not, I would say, pent-up aggression, but there's a lot of people who are for the Union that are jubilant whenever the Union is going to win. And with Thomas Bayard in particular, you know, there was a lot of ire aimed toward him because he was adamantly anti-Union. He's somebody who tried to help people figure out how to escape the draft. He's someone who was not shy about speaking out against the Lincoln administration or the US government, so a lot of people knew that. And he was even threatened with a prison term in Fort Delaware for a lot of his activities, you know, so this was a big deal to make him publicly say, "Hey, look, hurrah hurrah for the Union."

So you have a little bit of a down side to this, too. On April 15th, 1865, the assassination of President Lincoln. That one thing that you can say about the state of Delaware is that everybody on both sides saw this as not a very good thing. Both sides were not happy about the fact that Lincoln got assassinated. And the few people who did speak out to say they did think it was a good thing were quickly and unceremoniously hushed, even by the Democratic Party. Henry DuPont summed up the feelings of a lot of people in Delaware when he wrote, "The assassination of the President is appalling and one of the most unfortunate events which could have occurred is a fearful blow at Republican institutions if the Constitutional head of the government in a free country is liable to such a death." Again, everyone saw this as quite appalling, no matter how you felt about the war, you know. So this is a big focal point for people in Delaware, as they saw this as, again, not a good thing. So, into all this chaos with all of the back-and-forth arguing that happened from the beginning of the war all the way to the end with all of these momentous events that happened toward the end, how did Delawareans finally deal with the war being over? How did they frame this up? How did all this play out in the long run? So what I'm going to do is give you three paths that we'll go down to illustrate how Delawareans dealt with some of this. And the first is military and veterans, you know, how did Delaware deal with people who were coming home? How did they deal with the military in general? What did they think of this? So the image that you see here is the Grand Review of the Armies in Washington, DC. Once the war was officially over, the Confederate government had capitulated. There was a giant parade down Washington; you can see the Capitol Building in the background. The newly-finished Capitol Rotunda in 1865. The First Delaware Regiment went to Washington, DC and participated, the First Delaware being one of the oldest ones in service, one of the first ones to join up from the state of Delaware. So they took part in this Grand Review of the Armies in Washington. So to give you a little bit of statistics on this, eleven thousand, two hundred and thirty-six white men joined the military during the American Civil War. In addition to that, there were ninety-four sailors and marines, nine hundred and fifty-four either freed men of color or recently escaped slaves, people who were manumitted in some way, who joined the US Colored Troops from the state of Delaware. And there were a total of eight hundred and eighty-two deaths in military service. So this is a lot of people given that your total population in 1860 is ninety thousand, five hundred and eighty-nine. [20:00] You know, this is a lot of people proportionally from your state to go into the military. In addition to the ninety thousand, there are eleven thousand, eight hundred and twenty-nine free people of color, and then one thousand, seven hundred and ninety-eight slaves. And so I use the term "free people of color" because that's how they were termed in the census. This is the period term that was used for them during this period.

So don't think that's an anachronism; I'm going to use a lot of period terminology for you here whenever we go through all this. So this is the layout of who's who and how many people served him from where. So with all these numbers, with eleven thousand, more than eleven thousand people who served in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, there's a lot of people that are going to come home, you know. So what happens when the war is done, you know? All these people are going to come back home. So, a lot of them get right back to work, so the labor shortage, in a lot of ways, is not completely solved, but it's helped because, again, all these people coming home, they're returning to their old jobs. This is an image from one of the DuPont powder mills from 1865. This was taken just after the war ended. This was a big help for people like DuPont because a lot of the labor force was able to come back, you know, you're not having to worry so much about where you're going to find people, you know. So business saw this as a good thing. You've got a ready labor force in all of these guys coming home. Another sticking point within the state of Delaware is Fort Delaware. And I'm sure more than a few of you have heard of Fort Delaware and what it was all about. It was used as a Confederate prison during the war. And so, the Delaware General Assembly, and most of the people who were of the Democratic Party, saw that as an incredibly bad thing, not because Confederate prisoners of war were kept there, but because political prisoners were kept there. Often, the US government would assign people to prison there who spoke out against the US government, who spoke out in some way in saying that they liked the Confederacy more than they liked President Lincoln. So, a few prisoners found their way into Fort Delaware. So this was something that the Delaware General Assembly had thrown back in the faces of the Republican Party and the opposition to the Democratic Party throughout the war. So seeing Fort Delaware end was considered an incredibly good thing, that a lot of folks couldn't see it end quick enough. Whenever the war was over, the Federal government shortly thereafter started getting prisoners out of there. It took them throughout the summer and into the early fall to get all of the military prisoners out. The very last prisoner was released in January, 1866. He was an aide to Jefferson Davis, the President of the Confederacy. He was the last official prisoner who was held there. But once that was done, the state was glad to see it done. Everybody in the state was glad to see that as a prison kind of off the radar; that's one last thing that is a current, active sticking point. But the fact that people were held there, that one guy was held there all the way until 1866, you know, a lot of people saw that as a problem because the argument was, "Well, the war is over. Why are you keeping these people here?" you know. And so this becomes a sticky political situation within Delaware.

Which leads us in to, "What do you do about ex-Confederates? So Delaware, again being a slave state, a lot of people left Delaware and

made their way south to join the Confederate Army. How many? I don't know. I've seen numbers anywhere between two hundred and over a thousand, you know, and I would love to see concrete numbers on exactly how many. The fact remains, though, that there were a lot of people from Delaware who sided with the South. They went over into Virginia and, through Maryland, joined the Confederate Army. And after the war's over, a lot of them came back. So what do you do with these people? So many, in Delaware, felt that the terms given to ex-Confederates were much too lenient, cause a lot of these guys were walking back, no questions asked, you know. They were given official pardons by the US government, by the Delaware General Assembly especially. Most of them came home, lived a quiet life. Jefferson Davis however, President of the Confederacy, was hanged in effigy, of course, wearing women's clothing in Wilmington after he was captured in Irwinville, Georgia. And the story about being in women's clothing is that Jefferson Davis was captured wearing a robe, or wearing a shawl, and it was always said he was captured wearing women's clothing to try to escape the United States cavalry, you know, and that was a contentious issue, too. So that's why people in Wilmington who were not supporters of the Confederacy, were not supporters of the Democratic Party, made sure that whenever he was hanged, he was done so wearing women's clothing. So this was quite an "out there" political statement. So again, they were, you know, the ex-Confederates that came back lived a relatively quiet life. They kind of came back and sort of blended back in to society. But don't forget that a lot of people, particularly people who fought for the Union Army, felt that that was not a good thing, you know, that these guys were let off too easy, that they were traitors to their country, they were traitors to their state, which stayed in the Union. So, keep this in mind, too, as part of the legacy for Delaware as these ex-Confederates that come home.

So another contentious issue is, "What do you do about people long-term? What do you do about these veterans long-term?" [25:00] So, I give you the case of one William Rowe who worked for the DuPont Company as a powder man during the war. Whenever the war started, he joined up with a group called the Brandywine Home Guard, which is a militia unit organized on the Brandywine specifically to protect DuPont and other businesses in Wilmington. So he served with them until early 18, or mid-1862. He joined what was called the Fifth Delaware Volunteer Infantry. They got called into active service in the summer of 1863 and sent to Fort Delaware to guard prisoners. Shortly after that, they came back to Wilmington, got mustered out of service. About a year later, he joined with the group, and bear with the long name, called Hugh Sterling's Independent Company of Delaware Volunteer Infantry. Say that three times fast. So this was another kind of ad hoc group put together on the Brandywine to protect and guard businesses in Wilmington and specifically around the Brandywine from any kind of threat that may come

into Delaware. So William Rowe, after the Pension Acts were passed in the 1890s granting pensions to people who had served in the US Army, applied once. He applied for the first time in 1890 once, saying, "I would like a pension for my service." The Federal Government had passed, as part of the Pension Act, you know, saying that you had to have ninety days requisite service in the US Army before you could get a pension. They declared that he only had fifty-three days active service, to which he appealed. And said, "I have more than that. I served with the Brandywine Home Guard and I served with Hugh Sterling's Independent Company of Delaware Volunteer Infantry." To which the Federal government said, "No. We only recognize the Fifth Delaware as an official US regiment. You don't have requisite time in service. Sorry." So he applied again in 1893 for a pension, this time saying that he contracted typhus at Fort Delaware whenever he was there as a prison guard and that he was partially disabled. The Federal government wrote back and said, "We're sorry, but you are not disabled enough." So he did not receive a pension. He tried to apply several times. He wrote to the US government. He wrote to the War Department. He even tried to get one of the US Senators from Delaware to help him. And no matter what happened, they wouldn't give him that pension, you know. This was a contentious thing for a lot of guys who served from Delaware because they fell into his case, you know, the ones who did see active service, active field service, it was not a problem. They were given pensions because they could justify it. But the argument back was what about people like William Rowe? People who stayed and worked, and this was the argument that they made, these people worked at businesses on the Brandywine which were part of war industries. Or throughout Delaware, these people were contributing. In addition, they were guarding these businesses. They were guarding against possible Confederate threats into the state of Delaware. You know, why wouldn't we get a pension? Why shouldn't these guys get a pension? This was their argument back. So one of their champions was this fellow, Henry Algernon DuPont, who had later got into the United States Senate. He served from 1906 to 1917. He himself was a Civil War Veteran. One of the things to point out about him is there's this little thing in his lapel. That is the rosette for the Congressional Medal of Honor. He had received the Congressional Medal of Honor for his part in the Battle of Cedar Creek, Virginia in October, 1864. He himself was a decorated war veteran during the war and also afterwards, you know, recognizing his time. He had served in the US Army from 1861 all the way to 1874. So when he got into the United States Senate, he ended up on what's now called the Senate Armed Services Committee, so he was helping put together policy for the US government as it applied to the military. So one of the things that he argued pretty strongly for was for people who served in the military, even if they were in some of these smaller companies, to get pensions, you know. He wanted to see these guys get pensions, particularly people who had been at Fort Delaware, who had guarded the

Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, which was one of the major traffic arteries, you know. It is now, it was then. And even the railroads that went through Delaware, you know, he thought that was pretty important. He was pushed back when Charles Francis Adams from Massachusetts said, "You're crazy, you know. Fort Delaware, these guys were having picnics, you know. It's a great place." To which he responded, more or less, "Have you ever been to Fort Delaware?" Which, in 1864, was only an island part of the day; the rest of it, it was mostly under water. If you've gone there now, you know that the mosquitoes can possibly carry you off, and it was the same way in 1863 and '64. So he pushed hard, you know, pushed back, you know, from the soldier's perspective, saying, "Look, you know, these guys really need these pensions because they were doing good service." And he was successful, but notice the time he's in the Senate. 1906-1917. It was too little, too late, for a lot of the people who had served because a lot of those guys were dead by this point, you know, particularly men who were older whenever they joined the US service. People who during the 1860s may have been in their late 30s or early 40s, you know, what if they're not around by this point? **[30:01]** You know, so, a lot of this help comes too late, but there were people from Delaware arguing for people from Delaware. Fancy that.

So the next part of Delaware and the Civil War and the lasting legacy is business. So we'll take the case of E.I. DuPont de Nemours and Company. The first question that I had in approaching the Civil War in Delaware is that of course, DuPont's a black powder factory. They probably made a mint off this war, that they loved to see the war come and they hated to see it go. Which, after doing some research on this, spending time with the records, spending time thinking about business in war, is not necessarily the case. So the drawing that you're seeing, and I know that it's a bit small and you can't really see it very well from the back, this is a drawing of what the DuPont powder yards looked like just after the American Civil War. So this is a layout map, more or less, of all the mills, of all the roll mills and things that were there. If you come to Hagley today, this is what you see, you know. The buildings that were there then are still there now.

So with DuPont, let's just lay out the case for them. Let's explain who they are a little bit. They were the largest producer of black powder for the US Army and the US Navy during the war. They produced around forty percent of all the powder that all of the US Armed Services used during the war, which is quite a lot. I mean, imagine a war of that scale; these people are burning a lot of black powder. Keeping in mind that this is the way you shoot guns in that period; if not for black powder, you can't shoot a rifle, you can't shoot a pistol, you can't shoot a cannon. This is a needed product for a war in 1865, '61 to '65. So they manufactured one million, over one million pounds of black powder per year from 1862

through 1864, and were set to do it again in 1865 if it weren't for the end of the war. This is a lot of black powder. They ran a twenty-four hour production schedule. They tried to get everybody they possibly could into the powder yards to work knowing that they had to turn around this powder. There were huge government orders throughout the Civil War. So this is a big deal, you know. They're producing a lot of powder during the war. But to them, war is a disruption. It's not necessarily a good thing. Remember the rising costs of labor, the rising cost of raw materials. This plays big into E.I. DuPont de Nemours and company. Two-thirds of your raw materials come from overseas. By volume, about ninety percent of what goes into black powder comes from somewhere else, from the other end of the Earth. So imagine the problem if you know a Confederate commerce raider's going to sink a ship that has some of the necessary materials that you need to produce black powder, you know. That's a big deal, so prices for these raw materials go through the roof because not only is DuPont trying to get it, agents from the Confederacy are trying to get it as well. And keep in mind that every other government throughout the world, because black powder is a necessary commodity for wartime, also wants these raw materials. And so whenever they see that war is happening somewhere, everybody who has it raises the prices, you know, as part of the economic things you have to think about and how this works. So DuPont, in addition to this, you know, the rising cost of labor and raw materials, they lose domestic markets. So, think of the United States in 1861. When the South seceded, half your domestic market, more or less, is gone. In addition to that, they lost a lot of product. So, DuPont lost one hundred and ten thousand, three hundred and fifty-eight dollars and twenty-seven cents in powder that Confederate agents confiscated from DuPont sales agents throughout the southeast. This is the amount of money that they lost in black powder whenever the Confederacy took all this black powder away from them. That's a big deal, you know. That's a lot of money in 1863 when they wrote this off their books, you know, so imagine what a big loss that is. And to throw the South there because this will inevitably come up, DuPont absolutely, positively did not sell to the Confederacy. Whenever a state seceded, Henry DuPont, who ran the company, made sure that every agent there was cut off. They did not, under any circumstances, sell to the Confederacy. He felt absolutely, adamantly strongly for the Union. He felt that if you were a secessionist, you were worse than the worst thing ever, you know. He could not stand anybody who wanted to secede from the Union and break the Constitution, so that was a big deal to the DuPont Company. They positively did not sell to the Confederacy. The only DuPont powder that made it into Confederate hands was what they took from sales agents and also what Confederates took out of Federal arsenals throughout the southeast. So again, the only DuPont powder that made it into Southerners' hands was that, what they stole, more or less.

So, taxes and regulations are a big deal. So one of the things that the Federal government does when the war starts is put taxes on all sorts of stuff. They realized that they've got a war to pay for. This was the most costly war the United States government had ever encountered, so how are you going to pay for it? So one of the things that they proposed doing was taxing the munitions industry, which DuPont and all the other black powder manufacturers were livid about. [35:06] They took this directly back to Washington, DC and tried their best to say, "Look, this is dumb. We're trying to help you. Why are you taxing us at such a high rate?" But it wasn't just them. A lot of other businesses saw raw materials get taxed and saw a lot of regulation put on what they could ship, what they could do, how they could do it, trying to funnel all of the resources into wartime production. And of course, there's the fear of powder yards' destruction, cause they never know when a Confederate army may show up. Although we know in retrospect that a Confederate army never realistically maybe could have gotten to Delaware, you know. They didn't know that during wartime. And so every year, in 1862 when Robert E. Lee's Army went into Maryland, which ended in the battle, more or less, of Antietam, everybody in Delaware was pretty upset because, really, that's not that far away. In 1863, whenever Robert E. Lee's Army pushed into Pennsylvania, Gettysburg, they were upset about that too because even that's not that far away. In 1864, it was even worse because the Confederate Cavalry pushed as far as the Susquehanna River, you know. So people here in Delaware didn't know when a Confederate army was going to show up. So there's a lot of consternation over whether or not Confederates are going to come to Delaware. And they knew that the DuPont black powder works were here. They knew that Wilmington was an important place for industry because not only were the black powder works in Wilmington, you also have shipyards. They're making iron-clad vessels for the US Navy. Engines for US Navy ships. They're making knapsacks, socks, Army wagons, all sorts of things are being made in Delaware. So, Delaware is one of the big hit lists, big on the hit list for the Confederate Army if they come into this area, so this is something they're always worried about. And there's the pressures from working for Uncle Sam because Uncle Sam wants a lot and he wants it yesterday, particularly in wartime, and that's the pressures that they felt in getting all the orders that were coming in because they wanted a lot, you know, and so how does DuPont keep up? So as soon as the war is over, the government asks to be released from their contracts, and DuPont enthusiastically says, "Yes. Without question. No penalty. We will let you out of these contracts and thank you for doing so." Why would they do that? To get back to a better business environment, because once the war's over, markets stabilize, the economy stabilizes. There's a bit of a downturn when the war's over, but they know that that will come out. So that's one of the things they're looking at, bit picture, as to what's going to happen here. So you get a better business environment when a war is not

happening, and so, DuPont knows that, and again a lot of other businesses in Delaware know that. So that's a bigger picture thing to think about for the legacy of the Civil War in Delaware. So to kind of go a little bit further, one of the things the US government does to absolutely infuriate the explosives industry is to dump all of the surplus powder on the American market which, of course, makes prices go through the floor. Everybody who is in the black powder industry is pretty upset about this. So, how do you resolve that problem? You form a syndicate. So DuPont got together with some of the major black powder manufacturers. Hazard in Enfield, Connecticut, Smith and Rand in New York, a couple of other of the smaller manufacturers all got together and formed a price-fixing syndicate in the Hinote Mutual Help Syndicate (phonetic **38:18**). This is something they did during the war to push back at the US government, who was trying to push down prices, so they all got together and price-fixed on the US government and said, "We're not selling powder for any lower than a certain price," and the government had to go with it because the government couldn't produce black powder on its own. So they do it again after the war to buy up all this excess powder and to try to stabilize the markets. And so how this plays out in the long run is that in 1872, thus guy, Lammot DuPont, one of the right-hand men in the DuPont Company, helped mastermind what was called the Gunpowder Trade Association. So, DuPont was one of the leading members of this. So in the grander, grander scheme of things, DuPont ended up buying up all of the other members of the GTA or buying a controlling interest of everyone in the GTA. So by 1900, DuPont is the only game in town, really, if you want explosives in the United States. Which leads to them being broken up by anti-trust later in 1907, but that's a different lecture. So that's something to think about, you know, with business in the grander scheme of things with the American Civil War. But this is a big deal. Not all business does well with a wartime economy. The people who ended up doing well are people who make things like socks and knapsacks, you know. If you have a bad pair of socks, nobody dies; but if you have bad black powder, there's bad things that can happen, you know. So, it all depends upon the industry that you're in, but by and large, everybody felt the crunch of the wartime economy and all the constraints that was put on during wartime.

So now we'll get to the last leg of our journey. Slavery and its legacy for the state of Delaware. So Delaware, since it was not a state that seceded was not forced to go through military reconstruction. **[40:02]** That was one of the things, you know a big thing throughout the United States. For all the states that seceded and were part of the Confederacy, they were forced to go through military reconstruction. Delaware was not, even though it was a slave state. And that's how, you know, the peculiarities of some of this law worked. So this is pretty important, particularly for what's called the Reconstruction Amendments. And so this is kind of a

short, you know, the condensed, Cliffs Notes version of what all these amendments do, but essentially the Thirteenth Amendment, passed in December of 1865, ended slavery in the United States. The Fourteenth Amendment in 1868 gave citizenship to everybody in the US, due process under law and equal protection under law. And the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870 gave universal male suffrage in the United States. Or, it was supposed to have given universal male suffrage in the United States. It's important to note that whenever all of these amendments came before the US House and Senate and pushed back to the states, Delaware did not ratify any of the three of these during the period. Because after the war, the Democratic Party retained control of Delaware. One of the things that they wanted to make a point of in the longer run of things was to push back against people who were either in the Republican Party or were in some way in opposition to the Democratic Party during the war. So by not giving the official seal of approval, of course all these passed because it takes a majority of states to pass an amendment to the Constitution, but Delaware did not. Anyone care to guess when Delaware did officially ratify any of these?

Audience Member: 1970s?

Mr. Clawson: 1901. 1901. Actually on Lincoln's birthday in 1901. So it took them that long. They officially did it more as a symbolic gesture. And that's part of a longer picture of the party's, Democratic Party losing power in Delaware and the Republican Party jumping in to take more control. So this is how long it takes for some of the things happening with the Democratic Party to play back out in the long run in Delaware. So immediately one of the things that was set up in the United States was called the Freedmen's Bureau. So you, after the war is over, have a lot of ex-slaves who are now free. What do you do with these people? People who have never had land, never had citizenship, you know? There's a critical mass of folks on the east coast; what do you do with them? So part of the deal with the Freedmen's Bureau was to figure out how to help these people, how to help them into jobs, how to help them get them into life in general, you know, become a part of the United States. There was a lot of push back. This is a poster from Pennsylvania pushing back against the Freedmen's Bureau. But there's this strong, negative reaction in Delaware and a lot of other places in the northeast to the end of slavery. They didn't want to see this end. Not that they didn't want to see an end, of course, some people, but they didn't feel like this was the right point for these former slaves to become citizens of the United States. So they throw out a lot of arguments about how former slaves were going to be idle, awful people. They're going to be a drag on the economy, a drag on the government. And they're not too shy in saying how that feels to them. And so this is one of the things that's happening in Delaware. Keep in mind that Delaware, because it is not a state that seceded, is not required to rewrite the state

constitution, which was part of the military reconstruction. So you don't have to go back and change any laws, and in fact you can pass any laws that they want. So Delaware ends up becoming what sets the pattern, in a lot of cases, for Jim Crow in the United States, again because Delaware can pass these laws with no repercussions in the bigger scheme of things. So Delaware is one of the first states to pass poll taxes and pass literacy tests for voting, so if you can't read whenever you come to vote, you don't get to vote. And so with some of the equal rights acts that are passed in the 1870s, Delaware passes a lot of counter acts, a lot of counter laws within the state to take away what's given by some of the laws, the larger laws from the Federal government. So this is pretty important, you know, because with a lot of the other states, once Reconstruction ends, they look to Delaware because they say, "If this stuff will pass in Delaware and will hold up in the Delaware Supreme Court, then perhaps it will hold up with us." So a lot of other states looked to Delaware, a lot of the Jim Crow laws in the grander scheme of things were not necessarily a direct result of Delaware, but, again, the idea came from Delaware. So that's one of the larger lasting, kind of negative effects of the Civil War and its legacy for the United States.

So Henry DuPont, and a lot of people who felt the same way he did, he wrote in January 1866 in regards to ex-Confederates to people who were part of the Confederate government, people who were opposing the end of slavery, he wrote, "I believe their true reward, good Missouri hemp, ministered to the most prominent, had it been promptly done, would have been a caution for the future." So what's he saying here? [45:00] He's saying that he feels like the ex-Confederates got off way too easy. All these people who were in opposition to what he saw was a good thing happening in the United States, to the end of the war to reforming laws to the end of slavery to all these things which he saw were bad, you know, he feels like they were getting off too easy and they should be hanged as traitors. He's not the only person in Delaware to feel this way. A lot of other prominent people and even smaller scale people throughout Delaware in all three counties felt this way. His tone didn't change over time. Pardon the lengthy quote, but I think that it's pretty apt for what we're after here. He wrote that, "The old regime, meaning ex-Confederates and people who were sympathetic to them, will return someday. The country will be ruled by the secessionists and their dough-faced allies. The rebel debt will be paid, the manumitted slaves paid for, and all the damages and losses caused by the war to the southern states to be paid for out of the national treasury, and the men that fought to suppress the rebellion and maintain the government will be spat upon by the rebel powers." He wrote this in January, 1875, so he's still feeling this strongly about it ten years, almost ten years after the war ended. So, if you studied American history, you know this stuff didn't happen. But the point of all this is that people in the period felt like it would. That this was

something that was happening within Delaware, that people like him saw what happened during the war could easily be undone by these people who were sympathetic to the Confederacy, by people who didn't want to see the Union succeed during the war, you know. So this, again, it's a big deal. This is something that lasts quite a long time in Delaware, you know, all the way up into the Twentieth Century, and even beyond, you know, that you can still hear the echoes of a lot of this now, you know, and how people frame up issues dealing with the Civil War, you know. Some of these issues have not gone away. So this was something important to him during the time.

So where I'll leave you with this, you know, is where do we land, you know? Where are people throughout all this? How do they feel about all this? So one of the cases I will give you is this couple. Charlotte Henderson DuPont and her husband E. I. DuPont the Second. E. I. DuPont the Second was a head of Operations for the DuPont Company during the Civil War. His wife, Charlotte, was a native of Virginia. Her father had been Commandant of the US Marine Corps. And her brothers, all of her brothers, fought in the Confederate Army. She was not happy throughout the entire war that her husband was head of operations for a company that could make it possible for her family to die. And so, not long after the war is over, she got out of Delaware and never really came back. There was a lot of estrangement with her and the rest of the DuPont family because by and large the DuPont family all were for the Union. They all had pretty strong feelings about all the issues the Union was for, and so she didn't like that, you know. She was even at odds with her husband about this. And so, where is the reconciliation there? There really wasn't, you know, and she died in 1877. She never was reconciled with the rest of the family and it's even something that a lot of people in the period, you know, write negatively about her all the way to the end of their lives throughout the Nineteenth and early Twentieth Century, you know, talking about how she was just crazy, she just went out of her mind. But what a lot of it boils down to, I think, is that, you know, she had a hard time reconciling this momentous event in United States and Delaware history with how she felt, with who her family was, where they were from. So this is emblematic of Delaware and the country at large because you have so many people that are on both sides. Again, don't forget that people from Delaware fought on both sides, that there were sympathies on both sides, you know, so this is quite a big deal, you know, and how this played out. This is not an uncommon thing throughout the country of how the issues played out.

A couple with a little happier of an ending is Elizabeth Bradford DuPont, who married Thomas Francis Bayard, Junior. Don't forget that Thomas Francis Bayard, who was someone who kind of was a big player in the Democratic Party during the war and spoke out against the US

government. He later became a US Senator. He later ended up, he, whenever he died, he was the ambassador to Great Britain. He was even Secretary of State during his life. And so his son ended up becoming a US Senator from Delaware. So, Elizabeth Bradford DuPont, some of her... People who fought during the Civil War, were part of the Civil War generation were not terribly happy were not happy they were marrying back into the Bayard family, who were in such opposition. But this is part of the larger reconciliation, too, you know, that you see even these families that are in opposition coming back together, you know. What does that mean in the longer run, you know? So are they forgiving the issues of the war? No, absolutely not, you know, but, you know, this can lead to an entire other lecture, but you know there's the issues of Reconciliation, but a lot of people felt that Reconciliation was a good thing. So a lot of folks were quick to sweep the issues of the Civil War and its aftermath under the carpet for Reconciliation to conveniently forget things like slavery and its aftermath, to conveniently forget a lot of the arguments that Confederates made for seceding from the Union, and the problems with the US Constitution leading up to the war starting. **[50:09]** And the final couple we'll talk about is May Lammot DuPont Saulsbury who married Willard Saulsbury, Junior; Willard Saulsbury, Senior being one of the brothers to Gove Saulsbury, who was both the president of the senate and governor of Delaware. So, Willard Saulsbury (unintelligible **50:26**) become president pro-tem of the US Senate and even attended the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, which ended World War I. What's important for the two of them is that during his time with the Senate and during her lifetime, they fought hard to get recognition for Delaware soldiers. So she was instrumental in helping to get a statue for one of her family members, Admiral Samuel Francis DuPont, and also in getting the monument which is in DuPont Circle in Washington, DC, you know, but he helped make this possible, too. That the two of them together worked to get recognition for Delaware soldiers, you know. So you do see a bit of a reconciliation some ways in that way, too.

So it's a bit of a checkered ending, really, you know. I mean it's not necessarily a happy-go-lucky, fun way that all of this ends, you know. It is kind of an unsettling thing in the long run, but this is the legacy of the American Civil War for the State of Delaware and again the United States in general because, don't forget, this is something that we still deal with. These are issues that have come and gone throughout time. How do we deal with this momentous historical event? So I hope that I've left you with more questions than answers in all of this and hope that you'll go home and think about this a little more. So I'll open the floor up to questions now. Questions, comments, a little bit of discussion.

(Applause **51:41**)

Mr. Clawson: Yes, ma'am?

Audience Member: I heard there were lots of explosions, accidents at the powder mill, so, were there any accidents (unintelligible 52:01)?

Mr. Clawson: So the question is, were there any explosions/accidents in the DuPont powder mills during the Civil War? And the answer is yes. And the reason for a lot of these accidents is more tired people and worn out machinery than necessarily sabotage. Although there's great stories, you know, great and wonderful romantic stories of Confederate spies sneaking into the powder yards and doing their worst. There's actually a building on Hagley's property which is colloquially termed the Rebel Shanty. And as the story goes, Confederate spies were caught on the property and locked up in this building until Federal authorities could come and take them away. But, it's not true. None of that is really true. In part because of how tightly on the Brandywine were guarded, you know, not just the DuPont powder yard. So most of the explosions do, and as the company itself looked into why explosions happened, they saw that it was because of people being tired from twenty-four hour production, you know, worn out machinery, the maintenance schedules on the machinery not being kept, things like that.

Audience Member: (Unintelligible 53:04) you mentioned that they worked twenty-four hours a day. My first thought was that was a (unintelligible 53:09) what they were doing. Open flames in a powder mill seems like a bad idea.

Mr. Clawson: Yes, so, the comment/question is, you know, what about lighting in the powder yards. If you're working twenty-four hours, open flames, you know, probably are not conducive to a good, healthy living conditions in the powder yards. Which, you're right, you know, but that's something that they dealt with. That's something that they, by choice, did to try to keep up the production schedule that was demanded upon them by the US government. One of the things to emphasize about DuPont is that Henry DuPont, again, would just absolutely, positively adamant bonkers about the Union. He wanted to see the war go the Union's way, and so was willing to do whatever it took, in his mind, to see the war concluded to the Union's good. And so, with running a twenty-four hour production schedule, he thought, "Well, that's the price of doing business," you know, and so, that's something that they didn't do. They didn't get electric lighting or safe lighting in the powder yards until later in the century, you know. But, yeah, I mean it was a risk they took to run what they needed to do. Yes, sir?

Audience Member: What was the... Do we know what the Confederate equivalent of the powder mills was? Was there another, not necessarily a DuPont, but a central powder mill for the Confederate?

Mr. Clawson: So the question is, what was the Confederate equivalent to DuPont? And it was a place called the Augusta Powder Works in Augusta, Georgia. And it was set up by a guy with the name George Washington Rains. A ordinance officer originally from North Carolina who got into the Confederate service. One of the things that the Confederacy had to deal with in a big way is how are they going to get raw materials, you know? So they were, the main ingredient of white powder is called saltpeter. It's a nitrated salt. The best, the only place to really get it in that period was India via Great Britain. And so the Confederacy was not actually able to get everything they needed out of there, so he had to come up with ingenious ways of how to get it. [55:02] So, immediately set up a black powder works in Richmond, and they concluded quickly that wasn't a good idea because you're too close to what's going on with the war. Relocated to Nashville, Tennessee, in which that area quickly got taken by US forces, you know, in a pretty hotly-contested area, so moved it to Georgia. And so he was able, because he was pretty good at what he did, to make white powder, you know, not necessarily enough for the Confederacy, but definitely pretty good powder. DuPont, after the war, tested some of it and conceded it was almost as good as theirs. Almost. But that was the equivalent. The Confederates tried to figure that out, you know. In the beginning most of what they ended up with is what they confiscated or what they could immediately buy to Europe, you know, and continued to buy more black powder, particularly from France and Great Britain during the war. Yes ma'am?

Audience Member: By the time the Thirteenth Amendment took effect, was Delaware the only state where the slaves had not already been freed?

Mr. Clawson: No. The question/comment was Delaware, when the Thirteenth Amendment took effect, was Delaware the only slave state? There's no, because there was also Kentucky and Missouri and Maryland.

Audience Member: But I thought they individually freed their slaves.

Mr. Clawson: Yeah, it's with... Keep in mind, too, that, you know, this is the whole blanket statement. With the state of Maryland, you kind of get into a sticky situation, too, because the Federal government, more or less, arrested the entire General Assembly once the war got rolling, you know, so a lot of what happened in Maryland, there was big push-back in Maryland. With Kentucky and Missouri, US forces, you get a de facto ending of slavery particularly in Kentucky, you know, and Missouri because where US forces go, you have, through the presence of the US Army, ending of slavery, you know. But with the states themselves, I'm not sure of the timing, honestly of when, you know, when the states themselves passed any of those laws. Yes, sir?

Audience Member: Did the DuPont Company keep records of who were veterans of the Civil War that worked there? And did they provide any, given their enthusiasm for the Union, did they give them any special benefits or compensation for that?

Mr. Clawson: So the question is, did the DuPont keep records of who from the powder works joined the Union Army, and if so, did they give them any kind of special treatment after the war? And the answer is no to both. The only thing that shows up in the records are people who left for military service. It doesn't necessarily show who came back. And I've tried to track down a few who got in the service. William Rowe, who was mentioned, he did, you know, run off, he was with the Fifth Delaware, but he never really left Delaware with the units that he was part of. There were people who left when the war first began. A lot of people went to New Jersey, they went to Pennsylvania, they went to Maryland to join the Union Army and then later joined regiments from Delaware, but DuPont never really kept track of that. So without tracking down the people individually to figure it out, there's really no way of knowing through their own records. But DuPont didn't, you know, if anything happened, it was more de facto. Henry A. DuPont, Henry DuPont's son, he definitely tried to help out people who served under him. After his service ended in 1874, he came back to be, more or less, head of operations for DuPont. And so a lot of people who had fought with him applied to him for help, applied to him for jobs, and so he tried to use what influence he could to help a few of those guys out. With mixed success.

Audience Member: You could probably get a partial record by using their address.

Mr. Clawson: Sure.

Audience Member: The veterans who work up there allegedly in the mills, you'd have to probably get those names, come back down to your records and confirm they worked (unintelligible 58:55) I don't know what good that would do.

Mr. Clawson: Well, the upshot of the DuPont Company records from that period is we do have all the pay books. We know exactly who worked for them, you know. It would just be a matter of going back and reconciling that with Federal records, you know, but that's a little more than I can take on.

Ms. Olney-Zide: I'm going to use the microphone because I don't think my voice is as loud as Lucas'. I know some people are probably needing to get somewhere else at eleven, so I don't want to keep everybody here for too terribly long. But I think we can convince Lucas to stick around for a little bit if you have additional questions you want to ask him. I do shamelessly want to put in yet another plug for the Delaware Digital Newspaper Project. All of

the topics which Lucas has been discussing today, we do have a large amount of newspapers that cover that time period. So, while you can listen to him, and we are going to have it videotaped and you can watch it again, you can go and do your own research. It's really accessible. You don't even have to go to our microfilm room; you can do it in the comfort of your own home. So please join me in thanking Lucas again for his wonderful talk.

(Applause)

[End 60:21]