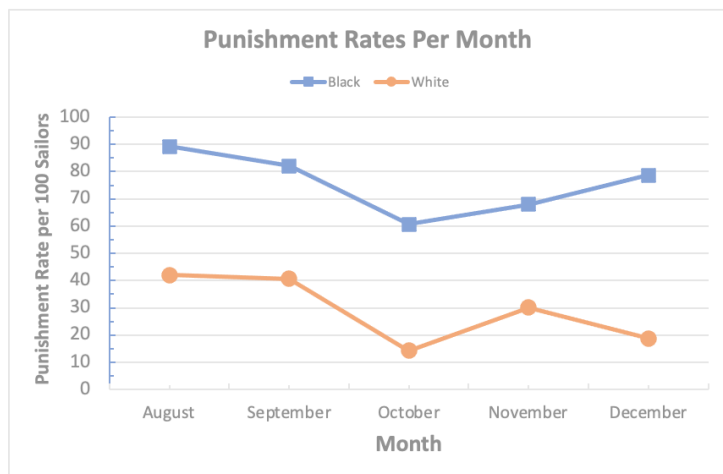
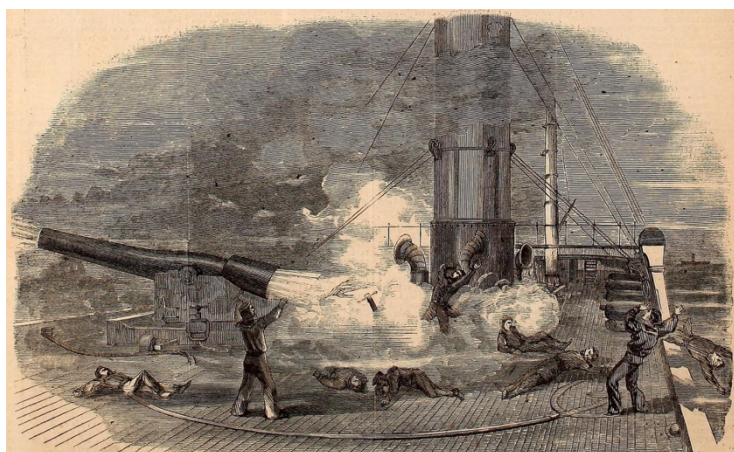




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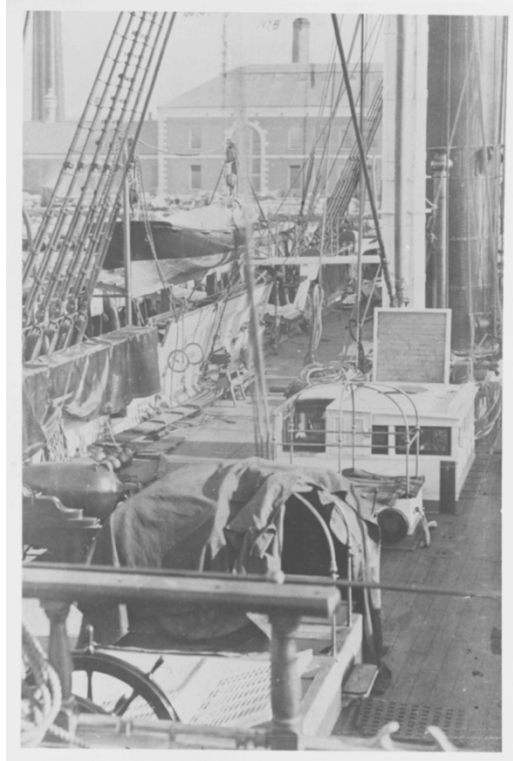
Delaware Civil War Bluejackets: Race, Punishment, and Post-War Lives



Exploring Delaware African American Enlistments, Race-Based Punishment aboard the USS Juniata, and Comparing Post-War Lives of Black and White Juniata Veterans.

May 2025

Delaware Civil War Bluejackets: Race, Punishment, and Post-War Lives



USS Juniata Main Deck looking forward

Front Cover

Top Left: Drawing of the USS *Juniata* at Battle of Ft. Fisher - Harper's Weekly Magazine, January 21, 1864

Top Right: African American sailors on USS *Miami* Civil War vessel – Colorized

Bottom Left: Graph of USS *Juniata* Punishments by Month

Bottom Right: Picture of Punishment Irons used by the Navy during the Civil War

Acknowledgments

The Bluejacket Project owes its success to many individuals and organizations' invaluable support and contributions. Mark Weinberg, a dedicated member of our society, provided countless hours of research into every aspect of the project. Mark is a co-author and researcher for this report. His expertise as a historian and researcher allowed us to tackle large, challenging tasks with precision. Mark's editorial skills also significantly improved the clarity and quality of our final report.

We also want to sincerely thank the Delaware Chapter of the Afro-American Historical & Genealogical Society (DEAAHGS) for collaborating throughout this project. Their dedication to preserving the history of African American sailors has been instrumental in enriching our work.

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Irene Monley provided invaluable leadership in converting numerous project documents for inclusion on the agency's website, ensuring that all our findings were preserved and accessible to a broader audience. Her overall advice is also appreciated.

We thank these individuals for their dedication, expertise, and commitment to making this project successful. Their combined efforts have ensured that the Bluejacket Project will be a meaningful resource for future research and understanding of the Civil War-era U.S. Navy.

Kenneth J. Finlayson, Project Manager, Past President, DGS

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Introduction

The Delaware Genealogical Society (DGS), in collaboration with the Delaware Afro-American Historical and Genealogical Society (DEAAHGS), presents this final report in alliance with the Bluejackets Project, Civil War Bluejackets: Race, Class, and Ethnicity in the United States Navy, 1861-1865, a UK Arts and Humanity Research Council funded project managed by historians associated with Northumbria University and the University of Sheffield.

This report documents 340 native-born Delaware African-American sailors who served in the U.S. Civil War. It examines where they lived, where they enlisted, how they were rated and punished compared to White sailors, and presents a case study on post-war genealogy outcomes between Black and White veterans.

The report consists of three major sections: African-American Enlistment, Punishment on the USS *Juniata*, and Beyond the Sea: Post-War Lives of the USS *Juniata* Sailors.

The first section analyzes enlistment data. It includes genealogical data on each sailor, including where they lived in Delaware, where they enlisted, and where they served. It then delves into a complete analysis of how they were ranked, examines the relationship of skills to ranking, and compares Black and White sailor rankings.

The second section is a deep analysis of punishments aboard the USS *Juniata*. The *Juniata* stands out as a unique microcosm for analysis. This ship had the largest contingent of Delaware-born black sailors—ten—and an additional seventeen from the Philadelphia area. The ship's 27 Black crew members served alongside 133 White sailors, presenting a unique opportunity to examine equity in treatment and discipline.

The analysis of this section documents racial differences in offenses by severity (high, medium, and low), progression over time, punishments administered at anchor versus at sea, and a unique study of eliminating high offenders to reanalyze the extent of discrimination with a hypothetical, more compliant crew of both races.

The third section documents the genealogical histories of 20 USS *Juniata* sailors, 10 Black and 10 White. The histories included everything from birth to death, marriage(s), children, locations, occupation, and cause of death. This section also includes a methodology that provides guidelines for finding and using these essential genealogical records.

Intermingled in all these sections are many examples using the personal histories of native-born Delaware sailors.

Unsurprisingly, this report found a racial disparity in the principal data of both ratings and punishments. However, deep research uncovered unexpected findings on racial relationships that present a different outcome. One that we speculate underlies Samuel Green's, a Black crewmember, first line in a letter home to his mother: "*Dear Mother, I like it very well so far.*"

Delaware African-American Enlistment

The U.S. Navy began the war with 7,600 enlisted men and 1,200 officers, with just 40 commissioned Navy vessels.¹ The war ended with approximately 84,000 active sailors, around 118,000 Navy veterans, and 671 vessels.

The total African American participation in the Civil War Navy is unclear--the National Park Service documents over 18,000.² Other research lists Black sailors on official ship muster rolls totaling about 24,000.³ For this report, we used the National Park Service (NPS) database and identified 340 Black sailors born in Delaware.⁴

A total of 340 African-American men born in Delaware served on 209 U.S. Navy ships during the Civil War. The NPS database also includes Black enlistees from adjacent Delaware counties: New Jersey has 33, Pennsylvania has 61, and Maryland has 166. All Black sailors born in Delaware were free men, except for one documented slave, Leonard Short, who was 23 when he enlisted as a first-class Boy on the USS *Sibyl* in the Mississippi River on April 5, 1864.

These native Delawareans enlisted at 26 locations nationwide, including on some ships. The Philadelphia Rendezvous Center at 9 Cherry Street (Figure 1) was the primary center for 158 Black Delaware enlistees (47%), while New York ranked second with 112 (33%). Wilmington had four enlistees. There are insufficient records, including the 1860 census records, to confirm where they lived after birth. Fifty-one percent enlisted in areas outside Philadelphia, Wilmington, or Camden, suggesting that at least half did not live in Delaware at enlistment.

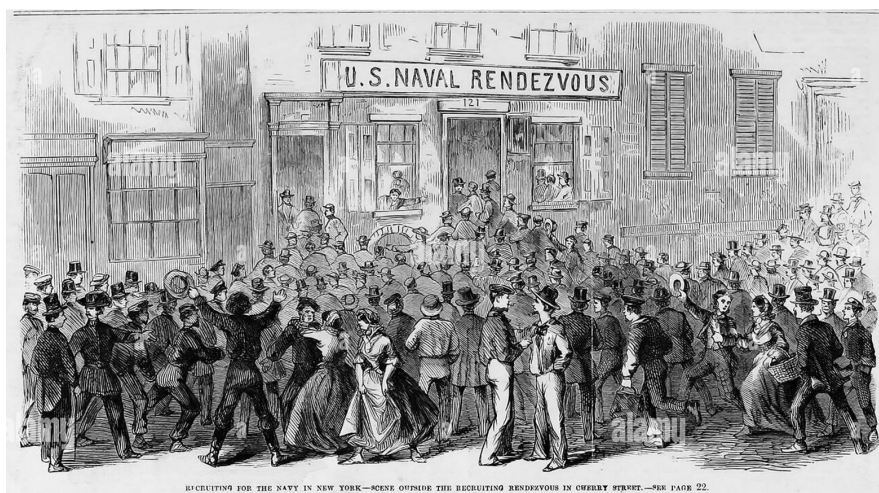


Fig. 1 - Philadelphia Enlistment Center - Image by Alamy.com

¹ Samuel Negus, "Conduct unbecoming of an officer" in Fraudulent enlistment practices at the U.S. Navy recruitment rendezvous during the American Civil War, *Northern Mariner*, 31 January 2012.

² National Park Service. <https://www.nps.gov/civilwar/search-sailors.htm>

³ Joseph P. Reidy, "Black Men in Navy Blue During the Civil War". National Archives Publications.

⁴ Several sailors listed in the NPS database were found to be White.

Enlistment Data and Analysis

Of the total 340 sailors, seven of the enlistees were rated as “First-Class Boy.” Two hundred seventy-eight (278) enlistees received the entry-level rating, Landsman; Ordinary Seaman, 28; and Seaman, the highest rating, 19. Fourteen percent of these enlistees received ratings higher than the entry-level Landsman. The remaining eight enlistees held ratings as stewards, firemen, and coal heavers. One hundred seventy-five (175) had low or no-skill pre-war occupations, making up 51 percent.

The oldest enlistee was Edgar E. Hasselet, age 50, from Milford. He served as a cook, initially on the USS *Pawnee*, when it was commissioned in Philadelphia in June 1860.

Eleven of the Delaware-born sailors served before the war. George Ryan, born in Smyrna, Delaware, in 1828, was the earliest Black sailor in the Civil War. He enlisted in 1854 and again in Norfolk, Virginia, in June 1858. In 1858, he was classified as a Landsman.

Sheppard Hudson, born on May 27, 1861, was the first African-American from Delaware to enlist in the Navy after the official onset of the Civil War in April 1861. He was born in Lewes, Delaware. Before the war, he lived in Moyamensing, South Philadelphia, where his father, David, worked as a porter. Sheppard worked as a waiter in Philadelphia when the war began.⁵ Hudson was rated as a Landsman. He served as an Aft Cook on the USS *Keystone State*⁶. This rating was an entry-level designation for sailors with no naval experience.

Where They Lived

The enlistment process involved asking and recording where each enlistee lived. Some enlistees reported “Delaware,” while others provided only the county, and many mentioned the city or specific location where they were born.

Native-Born Locations by County

Delaware Designation Only	67				
New Castle Co Designation	15				
	7	Total Delaware AA		340	
Kent Co. Designation		Enlistees			
Sussex Co. Designation	9				
Total	98				
New Castle County		Kent County		Sussex County	
Wilmington	124	Camden	3	Bridgeville	1
Brandywine	2	Canterbury	1	<u>Dagsborough</u>	1
Christiana	1	Dover	20	Georgetown	3
Delaware City	11	Fredericka	2	Laurel Hill	1
Middletown	7	Kenton	1	Laurel Hill	4
Newark	1	<u>Lipsic</u>	1	Lewes	13
Newport	1	Smyrna	11	Milford	19
<u>Noxonton</u>	1	Clark's Corner	1	Milton	3
Odessa	1	Total	40	Seaford	2
Summit Bridge	1	total County	47	Total	47
Port Penn	5			total County	56
Total	155				
Total County	170				

⁵ 1850 U.S. Census. Later ship log information states he considered himself a resident of Delaware.

⁶ National Archives, Record Group 24, Series, Muster Roll, USS *Keystone State*, Image 62 of 81.

New Castle County

Most Black enlistees who provided a specific birthplace lived in New Castle County. This county accounted for 170 enlistments, representing 50% of the total. Among them, the majority, 124 (73%), were born in Wilmington.

Wilmington played a significant role in the U.S. Navy's shipbuilding industry. For example, Harlan & Hollingsworth (H&H), founded in 1836, pioneered iron shipbuilding, constructing 75 iron hulls and three monitors: the USS *Patapsco*, *Saugus*, and *Napa*. In 1848, Pusey and Jones, a small machine shop, mainly produced engines and boilers for other shipbuilders. Pusey and Jones later made the boilers and engines for the USS *Juniata*, the ship we focus on in a later section of this report. Jackson & Sharp primarily manufactured railroad cars while operating a shipyard on the Christiana River, building steamboats and barges.

None of the 124 Black enlistees born in Wilmington had worked in the Wilmington shipyards. Nine Wilmington-born enlistees had self-designated seafaring occupations. Seven reported being mariners or sailors.

Wilmington's shipbuilding industry inspired only a few local Black residents to enlist in the Navy. Only 70 Wilmington-born Black future sailors enlisted locally (Philadelphia, Chester, or Wilmington). Of those, three enlisted in Wilmington. These three enlistees had worked as waiters and barbers, and all enlisted in December 1862. They served on the ironclad USS *Patapsco*, built by H&H and commissioned on January 2, 1863. They likely watched it being built. Working as a shoemaker, William Sharper, a USS *Patapsco* veteran, was born in Wilmington in 1830 and lived in Wilmington after the war. He died, age 75, on January 13, 1906, of general disability.⁷

Kent County

Forty-seven (47) enlistees were born in Kent County, with the majority (31) hailing from the Dover/Smyrna area. Peter Todd, born in 1837, was another enlistee from Wilmington who served on the USS *Patapsco*. Born in Kent County, he relocated to Wilmington before 1850, where he was living in the home of Joseph Bringham, a druggist/apothecary, at 219 West St.⁸ The store was at 317 Market St. Peter was a waiter, and he lived only a few blocks from H&H and the building of the *Patapsco*.

Twenty-two enlisted in Philadelphia. Joseph W. Gibson, born in 1831 in Canterbury, Kent County, was the first to enlist in August 1861. Canterbury, a crossroads next to Viola, was an old, significant horse changeover for the north-south stagecoach line on the Delmarva Peninsula.⁹ Joseph moved to South Camden with his wife Elizabeth before 1860, where he

⁷ Delaware, U.S., Death Records, 1861-1933. He was living at 908 Walnut St.: previously at 902 French St.

⁸ 1850 U.S. Census. Also, the Wilmington City Directory 1862, image 27 of 134.

⁹ U.S. Works Progress Administration (WPA), Federal Writers' Project, American Guide Series, "The Ocean Highway", p.36.

worked as a cook. He lived across the Delaware River from the USS *Louisiana*, also built by H&H, the ship he served on during the war. After the war, he returned to Camden.

As mentioned, most Kent County enlistees were from the Dover/Smyrna area. Only four had marine experience. They signed up in Cincinnati and New York, with only one enlisting in Philadelphia late in the war. The remaining enlistees from the Dover area were laborers, and only four were engaged in farming. They divided their enlistments evenly between Philadelphia and New York.

These fragmented historical records suggest that most Black Civil War sailors from Kent County left home early and did not return.

Sussex County.

Fifty-six (56) enlistees were born in Sussex County, with the majority coming from Milford (19) and Lewes (13). Sussex County had 20 enlistees with seaman or mariner experience. Five were ranked as Ordinary Seaman at the time of enlistment, and five were classified as Seamen. It is noteworthy that thirty-six percent of the enlistees were ranked above Landsman. Almost all the enlistees with this experience hailed from Lewes and Milford.

Milford, situated on both sides of the Mispillion River, had a shipbuilding and shipping industry. In 1856, the city had twelve schooners and sloops delivering agricultural goods to Philadelphia.¹⁰ Lewes also had a shipping history; however, sufficient records are unavailable to analyze the extent to which Black residents participated in the industry.

Most of the Sussex-born enlistees (31) enrolled in Philadelphia. As stated above, Sheppard Hudson was the first to enlist after the war began. He was living at the time in Moyamensing in Philadelphia.

Regarding migration from Sussex County, with 53% enlisting in Philadelphia and the remainder in New York, Boston, and Baltimore, it is evident that those who enlisted from Sussex County left and found employment elsewhere before the war. Initially, we speculated that the individuals enlisting in the smaller centers were residents of those areas. However, a random survey does not support that hypothesis. Instead, post-war residency appears to be widely dispersed. Additionally, while Philadelphia and New York were the major centers, they also lacked reliable pre-war residency patterns, despite the temptation to assume they were employment magnets and thus represented sailors' local residences.

Enlistment and Ranking Analysis

Delaware's native-born enlisted in 26 enlistment locations. New York and Philadelphia were the primary enlistment centers during the War, with 112 and 158 Delaware African-American enlistments, respectively.

In a previous interim report, DGS reported results from analyzing the relationship between a sailor's reported occupation and their assigned ratings to diagnose discrimination. Of the 341

¹⁰ Delaware Public Archives, History of Delaware.

Black sailors, 37 self-described their pre-enlistment occupation as “Mariner,” “Sailor,” or “Seaman.” This represents 11 percent of the total. Of that total, 25 sailors were rated higher as Seaman or Ordinary Seaman. This indicates that 67 percent of those self-describing that experience level were given higher than Landsman ratings. This result shows possible discrimination in the enlistment rating process for Black enlistees. However, there is no available comprehensive list to compare with White sailors to establish whether the observed disparities are statistically significant or attributable to broader enlistment patterns within the Navy.

However, this report, in a later section, analyzes muster roll data containing the same self-described occupation data on a specific ship. We looked at 161 sailors on the USS *Juniata*. There were only two Black sailors who self-reported mariner/waterman occupations. One was given a higher ranking, showing that 50 percent of Black sailors in that category received a higher rating. For white sailors, 79 percent of those with previous mariner/waterman experience received higher ratings. While only two Black sailors out of 28 with mariner experience do not provide a good sample size, the 29 percent difference may signal an underlying discrimination pattern.

In the first analysis, 67 percent of Black enlistees received a higher rating based on their prior maritime experience. However, the *Juniata* data analysis indicates that 79 percent of experienced White sailors received a higher rating. Although these are non-equivalent samples, the difference between 67 percent and 79 percent results in a p-value of 0.102, suggesting we do not have enough evidence to conclude that the observed 12 percent difference is not due to random variation. In addition to non-equivalent samples, the pre-war occupation variable is self-described, unconfirmed, and documented without question. Therefore, we had to find a different approach to analyzing the data.

This study introduces a unique reverse engineering approach to analyzing the U.S. Navy's enlistment and rating assignment process. Instead of relying solely on subjective self-reported occupational information, the analysis starts with the Navy's official skill requirements (job descriptions) for each rating. It then matches these fixed skill requirements with enlistees' self-reported post-enlistment occupations. This method offers a more objective evaluation of the assignment process by establishing a uniform official skill requirement as a variable. We then use genealogical research to validate the sailor's previous experience. This approach aims to uncover patterns that may better reveal systemic biases or discrimination, offering improved insights into the fairness and efficacy of the Navy's rating system.

The following are the Civil War-era skill requirements for each rating provided by the USS Constitution Museum: Ranks and Rates.¹¹ Each rating will be discussed individually, using specific Delaware African Americans assigned that rating. The ratings examined will be those of individuals who enlisted in the Philadelphia Rendezvous Center. Using Philadelphia data, let's begin with the rating Boys and Landsmen and examine its skill requirements with the available experience of those assigned the rating.

¹¹ <https://ussconstitutionmuseum.org/discover-learn/history/ships-crew/ranks-and-rates/>

Boys and Landsmen – “Light Hands”

Keeping the galley, boilers, pans, kids, etc. clean.

Cooks and Stewards

Turn the spun-yard winch

Coil up rigging

Sent aloft to loosen and furl light sails – fisted leech (edge) at end of the yardarms

Hold log-reel while seaman calculated the ship’s speed (knots) with knotted log line

Taught common hitches, bends (joining two ropes), and knots

Learned the names and locations of all ship’s running rigging.

Handling light sails such as royals and staysails

Commonly called “light hands,” Boys and Landsmen ratings were entry-level positions. “Landsmen” refers to a person with the skills used on land, thus a rating name implying no seaman skills. However, this rating includes the required specific training and skills for promotion to the next level of Ordinary Seaman. Therefore, even if an enlistee had some skills in hitches, rigging, and handling log lines (justifying mariner experience), he would still be rated as a Landsman. The key distinction between Landsmen and Ordinary Seaman ratings may have been their skill in handling light sails, such as royals and staysails.

The only 1st Class Boy rating on the total sailor’s list was 18-year-old William J Parker, born in Wilmington. His pre-war occupation was as a waiter. William lived in Philadelphia in 1850 with his parents, James and Lilly, who were also born in Delaware. Along with his waiter occupation, he must have looked very young to land the Boy rating. The week before, Joshua Campbell, a 19-year-old waiter born in Wilmington, enlisted and was rated a Landsman. Both were freemen. Since both Boy and Landsman were entry-level ratings, the main distinction between them might have been their age. Men over 17 years old were called Landsmen, while younger individuals were called Boys.¹² Twenty-eight (28) Black enlistees were waiters, all older than 18 years, and received Landsman ratings. William’s youthful appearance and a possible attitude-related demeanor may have influenced his assigned rating.

In the Philadelphia Rendezvous Center, 17 stated they were mariners, and seven (41%) were given a Landsman rating.¹³ The other ten were given higher ratings of Ordinary Seaman (6) and Seaman (4). At first glance, these results signal potential discrimination in ranking; however, the ranking decision centers on awarding an Ordinary Seaman rating since the Landsman rating is an automatic entry-level rating. The mariner enlistee, therefore, must have had experience and skills in handling light sails and common hitches to earn the Ordinary Seaman rating. The enlistment staff in Philadelphia likely posed the question: did the enlistee possess those skills?

¹² Michael J. Bennett, *Union Jacks, Yankee Sailors in the Civil War*, p. 35. Enlistees under 17 years were assigned the Boy rating.

¹³ Previously, we mentioned 18 Philadelphia enlistees who previously were “mariners/watermen.” There was only one waterman, so we removed that to keep the criteria consistent.

In addition to the above seven self-declared mariners who receive Landsman ratings, seven additional enlistees self-declared a dual occupation that included some marine experience (e.g., mariner/laborer). These seven different enlistees also received a Landsman rating. After extensive pre-war genealogical research on all 14 enlistees¹⁴, we found no confirmation of any marine occupation, and only three provided occupation information that, in fact, supported their Landsman rating. Here are those three enlistees.

Alexander Whitaker (Mariner) enlisted in May 1861 for three years at age 25. Born in New Castle County,¹⁵ he served exclusively on the USS *Jamestown*. Further enlistment research shows previous enlistments going back to 1854. In the earlier records, his last occupation is listed as a cook. In his later enlistments, he used a generic description to state his service as a Landsman/cook. The Jamestown ship logs only use “Landsman” as his rating.

Thomas H. Mason (Mariner), age 24, was born in Milford, Kent County,¹⁶ and enlisted for 3 years in July 1864. He had no previous service and was residing in Cape May, New Jersey, at the time of his enlistment. Although listed as a self-described mariner, Thomas served on the USS *Mingoe* as a Steward.¹⁷ This job description is typically rated Landsman. One individual pension index suggests that “Mason” may be an alias for “Williams”; however, there was no application to confirm. There are no other records.

Simon Taylor, (Cook/Mariner) from Delaware City, declared in 1864 his primary occupation as a “cook/mariner.” Records show Simon had two previous years of service, beginning in 1862 as a Landsman. Simon worked on the William Kennedy farm in St. Georges before the war and became a preacher after the war.¹⁸ On his first enlistment in September 1862, he was given a Landsman rating and self-declared “None” for his occupation. In 1864, he stated his mariner occupation as that of a cook on a ship.

Although few records provided information on a pre-war civilian occupation, the three we found suggest that a cook job in a mariner setting could explain their mariner self-declaration. However, no records show that any of the three ‘mariner’ enlistees had been trained on light sails or common hitches; instead, they worked as cooks. You will see later that cooks and stewards could be promoted above Landsman, but the rating requirements did not support these promotions.

The rating above Landsman is Ordinary Seaman.

¹⁴ Whitaker, Mason, Taylor, Wilson, Henry, Morgan, Pitts, Whaybanks, Kelly, Derby, Evans, Morton, Paxten, and Pepper.

¹⁵ The Citizenship Affidavit record shows he was born in the city of New Castle.

¹⁶ U.S., Citizenship Affidavits of US-born Seamen at Select Ports, 1792-1869. His place of birth in Milford is confirmed in this record.

¹⁷ USS *Mingoe* Ship Log, 1 January 1865.

¹⁸ U.S. Census, 1850; *Delaware Tribune and Delaware State Journal*, August 12, 1875, p.3.

Ordinary Seaman

All knowledge of Landsmen
Sailed one or two voyages
Knew basic seamanship
Able to hand (rolling up), reef (folding sail to boom), and steer the ship.
Furl or take in a sail
Know basic reefing (reducing a sail's area)
Worked aloft on the masts and yards
Splice small ropes (braiding two ropes/forming a loop without a knot),
Serving a shroud (protecting a mast rope),
Clapping on a seizing (Securing two ropes together)

The skills required for an Ordinary Seaman rating were more advanced and necessitated a year or more of large ship sail management experience.¹⁹ Landsmen during their tenure would have learned how to manage light sails. However, tasks such as folding the sail to the boom and working aloft on the masts and yards would have required additional training for promotion to Ordinary Seaman. Even with the high demand for sailors during the Civil War, it would have been uncommon to find someone with only riverboat experience enlisted as an Ordinary Seaman.

In all 26 enlistment locations, twenty-eight (28) Black enlistees did receive an Ordinary Seaman rating. Of these, fourteen (14) reported mariner or seaman prior experiences. Seven (7) had “none” or “no record” listed in occupation. Two laborers, one brickmaker, and four cooks received Ordinary Seaman ratings. These higher ratings supported the need to fill these positions based more on a required balance of job descriptions than previous skills.²⁰

Seven enlistees at the Philadelphia Rendezvous Center received an Ordinary Seaman rating. Everyone had previous mariner experience listed except for William L. Whitecho, who was listed as a brickmaker. However, William had three years of previous Navy experience, which may have provided learned skills that qualified him as an Ordinary Seaman.

To test the skill level for this rating level, we arbitrarily chose one sailor to research who declared a mariner occupation and was given an Ordinary Seaman rating. We picked James Lambern of Wilmington, who enlisted in Philadelphia in February 1864. We quickly found his marriage record, which shows that he married Rhoda Whittington on January 29, 1863, in Wilmington. His occupation was listed as a Sailor, so he clearly had previous experience.

Four cooks received an Ordinary Seaman rating, and one received a Seaman rating. In the discussion part of this section, you will see that successful Cooks and Stewarts who served high-ranking officers were often given higher ratings.

The final and highest rating above Ordinary Seaman is Seaman.

¹⁹ USS Constitution Museum, “Ranks and Rates”, <https://ussconstitutionmuseum.org/discover-learn/history/ships-crew/ranks-and-rates/>

²⁰ <https://civilwarbluejackets.com/2023/05/11/ratings-focus-ordinary-seamen-seamen/>

Seaman

Skills of Ordinary Seaman
Sailed for years
Familiar with all aspects of shipboard labor
Cast a sounding lead
Sew a sail with a palm (leather protective sleeve for hand) and needle
Understand all parts of the rigging
Accomplish the finer point of rigging work
Know the stowage of the hold
Know how to fight as part of the gun crew
Maintaining rigging (splicing, loosening, wind lines) with a marlinespike (spike)
Collective Work
Working the Capstans and Windlasses
Heaving up anchor
Mastheading the topsails
Getting the tacks of the courses onboard

Nineteen (19) of the 340 Delaware native-born African American enlistees were rated as Seaman. Four (4) enlisted in Philadelphia, nine (9) in New York, and almost all the others in the Boston/Massachusetts area. One seaman, William Ayers, enlisted in Camden, New Jersey.

Twelve of the 19 seaman-rated enlistees reported seaman, sailor, or mariner pre-war occupations. Seven Seaman-rated enlistees had “no record” or “none” as an occupation. One sailor, Frank Hawkins, born in Dover, had an occupation stated as “Cook.”

Given the skills requirements, it is safe to assume that the twelve enlistees with mariner-equivalent occupations were given appropriate promotions or continued ratings of Seaman. We then researched the seven without supporting occupations to see if there were any insights.

Theodore Harris, born in Port Penn, enlisted in December 1864 for one year in New York at the age of 34. In his Rendezvous record under occupation, “none” was listed. A citizenship affidavit on 3 November 1854 at the Port of Philadelphia documents that Theodore Harris was a Seaman and citizen of the United States.²¹ This confirms Theodore was a career sailor ten years before this enlistment date and rating.

George Burrows (Barrows) enlisted on 13 July 1861, age 31, in New Bedford, MA. New Bedford was one of the world’s largest whaling ports in the 19th century.²² He was born in Camden, Kent County, Delaware. His rendezvous shows no response to “occupation.” The USS *Port Royal* ship logs were sparse and did not provide additional information beyond the sailor’s name being onboard. George is found in the 1840 census living in Murderkill Hundred (Camden), Delaware. He is also found in the 1880 census living in New Bedford, MA, with his wife, Ruth E (b. 1838 in MA), sons, James T. (1866) and Frederick S. (1868), and their daughter Nellie M. (1872). George’s occupation is listed as a sailor.

²¹ U.S. Citizenship Affidavits of US-born Seamen at Select Ports, 1792-1869.

²² The Port of New Bedford History, <https://portofnewbedford.org/history/>

Frank Hawkins was born in Dover, Delaware, at the age of 26, without prior service, and enlisted as a Seaman for three years on 15 December 1864 in Boston. He served on the USS *Richmond* and the USS *John P. Jackson*. His Rendezvous record shows he was a “cook” before enlistment. The J.P. Jackson ship log lists “none” for a previous occupation. He is a Seaman on the J.P. Jackson. The same rendezvous record shows several other Black enlistees with an earlier “cook” occupation given a Seaman rating. Fifteen Black sailors enlisted on that same week. Only three were given a Landsman rating; two had no previous service or occupation, and one was a Steward for six years. Nine were given a Seaman rating. Six of the Seaman had previous service. There are no pension records for Frank Hawkins and no other confirming records.

Benjamin Borman, 22, when he enlisted in Boston on 16 September 1862, has no records. However, there are no digitized rendezvous records for Boston in September 1862. The USS *Massachusetts* ship logs confirm Benjamin as a Seaman with the correct enlistment dates and listed the previous vessel as the receiving ship, USS *North Carolina*. The USS *Massachusetts* accepted his transfer as a Seaman. There are also no pension files, either individual or widow/dependent. Borman is likely an alias.

Robert Brister, born in Wilmington, was 26 when he enlisted in New York on 15 January 1863. He had no prior service. His occupation was listed as “None.” The ship log from the USS *Colorado* on 1 March 1863 states he was received from the USS *North Carolina*. He is listed as a Seaman. There are no other records, even with similar names. Brister was probably an alias.

The last two sailors, Abraham George and George W. Rickards, also do not have any confirming records.

In summary, George Burrow’s occupation as a sailor in the 1880 census strongly supports his qualification as a Seaman during the Civil War. Theodore Harris, who had a 10-year Navy career as a Seaman, also supports his higher rating. The expanded research on Frank Hawkins’s Rendezvous record reveals a pattern of awarding a Seaman’s rating to cooks and stewards. The discussion below will detail this pattern.

Section Discussion

As documented above, in our initial review of enlistment data at the Philadelphia Rendezvous Center, we correlated self-described pre-war occupations with Navy-assigned ratings. Among all Delaware Black native-born enlistees, 11 percent stated being a mariner or waterman before joining the Navy. However, only 61% of this group were assigned the rating of Seaman, the highest rating available.

At first glance, these data, which show that 39 percent of self-reported mariner-level experience among Black enlistees received only entry-level ratings, seem like prima facie evidence of discrimination. However, re-engineering the variables to avoid the problems of self-reported and sample size variables and cross-referencing the Navy’s official skill requirements with available genealogical records helped clarify the interpretation.

In the Landsman section, the facts presented offer a nuanced perspective that complicates the initial interpretation of discrimination. For instance, the cases of enlistees like Simon Taylor and James Henry Morgan underscore how prior service records affected ratings. Taylor's previous service as a Landsman and designation as a "cook/mariner" did not enhance his rating because he served solely as a maritime cook. Likewise, Morgan's pre-war enlistment as a Landsman influenced his later enlistments. These examples suggest that the rating system was shaped by documented experience rather than just racial discrimination. Therefore, while racial bias played a role, these insights demonstrate that other factors, such as age and previous carryover experience, significantly influenced the ratings assigned to Black enlistees.

Furthermore, by examining individual cases like those of William J. Parker and Joshua Campbell, it becomes clear that factors beyond race, such as age and perceived demeanor, influenced the ratings. Despite being young and working as a waiter, Parker received a Boy rating due to his age and perhaps his self-presentation. Meanwhile, Campbell, slightly older but with a similar background, was rated as a Landsman. This indicates that age was a defining criterion for these ratings.

Finally, in the Landsman section, half of the eight enlistees who identified as having mariner experience had no pre-war records, suggesting the use of an alias or raising questions regarding the accuracy of their self-descriptions, which could only warrant an entry-level rating. The remainder had prior service with Landsman ratings or were maritime cooks, both supporting a higher rating.

In both the Ordinary Seaman and Seaman ratings, we discovered a lack of pre-and post-war records in nearly all the questionable cases where the self-declared mariner's experience and lower entry-level rating indicated a likely use of aliases, along with the possibility that the enlistment interview may have revealed insufficient support for higher ratings.

We discovered an unexpected trend in these higher-rating categories: some enlistees with cook and steward occupations received higher Ordinary Seaman or Seaman ratings. Our research revealed a consistent pattern across all rating categories, showing significantly higher ratings for Black enlistees working as cooks or stewards.

One possible reason for this rise in rank is the recognition of specialized skills. Although their roles were service-oriented, cooks and stewards required competencies essential to the ship's operations, such as culinary expertise, attention to detail, and inventory management under challenging conditions. These skills, while distinct from traditional seafaring abilities, were crucial to the well-being of the crew and officers, and they may have led to higher ratings as a form of reward. This level of trust and responsibility might have resulted in their receiving elevated ratings to reflect their importance to the officers' daily activities and the ship's operations.

Administrative practices within the Navy may also have contributed. Assigning a higher rating to these sailors could have ensured they received fair compensation for their duties. Such decisions might have been practical rather than reflecting the sailors' maritime experience. Not all sailors with cook and steward roles received a higher rating; many held the Landman rating. This shows that the higher rating for some cooks was not an official Navy policy but rather the discretion of individual officers.

Our research on Black Delaware native Philadelphia enlistees shows somewhat consistent compliance with Navy standards when applying ratings.

In our study of the USS *Juniata*, we examined the ship's muster roll and found that five sailors who self-reported maritime experience were classified as Landsmen. This group included three white sailors who reported mariner experience, one white sailor with sailmaker experience, and one Black sailor who identified as a boatman.

Two additional Black sailors with documented maritime experience were rated the higher Ordinary Seamen. Furthermore, all sailors with a Seaman rating had notable naval experience, and two cooks received Seaman ratings.

This pattern aligns with the Philadelphia enlistment data, where self-reported marine experience often resulted in Landsman ratings unless validated by verifiable skill or service. For instance, similar to the enlistment data, some sailors on the USS *Juniata* with self-reported marine experience received entry-level Landsman ratings despite their claims. Meanwhile, sailors with verifiable mariner experience occasionally earned higher ratings, such as Ordinary Seaman, as demonstrated by the two Black sailors in this group. Likewise, specialized roles like cooks sometimes attained higher ratings, exemplified by the two cooks on the USS *Juniata* who were rated as Seamen, confirming a broader recognition of the relational importance of cooks and stewards aboard the ship.

Adopting a methodology that correlates self-reported pre-enlistment occupations with the Navy's official skill requirements illustrates that, while apparent discrepancies may initially suggest systemic discrimination, a deeper analysis shows that the Navy's rating assignments often adhered to verifiable skill standards. The findings reveal that prior service, documented experience, and even practical administrative decisions significantly influenced the determination of ratings.

However, inconsistencies in how ratings were awarded—especially the elevation of cooks and stewards to higher ratings—imply that officer-level personal needs and biases might have contributed to discriminatory outcomes more than the official enlistment system. While this does not absolve the system of its flaws, it shifts the focus from institutionalized discrimination to the potential influence of individual decision-makers, providing a crucial perspective on the complexities of the enlistment and rating process during the Civil War.

It is important to emphasize that although the recruitment system's rating process seems to have attempted to mitigate some discrimination, the personal biases of a ship's officers may be a primary contributor to racial prejudice. This means that each Navy ship will be different. We need to take a close look at one, the USS *Juniata*.

We have reviewed enlistment data. Next, we will review another variable, punishment. Let's see the punishment patterns for 161 white and Black sailors on the USS *Juniata* in 1864.

Punishment on the *USS Juniata*

Introduction

Next, we examine punishments on one ship, the *USS Juniata*. Among the 340 black sailors from Delaware enlisted in the U.S. Navy, those in the *Juniata* stand out as a unique microcosm for analysis. With the largest contingent of Delaware-born black sailors—ten—and an additional seventeen from the Philadelphia area, the ship's 27 black crew members served alongside 133 white sailors, presenting a rare and critical opportunity to examine equity in treatment and discipline.

This punishment analysis is significant because it spans the entire period from the ship's recommissioning to the North Atlantic Blockade Squadron with a new crew in July 1864 to their involvement in the first battle of Fort Fisher in December 1864. It covers the crew's disciplinary actions from their initial adaptation to life on board to their first combat experience.

When we began this section's research, we found the same generic problem as enlistments—the data was too broad to support clear distinctions. There were just 307 punishments during a six-month period. To improve the focus, we distinguished between low, moderate, and high levels of offenses based on each punishment's threat to the ship's combat readiness. We also analyzed offenses at sea versus at anchor, the patterns of offenses by month, and the characteristics of frequent offenders.

The analysis documents racial differences in offenses by severity and progression over time, punishments administered at anchor versus at sea, and a unique study of eliminating high offenders to reanalyze the extent of discrimination with a hypothetical, more compliant crew of both races. This will test the hypothesis that a crew consisting only of low-level offenders shows a balanced distribution of punishments.

No one will be surprised to learn that this report's initial analysis confirms that black sailors were punished more than white sailors. However, the details on the underlying type and trends of offenses provide interesting insights and surprises into racial differences on one vessel during the Civil War.

Because the punishments were administered on a specific vessel, it is helpful to describe the basic layout of the *USS Juniata* first to help visualize the context.

The Context - The *USS Juniata*

Understanding the ship's history, operational context, officers' biographies, and the environment in which its crew operated is essential to contextualizing the data and identifying factors that may have influenced disciplinary outcomes. As the forthcoming discussion will show, these details are indispensable for interpreting patterns of punishment and their implications for systemic bias. See Exhibit A for the full description.

The *USS Juniata* (Figure 2) was decommissioned in port in Philadelphia for repairs during the first half of 1864. The ship's captain was William Rogers Taylor during most of the research period. Once the repairs were complete, the Navy installed an entirely new crew before she joined the North Atlantic Blockading Squadron.

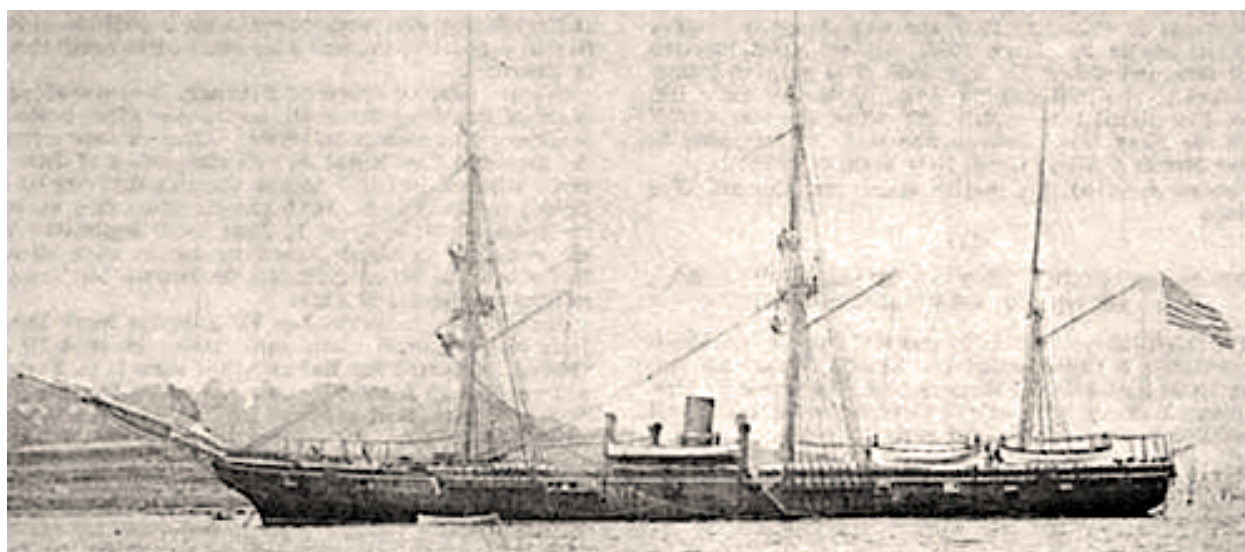


Fig. 2 - USS Juniata - National Archives Photo

The initial ship's log listed 161 crew and two petty officers. On the muster roll, there were 46 Seaman, 25 Ordinary Seaman, 56 Landsman, 7 Boys (all white), 21 Fireman, 4 Coal Heavers, 1 Master at Arms, 1 Sur Steward, and 0 Contrabands. This report analyzes the initial 16 July 1864 muster roll of named and described sailors²³.

In this muster roll, there were 133 white sailors and 28 black sailors (17.4%). All of the African American sailors enlisted, and none were contrabands. In addition, all black sailors were rated Landsman except for William Smith²⁴ and Stephen Williams, who were rated Ordinary Seaman.

²³ National Archives Muster Roll 16 July 1864. <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/134426140?objectPage=11>

²⁴ There were two William Smiths onboard. The muster roll designated them "1" and "2."

The USS *Juniata* had three main decks: the top (weather) deck, which included the forecastle (front), quarterdeck (rear), and spar deck (middle); the berth deck below, where the crew slept, ate, and stored personal items along with ship equipment; and the orlop deck, the main storage area for supplies, hospital and captain's stores, and other essentials.

The orlop and hold areas also housed the boiler room, coal bunkers, and storage for water, coal, and possibly munitions. Punishments were usually extra duty, sometimes with irons on the spar deck for all to see, but the exact location isn't documented.

The various types of armaments were stored on the spar deck.

Punishment Data Analysis

The 28 Black crew members on the USS *Juniata* provide a unique microcosm for analysis. Alongside the 133 white sailors, they present a rare and critical opportunity to examine equity in treatment and discipline.

The data period covers the re-commissioning and initial crew assignments at the Port of Philadelphia from 22 July 1864 through the ship's engagement in the First Battle of Fort Fisher, NC, from 24 to 26 December, and then through to the end of December 1864²⁵. There are 307 offenses and punishments during that period. See Exhibit A for a full history of the ship.

On September 30, 1864, the ship's captain logged all the punishments from June 22, 1864, to September 30, 1864, in one batch. The log note suggested that the vessel had inadvertently not recorded any punishments in the log, as required, up to September. The punishments were inserted to correct the record.²⁶ The compiled list contained the date, sailor's name, rating, offense, punishment, and duration²⁷. This compiled list, with its clear and complete details all in one place, was instrumental in deciphering the sometimes-abbreviated individual punishment log entries from October through December 1864. See Figure 3 for total punishment data.

These data provide valuable and objective historical insights into the management of offenses and, importantly, allow for determining any differences in patterns between Black and White sailors.²⁸ The ship had 161 sailors: 28 Black and 133 White sailors. Of the 28 black sailors, 25 were punished, while 74 of the 133 white sailors received punishments. (Figure 3)

²⁵ The USS *Juniata* opened fire on Ft. Fisher at 2:05 p.m. on 24 December 1864 in line with the USS *Powhattan*. At 8:15 a.m. on 26 December 1864, the ship received orders to proceed to Beaufort, NC. Ibid, p. 90-92.

²⁶ U.S. National Archives, Logbooks of U.S. Navy Ships, between ca. 1801-1940.
<https://catalog.archives.gov/id/183324094?objectPage=43>

²⁷ Although the amount of time a sailor was under punishment is well documented from 22 July 1864 to 30 September list, it was not consistently specified in the ship's log for October, November, and December, making a complete punishment-time analysis impossible.

²⁸ The logbooks do not identify race. The ship's muster roll identified the sailor's race.

	Number	Percent	Notes
Total No. Black Sailors on Ship	28	17.4	
Total No. White Sailors on Ship	133	82.6	
Total No. Sailors on board	161		
Total No. Punishments on Black Sailors	108	35.2	3.86 punishments per Black sailor
Total No. Punishments on White Sailors	199	64.8	1.50 punishments per White sailor
Total Punishments	307		

Figure 3 - Total Punishment Data

When comparing the data, it becomes clear that 89.3 percent of the Black sailors received at least one punishment, while 55.6 percent of the white sailors received at least one punishment. Figure 4 shows the total number of punishments by race and month.

Month	Black	White
July	2	5
August	25	56
September	23	54
October	17	19
November	19	40
December	22	25
	108	199

Figure 4 - Punishments by Race & Month

There is a difference between the above percentages of black and white sailors (89.3% and 55.6%) who received at least one punishment on the *Juniata*. A Black sailor, therefore, was 1.6 times or 60% more likely to receive a punishment than a White sailor.

A chi-square test for independence was conducted to confirm whether the observed difference in punishment rates between Black and White sailors was statistically significant. The test result, with a Chi-square value of 9.683 and a p-value of 0.00186, demonstrated that the difference is significant. Typically, if the p-value were above 0.05, it would suggest that the difference might be due to random chance, but in this case, the low p-value indicates that the observed disparity is significant.

The fact that 89 percent of the Black sailors and only around half of the White sailors were punished on the *USS Juniata* raises more questions about the differences in their treatment and experiences. For example, were the types of punishments different between the two groups, reflecting disparate disciplinary standards? Did the frequency of punishments for Black sailors peak initially and then taper off, indicating a steeper learning curve with the standards of conduct

compared to their white counterparts? Was there a notable difference in the number of punishments between the two groups depending on whether the vessel was at anchor or at sea, possibly suggesting that higher-ranking White sailors were occupied with more duties at sea and thus less frequently punished? Additionally, did any group receive more severe punishments, and what might this indicate about the perceived severity of their infractions or the biases of those administering discipline?

Let's explore these questions and others to uncover the developing analysis.

The Sequence of Punishments

In August, the first complete month of recorded punishments, Black sailors registered their highest number of punishments. This number then gradually decreased over the following months. The number of punishments for Black sailors dropped by 25% from September to October, remaining relatively stable through November and December with a standard deviation of 8.34. This means the number of punishments Black sailors received didn't vary much from month to month. See Figure 5 below for a chart showing the differences.

For White sailors, the pattern was different. They also had the most punishments in August, similar to Black sailors, but their numbers varied much more over the next few months. After a slight drop in September, their punishments decreased noticeably in October, jumped significantly in November, and decreased again in December. The standard deviation for White sailors was 20.31, much higher than that of Black sailors. This higher standard deviation means there was much more fluctuation in how often White sailors were punished each month. This inconsistency suggests that the way rules were enforced for white sailors was more unpredictable.

These data also suggest that by October, both groups seemed to start adjusting to the Navy's standards of conduct, as evidenced by the drop in punishments. Figure 5's line graph shows the monthly punishments using the rate per 100 individuals. This shows a similar punishment trend while maintaining the higher rate of punishments for Black sailors.

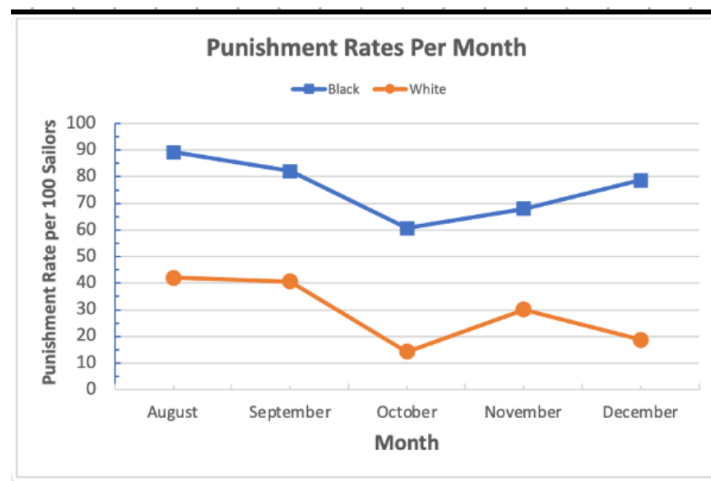


Figure 5 - Punishment Rates Per Month

Looking ahead at the types of punishments between groups, we will see that duties associated with the sailor's ratings may contribute to these swings in punishments. Lower-ranked Black sailors had a narrower range of responsibilities corresponding to their ranks.

Analysis of the Type of Offenses

Nowhere in the ship's log records was a distinction made between the levels of severity of offenses and corresponding punishments. To gain a deeper understanding of the punishments on the *USS Juniata*, it is essential to analyze the distinctions between the different levels of severity in the punishments administered. The hypothesis is that Black sailors received harsher punishments than White sailors for the same type of offenses.

The punishment of placing the sailor in single or double irons was prohibited after the war because it was excessive punishment. Comparing this type of punishment between Black and White sailors provides a relatively easy analysis; however, there were many other types of severe offenses. The Navy did not distinguish between a low, medium, or high level of offense. For analysis, we made such a distinction for this report.

Below, we define these three levels of offenses: high, medium, and low. High-level offenses, including single/double chains, threaten the combat readiness of the entire ship. Medium-level offenses break the ship's rules and affect the other sailors' cohesive teamwork or duties. Low-level offenses are focused only on correcting a specific sailor's behavior. In other words, high-level offenses threaten the entire ship, medium-level offenses are interpersonal offenses, and low-level offenses involve the individual sailor's behavior.

High-Level Offenses

High-level offenses threaten the combat readiness of the entire ship. "Single/Double Chains" (also called "double darbies") is the most brutal punishment because the offense is assumed to be a serious enough offense to threaten combat readiness. All "Insubordination" or any form of not obeying an officer's orders, regardless of the offense, is considered a threat to combat readiness because of the need in combat to follow all orders immediately. "Threatening an Officer" also fits this category. Any threats or improper behavior toward sentries or gunners is considered a threat to combat readiness because their role on active duty is to be combat-ready. "Disobeying orders" would fit this category. "Desertion," "aiding desertion", or "Interfering with Prisoners" would also fit. "Asleep on watch" is considered an offense affecting combat readiness. "Fighting," unless extremely minor, is a threat to group cohesiveness and division and, thus, a threat to combat readiness.

Let's look at the type of high-level offenses. Following is a list of high-level offenses by group. The offenses are transcribed verbatim from the ship's log. Repeated offense names have been eliminated. See Figure 6 below.

<u>African-American Offenses</u>	<u>White Offenses</u>
Disobeying Captain	Insubordination
Using naked light in the storeroom	Desertion
Neglect of duty	Fighting
Going below before relieved	Interfering with sentry
Disobedience	Insolence to gunner
Attempting to strike an officer	Cussing at sentry
Concealing stolen money	Provoking discontent
Disobeying orders	Asleep on watch
Cursing a sentry	Neglect of duty
Gross insolence	Disobeying orders
Destruction of public property	Insolence to an officer
Missing muster, lying to an officer	Profanity on Quarter Deck
Outrageous abuse of Ship's Boy	Interfering with prisoners
Failure to report desertion of sailors	Missing muster
	Endangering the safety of ship
	Aided desertion
	Insulting the Captain of taps
	Imprudence at mast
	Leaving ship without permission
	Mutinous conduct
	Gross neglect of duty
	Disrespect to the Officer of Deck
	Attempting theft
	Cursing the Schoolmaster
	Leaving the station on Lookout

Figure 6 - High-Level Offenses by Group

First, let's look at only the high-level punishments of single and double irons. From July 22, 1864, to the end of December 1864, there were 307 punishments. Among these, 45 were single or double-iron punishments, making up 15% of all punishments. Punished Black sailors received 13 (52%) iron punishments, while punished white sailors received 32 (43%). See Figure 7.

	Number	Percent	Notes
Total No. Black High-Level Punishments that were Irons	13	28.9	11 Blacks received Irons (39.3%)
Total No. White High-Level Punishments that were Irons	32	71.1	24 Whites received Irons (18.0%)
Total No. High-Level Punishments that were Irons	45		

Figure 7 - High-Level Iron Punishments

Compared to the total sailor population (133 white and 28 black), 39.3% of the black population received an iron punishment, while 18% of the white population received an iron punishment. Black sailors were approximately 2.2 times more likely to receive single or double iron punishments compared to white sailors. This indicates that while Black sailors were 1.6 times more likely to receive any form of punishment, they were even more likely to receive the severe punishment of being put in irons compared to their white counterparts.

Eleven individual Black sailors and twenty-four White sailors were subjected to iron punishments. This means that three Black sailors were punished with irons more than once.²⁹ Among the White sailors, seven received iron punishments more than once.³⁰ Therefore, 30% of the Black sailors punished with irons received more than one such punishment. Similarly, 30% of the White sailors punished with irons received more than one.

As stated in the introduction, the punishment time is offense-oriented, based on a standard rule for specific groups of offenses, rather than behavior-oriented. To test this observation, we analyzed September's single-double iron offenses. Six Black and six White sailors were punished with single-double irons³¹. Four Black sailors served five days each, and two served nine days. The latter two had more days because the offenses were additive: attempting to strike an officer and concealing stolen money.

John Anderson, a Black sailor from Philadelphia, received a five-day double iron as punishment for the offense of "Using naked light in storeroom." Initially, this punishment may seem harsh. However, considering that the black powder was kept on the Orlop deck along with other explosives that could potentially ignite and destroy the entire ship, the severity of the punishment becomes more understandable. In addition, an open light at night travels far distances and could easily reveal the ship's position to the enemy.

The White sailors' punishment times were two five-days, two four-days, and two ten-days. One of the 10-day punishments was for two offenses, thus doubling the days. The two four-day punishments were for profanity. Hence, it seems the officers had some leeway with a standard rule for the type of offense.

From the small September iron punishment sampling and other general observations of other offenses in August and September, it appears that the time punished was based only on the offense. There was no clear evidence of an imbalance in the terms of the punishment based on race.

Single and double-iron punishments were only some of the high-level offenses punished. Our list of high-level offenses has more. Let's look at the total number of these high-level offenses. See Figure 8.

	Number	Percent	Notes
Total No. Black High-Level Punishments	25	29.4	16 Blacks received HL (57.1%)
Total No. White High-Level Punishments	60	70.6	33 Whites received HL (24.8%)
Total No. High-Level Punishments	85		

Figure 8 - Total High-Level Punishments

²⁹ Sailors: Johnson, J, King, and Riley.

³⁰ Sailors: Lindsay, Rutherford, Long, Pinheiro, Miller, Parker, and Sprague.

³¹ There were two other single-double iron punishments; however, a written adjustment negated entry of the time. For example, one was adjusted to irons only during the night. This, of course, suggests that irons were only used during the day.

There were 85 high-level offenses (27.7%) out of 307 punishments. As indicated above, of these 85 offenses, 45 were single and double-iron offenses. Black sailors experienced 25 high-level punishments; White sailors received 60 punishments. Black sailors were approximately 1.98 times more likely to receive high-level punishments compared to White sailors on a per capita basis. This likelihood is slightly higher than receiving single/double iron punishments, 1.87 times more likely for Black sailors. This suggests that when considering the broader category of high-level punishments, Black sailors faced an even more significant disparity compared to white sailors.

Despite the higher probability of punishments for blacks, there was a question of the potential unevenness of high-level punishment between groups over time. Was there a clustering of punishments for Black sailors versus White sailors?

The white sailors' frequency of high-level punishment was 1.58 per day; the black sailors' frequency was 1.32 per day. Remember, these average daily frequencies confirm the more significant disparity above. However, when testing frequency over time using a chi-square test, white sailors have a p-value of 0.957 and black sailors 0.983. This statistical analysis indicates no significant deviation from uniformity in the high-level punishment *distribution* for Black and White sailors. This means that the timing of these punishments was evenly spread out, showing no particular pattern or trend over the observed period.

We see that Black sailors were 2.3 times more likely to have experienced high-level punishments and that they were distributed evenly over the data period. Nonetheless, there is still an observational difference in the type of offense between the two groups (See list above). Black sailors' offenses cluster around active disobeying, passive violation of duty, and direct insubordination. White sailors' offenses cluster more around passive breach of duty, direct insubordination, and breaking the law. White sailors' offenses were more audacious.

A deeper analysis of the high-level offenses committed by sailors on the *USS Juniata* reveals perceptible patterns based on race, rank, and responsibilities. White sailors' offenses typically posed more significant threats to combat readiness, involving broader authority challenges and collective issues that could undermine the ship's operational effectiveness. Offenses such as "Desertion," "Mutinous conduct," and "Endangering the safety of the ship" were particularly disruptive and detrimental to maintaining order and morale.

In contrast, offenses committed by Black sailors were generally individualized acts or lapses in duty, which, while still problematic, did not pose as severe of a systemic threat to the ship's overall combat readiness. This difference is attributed mainly to the sailors' rank and experience. White sailors, having higher ranks and more experience, were entrusted with greater responsibilities. Their failure to meet these standards had broader implications for the ship's operations and safety. Their offenses were deliberate and audacious, suggesting a higher level of defiance and disruption.

Black sailors, typically lower-ranking and less experienced, were assigned simpler tasks. Their offenses were more reflective of individual lapses in following fundamental orders and

protocols, which, although significant, were less likely to have wide-reaching impacts on the ship's overall functionality.

In addition, the cases of Edward Lindsay and William Riley illustrate the varied use of iron punishments. Lindsay, a white sailor, had nine offenses, including serious ones like desertion, for which he received double irons while later receiving only extra duty punishments. Riley, a black sailor with 13 offenses, received extra duty for most offenses and double irons only twice, once near the beginning and once near the end of his record.

When analyzing the use of iron punishments, it was found that both Black and White sailors received such punishments for a variety of offenses. Hierarchical structures and experience levels have played some role in shaping the nature and severity of misconduct.

The unknown context and individual personalities involved further complicate deriving clear outcomes. Nonetheless, categorizing offenses into high, medium, and low levels provides an additional opportunity to understand the disciplinary practices on the *Juniata*.

Medium-Level Offenses

Medium-level offenses lie between correcting individual behaviors and threats to the ship's overall combat readiness. These behaviors are more interpersonal and affect or threaten the group's cohesiveness, morale, or other sailors' ability to carry out duties. See Figure 9.

These offenses break ship rules and affect other sailors' cohesive teamwork or duty. An example is "Went below without relief." This behavior may cause other sailors to temporarily fulfill the sailor's duty, placing stress on their duty requirements. However, it does not threaten the aggregated strength of a group of sailors to fulfill their roles.

African-American Middle-level	White Middle-Level
Improper Conduct	Missing Muster
Missing Muster	Improper Conduct
Neglect of Duty	Neglect of Duty
Improperly dressed	Leaving deck w/out relief
Skulking	Went below without relief
Breaking Ship's Rules	Negligence of dress
Various Reasons	Breaking Ship's Rules
Various Offenses	Various Reasons
Quarreling	Carelessness
	Various Offenses
	Skulking

Figure 9 - Middle-Level Offenses by Group

If the punishment is "Extra Duty," it is medium-level. "Dirty Hammock" would be another example because it might physically affect other sailors or create a contagion for other sailors to follow the behavior. "Breaking ship rules" and "Various reasons" when applied to other sailors on the same day and given "Extra duty" rather than a larger punishment would apply to this category of behavior. "Improper Dress," while associated with an individual, violates military

code and group cohesiveness (not combat readiness) and would fit this category. “Missing Muster” is a daily group requirement for officers' personnel record requirements and, therefore, would fit this category. “Improper conduct” is vague when written in the ship’s log. It suggests a medium offense. “Neglect of Duty” with an “Extra Duty” punishment would fit this category.

The USS *Juniata* recorded 177 medium-level punishments out of a total of 307 punishments. See Figure 10. White sailors accounted for 109 of these medium-level punishments, while Black sailors received 68. On average, each punished White sailor received approximately 1.5 medium-level punishments. White medium-level punishments were 55% of their total 199 punishments.

	Number	Percent	Notes
Total No. Black Medium-Level Punishments	67	37.8	23 Blacks received ML (82.1%)
Total No. White Medium-Level Punishments	110	62.1	57 Whites received ML (42.9%)
Total No. Medium-Level Punishments	177		

Figure 10 - Total Medium-Level Punishments

For Black sailors, 67 medium-level punishments constituted 62% of their 108 punishments. Given that 23 out of the 28 black sailors were punished, each punished Black sailor received an average of 2.7 medium-level punishments. This indicates that Black sailors received a higher percentage of medium-level punishments (82.1%) than White sailors (42.9%).

This shows that, although White sailors accounted for a larger total number of medium-level punishments, Black sailors were more likely to receive such punishments relative to their group size and, on average, experienced them more frequently.

Analyzing the trends of monthly punishments reveals an interesting pattern. White sailors initially experienced a high rate of medium-level punishments, followed by a sharp reduction in September when at anchor and then an increase at sea in late September and early October. In contrast, Black sailors' medium-level punishments started very low in July and early August, progressively increasing through December.

The type of medium-level offenses listed above appears to be distributed evenly among races, likely due to the routine nature of these offenses. However, differences in duties may influence the types of offenses committed. For example, offenses such as "leaving deck without relief" and "went below without relief" suggest higher duty responsibilities, which were more commonly assigned to White sailors.

Offenses like “late with hammock” and “neglecting hammock.” referred to violating the ship’s rules on removing hammocks. These had to be taken down, rolled up, and stored, typically on the main deck. The hammocks had to be cleared to make room for the mess areas, which were also designated galleys where the sailors sat on the floor around the food.

When called to muster, all 161 sailors had to climb the narrow stairs from the Berth deck to the Spar deck above. One might imagine that black sailors might be forced to the end of the line. Yet, there were 45 offenses for missing muster. Thirty-six offenders were white. The offense of

missing muster must not have been due to being in the wrong place. Also, Black sailors tended to be the staff who had to get up early to cook and feed the sailors.

In summary, while Black sailors were more frequently subjected to both high-level and medium-level punishments, the nature of the offenses still reflected influences from some of the hierarchical and duty-based differences on the *Juniata*.

Low-Level Offenses

These are punishments that are strictly focused on and limited to correcting individual behavior that, while breaking ship rules, aims to correct that specific sailor's behavior or, at most, also serves to coerce conformity with other sailors who may be motivated to break the same rule. The behavior is considered minor and involves only that sailor.

Examples include "Putting clothing in a tacky bag" or "Leaving quarters without permission." Another example would be "Not cleaning brightwork." Also, "Disobedience," when the punishment is only "Extra Duty." "Improper Conduct," when punished with "Extra Duty," implies an offense associated only with the individual. "Leaving a bucket that fell overboard" with the punishment "Extra Duty" also fits this category. See Figure 11 below.

African-American Low-level	White Low-Level
Not going aft promptly	Leaving bucket overboard
Upsetting ink in steerage	Neglecting hammock
Having clothes in tacky bag	Late with hammock
Late with hammock	Having clothes in tacky bag
Not cleaning brightwork	Not sleeping in Hammock
Dirty hammock	Standing on a gun
Not obeying standby hammock	Not cleaning brightwork
	Inattention at drill
	Dirty hammock

Figure 11 - Low-Level Offenses by Group

Above is a list of low-level offenses. Again, these are exact transcriptions of the offenses and include duplicates. White sailors logged 30 low-level offenses, while Black sailors had 15.

Following the same logic as the other levels of punishment, 74 total punished White sailors show that 15 percent (30/199) of their total punishments were low-level. The 25 total punished Black sailors show that 14 percent (15/108) of their punishments were low-level. See Figure 12.

	Number	Percent	Notes
Total No. Black Low-Level Punishments	15	33.3	11 Blacks received LL (39.3%)
Total No. White Low-Level Punishments	30	66.7	23 Blacks received LL (17.3%)
Total No. Low-Level Punishments	45		

Figure 12 - Total Low-Level Punishments

The trend of low-level punishments showed that White sailors started high in August and September but sunk to only 2 in October and none for November and December. On the other hand, Black sailors started high in August and almost immediately disappeared, showing only three in September and one in October and November.

These low-level trends suggest that black sailors adjusted behavior with low-level offenses quickly compared to white sailors. The offenses show clearly that both White and Black sailors were punished for the same kind of low-level offenses. Interestingly, 27% of White sailors' low-level punishments were due to having clothes in their tacky bags³². Black sailors had the same percentage.

Punishment At Anchor versus At Sea

Figure 13 below compares the number of high, medium, and low-level punishments per month at anchor and at sea.

The chart shows 206 punishments at anchor and 101 at sea, indicating that punishments were more than twice as likely at anchor. High- and medium-level punishments also occurred more frequently at anchor. In contrast, most low-level punishments at sea occurred in August during the ship's initial southbound sail, suggesting minor behavioral issues were common during the first month's voyage south from Philadelphia.

Month	At Anchor-H	At Anchor-M	At Anchor-L	At Sea-H	At Sea-M	At Sea-L
Jul	5	2	0	0	0	0
Aug	11	9	2	9	24	26
Sep	25	22	8	7	10	5
Oct	11	9	3	3	10	0
Nov	12	46	1	0	7	0
Dec	2	38	0	0	0	0
Totals	66	126	14	19	51	31

Figure 13 - Total Punishments by Sea & Anchor

High-level punishments at anchor remained evenly distributed, except for a peak in September and an almost complete drop-off in December. In September, the *Juniata* was mainly anchored off Hampton Roads, Virginia. Hampton Roads was the primary base of operations for supplies and headquarters for the Northern Atlantic Blockading Squadron. This location led directly to more extensive contacts with suppliers, ship visitors, and high-ranking officers, as documented in the vessel log. Such contacts, together with increased alcohol availability, could have contributed to the high-level offenses of disobeying orders, interfering with prisoners, aiding desertion, abetting theft, concealing stolen money, and fighting.

³² The term "tacky bag" is a colloquial term for some form of haversack used to store personal items, including eating utensils, grooming material, letters, etc. Military-issued clothing was to be stored elsewhere.

Medium-level punishments increased at anchor during the six months, resulting in 126 medium-level offenses, 2.5 times that of the 51 at-sea medium-level offenses, probably because of the same reasons as the high-level punishments.

Black versus White Sailors at Anchor

A casual review of the Black sailor punishments chart at anchor shows that 74% of all Black punishments were medium and low-level (Figure 14). Their medium-level punishment rate stayed relatively even but increased substantially in November and December when the vessel was preparing for and engaged in combat. Their high-level punishment rates, 26% of the total at anchor, stayed evenly distributed over time except when the ship was in combat in December. Their low-level punishments were unremarkable during the entire period when at anchor. The significantly high Medium-level punishments at anchor in November and December are noteworthy.

Month	Black Anchor-H	Black Anchor-M	Black Anchor-L	Month	White Anchor-H	White Anchor-M	White Anchor-L
Jul	0	2	0	Jul	5	0	0
Aug	3	4	1	Aug	8	5	1
Sep	8	6	2	Sep	17	16	6
Oct	5	4	1	Oct	6	5	2
Nov	3	15	1	Nov	9	31	0
Dec	0	17	0	Dec	2	21	0
Totals	19	48	5	Totals	47	78	9

Figure 14 - Punishments At Anchor by Group

At anchor, the White sailors' medium and low-level punishments accounted for 65% of all white at-anchor punishments, and white high-level punishments accounted for 35% of all punishments. The distribution of the type of punishments was similar to that of the Black sailors. The White sailors also saw a significant increase in medium-level punishments in November and December when at anchor. In addition, the White sailors experienced a sharp increase in high- and medium-level punishments in September. Also, the White sailors saw a doubling of high-level punishments between August and September and a tripling in medium-level punishments. The ship had just returned to Craney Island, Virginia, in September after a week at sea and stayed at anchor there for most of the month.

Black versus White Sailors at Sea

There was a similar dramatic decrease in all punishments for Black and White sailors at sea compared to those at anchor. Black sailors saw a 68% drop in high-level punishments when at sea compared to those at anchor; White sailors saw a 60% drop. The combination of medium and low-level punishments for Black sailors dropped 43% at sea compared to at anchor. The drop for both groups is similar and dramatic. See Figure 15 on the next page.

Month	Black Sea-H	Black Sea-M	Black Sea-L	Month	White Sea-H	White Sea-M	White Sea-L
Jul	0	0	0	Jul	0	0	0
Aug	2	6	9	Aug	7	18	17
Sep	4	2	1	Sep	3	8	4
Oct	0	7	0	Oct	3	3	0
Nov	0	0	0	Nov	0	0	0
Dec	0	5	0	Dec	0	2	0
Totals	6	20	10	Totals	13	31	21

Figure 15 - Punishments At Sea by Group by Month

White sailors saw a spike in punishments in August at sea, as did the Black sailors; however, after September, the punishments in all categories in both groups dropped almost entirely. There were 29 punishments in one day at sea off Craney Island, Virginia, on 31 August 1864. This must have been a formal inspection muster because most offenses were “having clothes in the tacky bag,” “late with hammock,” “improperly dressed,” etc. If this inspection had not occurred, there would have been a 43% reduction in medium-level punishments.

Anchor versus Sea Summary

The difference in punishments in both groups when the *Juniata* was at sea vs. those at anchor is pronounced. If the punishments on the inspection muster in August were removed, there would have only been 72 punishments at sea versus 206 at anchor. That is almost three times as many punishments at anchor than at sea. In addition, there were only seven medium-level punishments in both groups in November and December. Thus, the punishments appeared to taper to almost zero when the crew prepared for and engaged in combat at sea. Since punishments at anchor primarily manifest non-compliant behavior, these observations suggest that Black and White sailors experienced more cohesive and productive work at sea or had become more adept at their tasks.

Notwithstanding the experiential change, the data document that the 28 Black sailors on board received 36 punishments at sea, while the 133 white sailors on board received 65 punishments. This translates to a probability that a Black sailor would expect 1.3 punishments each when going to sea, while a White sailor might expect 0.49 punishments. Thus, Black sailors were 2.9 times more likely to receive a punishment at sea than White sailors.

Remember, there were almost three times fewer punishments at sea than at anchor. In addition, 18 Black sailors received a punishment at sea. If one removes the nine August 31 black-sailor inspection muster punishments and considers that there were only six high-level punishments at sea, a Black veteran sailor on the USS *Juniata* would likely believe it was much better to live and work at sea than at anchor.

However, even considering just the 18 Black and 45 White sailors who received the punishments at sea, the Black sailor was approximately 1.4 times more likely to receive a punishment than a White sailor in this scenario. This is almost identical to the overall ratio of all punishments for black sailors.

Analysis of Frequent Offenders

There were some sailors one would call “frequent offenders” on the *Juniata* punishment list. For example, William Riley, a Black sailor, had 13 punishments. Edward Lindsay, a White sailor, had nine punishments.³³ An obvious question arises: what would happen to the punishment analysis and conclusions if the number of black and white sailors considered to be repeat offenders were removed from the data? How would that change the assumptions?

The method of identifying a sailor as a high offender used the mean of punishments by group plus one to identify those sailors³⁴.

The means of the 25 punished blacks and 74 punished sailors were used for this study. The mean tells us the average number of punishments received. Twenty-five Black sailors received 108 punishments. Seventy-four White sailors received 199 punishments. The mean for Black sailors is 4.32 punishments. The mean plus one is 5.32. The mean for White sailors is 2.69. The mean plus one is 3.69. Therefore, frequent-offender Black sailors are those with five or more punishments; Whites, four or more. Figure 16 shows the high-offenders by group. Figure 17 shows the complete data set.

After reviewing the number of punishments for all 28 Black sailors, eight received five or more punishments. The number of White sailors who received four or more punishments was 19.

Black High-Offenders	White High-Offenders
Joshua Carpenter - 7	Jurian Christain - 5
Zaddock George - 10	James Dennels - 7
James H. Johnson 2 nd - 6	John Farroll - 4
John H. King - 6	Augustus Gardner - 4
Peter Manley - 6	Charles Gater - 7
Henry Maston - 8	John Knight - 4
William Riley - 13	Edward Lindsay - 9
Raymond Williams - 6	Jacob Long - 5
	William Longue - 4
	Daniel McCarthy - 4
	Augustus Miller - 5
	Alfred Parker - 7
	Solomon Pinhiro - 7
	John Quinn - 7
	Thomas Rutherford - 4
	Benjamin Sprague - 4
	Charles Storms - 8
	James Whalen - 4

Figure 16 - High-Offenders by Group

³³ One should not conclude that sailors who are frequent offenders have any character flaws. We did post-war biographies of many sailors that will be discussed later. You will see that there is little or no correlation.

³⁴ While using standard deviation to identify outliers is a valid statistical approach, it was not employed in this analysis to avoid imposing additional statistical thresholds that might increase the potential problem of artificially extending or limiting the list of high offenders.

This study hypothesized that removing frequent Black and White offender sailors will significantly remove bias associated with their punishments. One might think that the *USS Juniata*, with a crew of all compliant sailors, would produce a completely different set of punishment patterns. Let's see.

Frequent-Offender Data Set	
Total sailors onboard: 161	No. black sailors mean plus one: 8
Total black sailors: 28	No. white sailors mean plus one: 19
Total white sailors: 133	No. black sailors mean plus one punishments: 62
Total punishments: 307	No. white sailors mean plus one punishments: 103
Total black sailor punishments: 108	Total number of iron punishments: 46
Total white sailor punishments: 199	No. black sailors' iron punishments: 13
Total black sailors punished: 25	No. white sailors' iron punishments: 33
Total white sailors punished: 74	

Figure 17 - Complete Frequent Offender Data

The eight frequent-offender Black sailors represent 32% of all black punished sailors (25), while frequent-offender White sailors represent 26% of all White punished sailors (74).³⁵

When examining all punishments, frequent-offender Black sailors received 57.4% (62 out of 108) of the total punishments received by Black sailors. Similarly, frequent-offender White sailors received 52% (103 out of 199) of the total punishments received by White sailors. Calculating the likelihood ratio between black and white frequent offenders: 7.75 (62 punishments/8 blacks) v. 5.42 (103 punishments/19 whites), we find that Black frequent offenders are 1.4 times more likely to receive a punishment than White frequent offenders.

These data show that Black sailors, who were frequent offenders, contributed to a higher portion of punished sailors as well as total punishments than White sailors. Also, the data show that frequent Black offenders had a more significant impact on the overall punishment statistics for Black sailors compared to White offenders' impact on white punishment statistics.

As discussed above, the mean number of punishments per Black sailor is significantly higher (4.32) than White sailors (2.69). Frequent offenders among Black sailors, who make up a higher percentage of their punished group, contribute more heavily to the group's total number of punishments. They are responsible for a larger share of the total number of punishments.

One would expect frequent offenders to contribute more heavily to each group's total punishments. We know that Black sailors were generally punished more than White sailors. We also suspect that other factors other than race might be contributing to higher punishments for

³⁵ The proximity of these percentages indicates that "mean plus one" is a valid and fair method for distinguishing frequent offenders from the general population of punished sailors. It suggests that the method captures a consistent subset of individuals who have a significantly higher number of punishments, thereby reflecting a reasonable measure of "frequent offenders."

Black sailors. As we have seen, a prominent factor might be that White sailors had a higher skill ranking, which might have insulated them from some punishments. A closer look might help provide more information.

As discussed above, in the entire crew of the *Juniata*, Black and White sailors showed a distinct difference in the likelihood of receiving any punishment. Specifically, 25 out of 28 black sailors were punished, resulting in a likelihood of 89%. In contrast, 74 out of 133 white sailors were punished, giving a likelihood of 56%. When comparing these figures, it was found that Black sailors were approximately 1.6 times more likely to receive a punishment compared to White sailors.

Now, we see Black frequent offenders are 1.4 more likely to receive a punishment than White frequent offenders. Calculating the confidence intervals for 1.6 (1.39, 1.84) and 1.4 (1.17, 1.67) shows that the ratios are close enough to be considered statistically equal. This means that both low-frequency and frequent-offender black sailors experienced an equal amount of discrimination.

We removed frequent offenders from both groups and analyzed the remaining crew to explore this further. Among these sailors, 85% of the remaining Black sailors (17 out of 20) were punished, compared to 48% of the remaining White sailors (55 out of 114). This change resulted in an increased likelihood ratio of 1.8, indicating that low-frequency Black sailors were still significantly more likely to be punished than White sailors, even without frequent offenders.

In conclusion, the data show that after removing frequent offenders of both races from the USS *Juniata*, that is, having a hypothetical vessel at the beginning of recommission with a new crew of no frequent offenders compared to the original entire crew, the likelihood of a Black sailor receiving punishment increased by approximately 10 percent.

The fact that confirmed low-frequency offender Black sailors on board the USS *Juniata* showed an increase in the likelihood of punishment from the original crew confirms systemic discrimination onboard the vessel.

An interesting story involving punishment bears mentioning. It involves a white “frequent offender,” Solomon Pinheiro. Solomon had seven offenses, two resulting in double irons: “insolence to officer” and “disobedience.” Since both appear to have been somewhat subjective, they question whether Solomon was a victim of discrimination. We make that observation because Solomon was the only known Jew on board the *Juniata*.³⁶ In addition, both incidents were on Saturdays, as was one of the medium-level offenses he received.

Solomon was born in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, on 12 October 1846 and moved to Philadelphia with his family as a child. According to his pension files, Solomon had received a scar on his head from a battle wound at the second battle of Fort Fisher, though there is no direct record of this incident in *Juniata*’s logs. He served on the USS *Chicopee* after 2 years on the

³⁶ Research by the Shapell Roster of Jewish Service in the American Civil War confirms Pinheiro as both a Civil War veteran and Jewish, <https://www.shapell.org/civil-war-soldier-database/soldier/828>

Juniata. Solomon was a merchant, married twice, and had two children with his second wife, Elizabeth. He died on 10 August 1908 and is buried at the Mt. Peace Cemetery, Philadelphia.

Section Discussion

A much higher percentage of Black sailors (89.3%) were punished compared to White sailors (55.6%). The punishment data show that Black sailors, on average, received 3.86 punishments per sailor. White sailors received an average of 1.50 punishments. To check possible discrimination within white cultures, we examined the punishments of Irish sailors. There were 26 Irish sailors onboard. The results showed that 53.8% of Irish sailors were punished. Irish sailors received an average of 1.12 punishments, which was less than the average White sailor.

This report demonstrated that the disparity in the level of punishments was retained throughout all aspects of an officer's identification of an offense; however, the analysis of the types and degrees of punishments did not demonstrate significant distinctions between the two groups. To clarify, when an officer acted on a specific banned behavior, he issued the same punishment prescribed for that behavior for both Black and White sailors. Officers, however, identified and charged more banned behaviors in Black sailors than White sailors.

This can be understood when considering that it is an officer's personal decision to observe and then declare that someone has broken the rules and then press charges. That is where prejudice, personality differences, and interpretation of behavior come into play. This can be particularly significant with offenses involving officer-to-subordinate relationships (e.g., insubordination, insulting an officer, skulking, etc.). Factors such as cultural differences, communication barriers, and pre-existing biases among officers could have led to black sailors being more frequently perceived as violating rules. However, the resulting follow-up types and levels of punishments are relatively equal. This is where this report found less variation in the treatments among groups.

Paul E. Sluby, Sr., in the *Diary of Charles B. Fisher*, stated that "regulations prescribed a degree of uniformity in judicial proceedings."³⁷ He showed that the administration of punishments was regulated to ensure uniformity. If this policy were universal, that would help explain the somewhat equal distribution of the type and degree of punishment on the USS *Juniata*.

We have seen, for example, the trend lines over time in punishment rates, while maintaining an increase in black sailor punishments, showed similarities between Black and White sailors. Both groups showed the highest rates in August and September, followed by a deep slump in October. This suggests that the entire crew was conforming to the *Juniata's* standards of conduct. However, black punishments increased during the last month of the data period, and white punishments decreased. Since the punishment patterns were somewhat similar throughout most of the period, it is defensible to hypothesize that higher-ranked White sailors would be more active in critical vessel duties preparing for the Fort Fisher battle in November and

³⁷ Paul E. Sluby Sr. and Stanton L. Wormley, *Diary of Charles B. Fisher* (Washington, D.C.: Columbia Harmony Society, 1983), 72.

December. The Black sailor's more mundane duties would allow a broader, more biased interpretation of compliance.

When analyzing the types of offenses, the distribution trend of high-level punishments was consistent over time for Black and White sailors. However, when comparing the likelihood of receiving these punishments relative to their total populations, Black sailors were 2.18 times more likely to receive single or double-iron punishments and 2.3 times more likely to receive any high-level punishment.

Regarding the ship's location, punishments were more than twice as likely to occur at anchor rather than at sea. Notably, almost all low-level punishments at sea occurred in August when the ship first sailed south. This suggests that these individual behavioral punishments were corrected at the first sail.

Overall, comparing all punishments at anchor and at sea reveals that Black sailors faced a higher proportion of both high- and medium-level punishments at anchor and a higher proportion of medium- and low-level punishments at sea. White sailors, on the other hand, received fewer high-level punishments at sea and a relatively balanced distribution of medium- and low-level punishments in both locations. This underscores the complex and differing disciplinary dynamics with rank experienced by Black and White sailors on the *Juniata*, influenced by the ship's operational status.

Another interesting fact is embedded within this data. During this period, the *Juniata* had six 1st-class Boys and one 2nd-class Boy on board. All of them were white. All were 16 years old except one, who was 19. All were from the Philadelphia area. On November 2, 1864, Stephen Williams, a Black Ordinary Seaman, was punished with double irons for five days for "outrageous abuse of Ship's Boy" while at anchor in Hampton Roads. Stephen Williams was born in Cape de Verde and lived in Burlington, New Jersey.³⁸ We have no other details about this heinous offense. Stephen Williams only received two other punishments during the six months, both low-level. This black-on-white abuse is noteworthy.

³⁸ Stephen William had two prior years of service and was a "mariner" before service. He was transferred to the Port Royal Naval Hospital in South Carolina on 11 March 1865. There were no further records.

Beyond the Sea: Post-War Lives of USS *Juniata* Sailors

A Comparative Study of Race, Genealogy, and Life After the Civil War

Introduction

Our initial data collection showed that complete genealogical records for the 340 sailors were sparse and often nonexistent. This is also true for other White sailors, especially Irish immigrants. An adequate data analysis required a complete post-war history that included marriage, children, and cause of death confirmation.

Notwithstanding this limitation, we completed full genealogical histories on 20 USS *Juniata* sailors, 10 Black and 10 White. The histories included everything from birth to death, including marriage(s), children, locations, occupation, and cause of death.

Name	Race: DE AA; AA; White	Yr. Born	Birth Location	Pre-War Occupation	Age at Enlistment	Enlistment Location	Yrs in Service	Rating	# Punishments	Post-War Location	Post-War Occupation	Married Y/N	Other marriages	No. Children	In- Service Dis. Y/N	Widow Pension Y/N	Death Year	Age at Death	Cause of Death
Hayes, James	W	1836	Ireland	Sailmaker	25	New York	10	Seaman	2	New York City	Sail Maker	Y	N	5	No	Yes	1904	68	TB
Hammond, George	W	1834	Maine	Farm Laborer	27	Philadelphia	3	Ordinary Seaman	1	New Hampshire	Shoe Worker	Y	N	1	No	Yes	1873	38	Unknown
Grimes, Daniel	W	1838	Boston, Mass.	Fisherman/ Boat maker	23	Boston, MA	7	Ordinary Seaman	0	Kansas City, MO	Vagabond	N	N	0	Yes	No	1906	68	Alcoholism
Gillam, William	W	1828	Philadelphia, PA	Mariner	36	Philadelphia	3	Coal Hauler	0	Camden, NJ	Railroad laborer	Y	Y	1	No	Yes	1889	61	RR Accident
Geddes, Alexander	W	1836	Aberdeen Scotland	Plumber	26	Philadelphia	3	1st Class Fireman	0	Philadelphia, PA	Plumber	Y	N	0	No	Yes	1896	60	Kidney Disease
Butler, Michael J	W	1845	Tipperary, Ireland	None	19	Philadelphia	3	Landsman	2	Bronx, New York City	Painter, Machinist	Y	N	5	Yes	No	1909	64	Heart Disease
Tucker, Samuel R	W	1834	Nova Scotia, Canada	Factory Worker	30	New York	3	1st Class Fireman	0	CT & NYC	Gas tube maker	Y	Y	0	Yes	Yes	1899	65	Heart Disease
Conrad, John	W	1844	Germany	Paper Carrier	20	Philadelphia	3	Coal Heaver	0	Philadelphia, PA	RR Conductor	Y	N	2	No	Yes	1889	47	Wagon Accident
Brudley, George	W	1833	Philadelphia, PA	Fireman	31	Philadelphia	3	2nd Class Fireman	0	Philadelphia, PA	Shoe Maker	Y	N	0	Yes	No	1903	66	Unknown
Quinn, John	W	1850	Philadelphia, PA	None	14	Philadelphia	3	1st Class Boy	4	Philadelphia, PA	Plasterer/Laborer	Y	N	4	No	Yes	1889	39	Kidney Disease
Average		1838			25.1				0.9						1.8		1896	57.6	
Standard Deviation		6.6			6.4				1.4						2.1		11	11.7	
Name	Race: DE AA; AA; White	Yr. Born	Birth Location	Pre-War Occupation	Age at Enlistment	Enlistment Location	Yrs in Service	Rating	# Punishments	Post-War Location	Post-War Occupation	Married - Y/N	Other marriages	No. Children	In- Service Dis. Y/N	Widow Pension Y/N	Death Year	Age at Death	Cause of Death
Walker, Joseph	DE AA	1839	Wilmington, DE	None	25	Philadelphia	3	Landsman	0	Wilmington, DE	Barber	Y	N	2	No	No	1874	35	Unknown
Price, James	DE AA	1838	Wilmington, DE	None	25	Philadelphia	3	Landsman/Cook	0	Wilmington, DE	Brick Yard	Y	N	2	Yes	No	1905	66	Gen Disability
Millis, Benjamin	DE AA	1835	Wilmington, DE	Laborer	29	Philadelphia	3	Stearage Cook	0	Wilmington, DE	Brick Yard	Y	N	6	No	Yes	1884	49	Brain Tumor
Maston, Henry	DE AA	1839	Dover, DE	Laborer	25	Philadelphia	3	Landsman	3	Philadelphia, PA	Cook	Y	Y	4	Yes	No	1914	75	Parkinson's
Carpenter, Joseph	DE AA	1843	Wilmington, DE	None	21	Philadelphia	3	Landsman	3	Wilmington, DE	Laborer	Y	N	0	No	No	1872	29	TB
Carpenter, George	DE AA	1837	Brandywine, DE	Laborer	27	Philadelphia	3	Landsman	1	Wilmington, DE	Waiter/Laborer	Y	Y	7	Yes	Yes	1905	68	Kidney Disease
Cowan, William	AA	1840	Wilmington, NC	None	24	Philadelphia	3	Landsman	1	North Carolina	Preacher	Y	N	3	Yes	No	1914	74	Pneumonia
Peters, William	AA	1836	Philadelphia, PA	None	28	Philadelphia	3	Stearage Cook	0	Camden, NJ	Laborer	Y	Y	0	Yes	No	1898	68	Unknown
King, John	AA	1841	Montgomery Co., MD	None	23	Philadelphia	3	Cook	4	Washington, DC/MD	Laborer	Y	N	0	Yes	No	1926	85	Senility
George, Ezekiel	AA	1842	Accomac Co., VA	None	22	Philadelphia	3	Landsman	5	Philadelphia, PA	Driver/Laborer	Y	Y	0	Yes	No	1908	66	TB
Average		1839			24.9				1.7						2.4		1900	61.5	
Standard Deviation		2.6			2.6				1.9						2.6		18	18.0	

Figure 18 - Twenty Biographies by Group.

Figure 18 shows the master list. Exhibit C, p.61, shows a larger copy. We relied on U.S. Navy pension files to collect complete and confirming data. This focused dataset reflects only individuals who applied for pensions in retirement and thus, is not a random sample. This facilitated comparative analysis of group-level differences between Black and White *Juniata* sailors.

Looking at the list, the youngest enlistee was John Quinn, a White shipmate from Philadelphia. He was 14. The oldest was William Gillam, also White and from Philadelphia. He was 36. The first to die was Joseph Carpenter, a Black Landsman from Wilmington, Delaware. He died in 1872 of TB.

The oldest Black veteran shipmate was John King, a Cook, born in Montgomery County, MD. He died of senility at 85 in 1926. The sailor with the most children was the Black veteran

Landsman George Carpenter, born in Brandywine Hundred, Delaware. He had seven children and two wives. He died of kidney disease at the age of 68. The veteran in the study with the most *Juniata* punishments was Zadock George, a veteran Black Landsman with five punishments. He had two wives, no children, and died of TB in 1908 at the age of 66.

We will describe the case study in detail and end with a discussion of the comparisons. But first, this section begins by describing the study's methodology. We adjusted the format to give readers insights and suggestions on U.S. Navy research techniques—tips on what we learned.

Methodology.

A primary record for this research is the *Muster Rolls of the USS Juniata 1863-1865*. Each record has extensive information, including name, rating, enlistment date and location, term of enlistment, prior vessel, birth location, residency state, age, previous occupation, personal descriptions, and any body markings. Fortunately, the principal UK Bluejacket project will soon digitize all the muster rolls of Civil War ships, giving researchers access to all this information on most sailors.

The second primary record is the *U.S. Naval Enlistment Rendezvous, 1855-1891*.³⁹ The information in these records is the same as the Muster Rolls, except for an additional column listing any prior service. This information is written as "None" or the number of years in whole numbers. This is important because if, for example, a sailor's enlistment date is July 2, 1864, and there is a "2" in prior service, the 1864 record is a re-enlistment. The previous enlistment was around June/July 1862. We will describe how to find this previous enlistment record shortly.

The Muster Rolls and Rendezvous records, due to their wealth of information, serve as excellent starting points for gathering genealogical data. However, both records contain some imprecise information. We found that age was not always accurate. While age in these documents was generally slightly more dependable than in census records, it could only serve as a secondary factor in establishing an average estimate of the sailor's birth year by cross-referencing it with other documents. Birth records were nonexistent, and the most reliable sources were official death records and the birth dates/years listed in pension applications.

In the Muster Roll records, "State of which a Citizen" does not confirm where the sailor officially resided before enlisting when the location is in the same state as the Rendezvous Center. In Enlistment Rendezvous records, "Residence" is almost always the location of the receiving ship where they enlisted. It is interesting to note that in the muster rolls, the question is which state the person is a citizen of. Only after the passage of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution after the war in 1868 was a person viewed as a citizen of the U.S.

The fields "Enlistment Date," "Rating," and "Term of Enlistment" are reliable references. When trying to confirm the records of sailors with the same or similar name, we found that the "Height" and "Remarks" fields, which listed tattoos and scars, were the most useful for verification.

³⁹ Rendezvous is an old navy term meaning a location for gathering. The are enlistment locations.

Finding and Managing the Primary Records

Most genealogy services provide more than 35,000 U.S. Naval Enlistment Rendezvous records between 1855 and 1891. For example, a general search of a name with Ancestry.com typically provides a direct link in the tips sidebar if the person was enlisted in the U.S. Navy. In FamilySearch, Rendezvous records are found in the "Military Service" search link. However, they don't provide all the enlistments. A browsing process must be used to find multiple Rendezvous records.

Clicking on a current Rendezvous record title in both services sends you to the Rendezvous browsing search. It has 71 rolls to browse. Each roll contains, at the beginning, an index of 110 volumes from 1855 to 1891 and the weekly enlistment dates for each volume. Unfortunately, the volumes do not connect to roll numbers, so locating the correct roll relies on estimation. For instance, Volume 7 covers January 2, 1858, January 2, 1958, and July 3, 1858, in the 11th roll, Roll 004639535. We had to browse through the rolls to find the proper date range. It is somewhat frustrating but not hard.

The enlistments are recorded alphabetically by week and location. Understanding that enlistment locations generally repeat in the rolls each week is essential. They rotate from Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, with some smaller locations scattered among them. For example, if looking for an enlistment in Baltimore, one must advance through images from Boston through New York and Philadelphia to reach the enlistment week in Baltimore.

Thus, if a sailor enlisted in Philadelphia on June 20, 1864, and the record showed three years of previous service, one would browse the records around June 1861 to find the actual previous enlistment. We found, however, that sailors might not reenlist in the same location, and one must, therefore, browse all the locations in June and, if needed, part of July of 1861 to find the original enlistment. Luckily, the records are alphabetical. It is worth the time because with two enlistment records, the age and residency can be compared.

The U.S., Naval Enlistment Rendezvous, 1855-1891. Here is the link for browsing:
<https://www.ancestry.com/search/collections/60368/>

The National Archives record, *Logbooks of Navy Ships*, is essential for detailed daily information on U.S. Vessels during the Civil War. Each page in the log is a daily collection of important information. This includes the longitude and latitude of the ship, temperature, wind speed, depth of water, and each activity that took place.⁴⁰

The Navy ship Muster Rolls are available at the National Archives. They cover the period from 1860 to 1900. This is the link: <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/563603>

⁴⁰ Location and weather information are documented daily. Since the ships were positioned along the coast of Virginia, the East Coast, as well as the Gulf Coast and Mississippi, this weather information could be valuable for documenting detailed weather conditions at nearby battlefields.

The logbooks also record promotions, demotions, and punishments for individual sailors. As noted in the punishment section of this report, we were able to document and analyze every punishment on the USS *Juniata* over six months. However, this is not true for all ships. For instance, the USS *Yantic* documented only a few major punishments and some individual rating changes.

Another primary source is the U.S. Navy Pension Records. Fold3.com, FamilySearch.org, and searching the National Archives are the best resources for these records. Individual sailor pension applications are the best resource for genealogical information. They contain otherwise hard-to-find information such as discharge dates, birth and death dates, health and injury information, spouse and child information, and other important biographical information.

The National Archives site for approved individual pension files can be seen here: <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/580580>. Check the "Available to access online" button to access complete reports.⁴¹ After checking this site, search Fold3.com and FamilySearch.org if the sailor's name does not show a pension application.

In our research on individual sailor pensions, we found only about five percent of sailors on the USS *Juniata* received a pension. About four percent were denied. The National Archives also catalogs disapproved individual pensions: <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/580492>. Although disapproved, the sailor's application has the same valuable information as the approved pensions.⁴²

Data Collection Methodology

Several volunteers collected genealogical data. Consequently, it was essential to establish a standard collection format that served as a solid reference for genealogical research and documentation. We also wanted the format to allow artificial intelligence to automatically produce a narrative biography on each sailor's genealogical data.

Thus, we modified an Excel spreadsheet (the "Form") obtained from our partner, the Delaware African American Historical and Genealogical Society. It provides a method to allow the assembly of data into an easily adjustable chronological format. See Figure 19 below and a larger form in Exhibit F, Page 77.

The form worked well for the data collection process. The first row is several merged cells that document the sailor's name. The second row has eight columns, and a ninth merged title column covers three columns. These columns are titled "Record Date," "Event," "Age," "Location," "Occupation/Rating," "Other Person," "Notes," "Source," and "Source Links."

⁴¹ The names and certificate numbers title only a few cards, but the full pension is available.

⁴² All applications are filed with the newest records first. Start reviews with the last images.

Delaware Civil War Bluejackets: Race, Punishment, and Post-War Lives

Name: Geddes, Alexander - KF		Ship Log of Juniata		Not Archived Widows		Individual Pension # 16505	Pension File:	Married: Yes
Sailor Pension File	Pension disapproved	Widow disapproved	Hospital Ticket	Widow Pension Certificates			Blank Rendezvous Link	N Archive Indiv Pension
Record Date	Event	Age	Location	Occupation/ Rating	Other Person	Notes	Source	Source Links
22 Feb 1834	Birth		Nova Scotia			Lived in his younger days in CT. Widow pension, p. 45		
12 Sep 1853	Marriage	19	Waterbury, CT		Catharine McLaran (1833-1895)	The widow pension suggests they were divorced. Not confirmed.	Marriage Record	CT marriage record
1855	Birth of Daughter		Waterbury, CT	Worked in factory	Mary			
1860	1860 Census		Waterbury, CT	Worked in factory	Catherine, 27; Mary 5	Worked in a factory. Catherine was from Scotland. The factory could have been the U.S. Pin Company, since Edward Waterford, who owned the company in on the 1860 census near the Tuckers.	1860 Census	1860 Census
Sept 1860	Birth of Daughter		Waterbury, CT	Worked in factory	Claretta			
14 June 1864	Enlistment	30	Brooklyn, NY - USS North Carolina	1st Class Fireman		Substitute for a "drafted man." Occ. Brazier. Scars on back and right ankle. Enlisted on receiving ship. Born in Nova Scotia. (He did not serve in the Army or Navy prior to 1864. Wid. Pension, p 78)	Rendezvous Record	Rendezvous Record Widow pension, p. 78
23 March 1864	Muster	30	Philadelphia - USS Juniata	1st Class Fireman		Enlisted 13 June 1864. NY. 3 Yrs. B. Nova Scotia. Occupation, Grazier (castle) 5' 6 3/4" Age 30	Muster Roll	Muster Roll 23 Mar '84
29 Jan 1866	Death of 1st wife		Shullsburg, WI			There is no other record of Catherine's death. Other Family Trees have d. in 1895 w/out reference.	Widow Pension p. 42/45/69	Widow Pen. p. 42
1866	Health	32	USS Juniata	1st Class Fireman		Documented date when he got chronic rheumatism	Pension p. 38	Sailor pension p. 38
6 July 1867	Discharged	33						
3 October 1867	2nd Marriage	33	Winsted, CT		Marietta (Mary) Weldon	Pension p. 42 says Samuel's 1st wife died in 1866. Marietta states she was divorced from her 1st husband, George W. Bullen on Nov 1862. Pension p. 45. They married 28 May '54. He deserted her on 20 May '56 p. 72	Widow Pension p. 42	Widow pension p. 42
1870	1870 Census	36	Brookland, NY, NY	Gas Tubing Maker	Marietta (36); Mary (15); Claretta (9)		1870 Census	1870 Census
1880	1880 Census	46	209 E. 5th St., Brooklyn, NY	Tube Maker	Marietta (47)		1880 Census	1880 Census
1888	Health	54	44 Court St. Brooklyn, NY	None		Documentation when he got heart disease	Pension p. 38	Sailor pension p. 38
1890	Veteran Schedule		Windsor Terrace, Kings, New York	None			1890 Veterans Schedule	1890 Vet. Schedule
15 June 1892	Filed for Sailor pension	58	East Haven, New Haven, CT	None		Disabled for manual labor.		
16 Aug 1898	Sailor Pension	64	36 East 5th St., Windsor Terrace, Brooklyn, NY	None		Filed for Rheumatism, heart disease, general disability.		
17 April 1899	Death	65				Bronchitis and heart disease. Buried in Center Cemetery, Torrington, CT with wife, Marietta Weldon (1833-1916)	Find-a-Grave	Find a Grave

Figure 19 - A. Geddes Biography Form

It is essential to start the process by entering the " Birth " event in column B's third row. We found that without a confirming birth, death, or pension record, establishing the birth year is a compiled estimate based on several different age-related records. We started with the calculated birth year from the Rendezvous record and amended the birth year as other records were entered into the Form.

We learned to place an event in any row and move it (cut and paste) to be chronological as we placed more information. Establishing an Excel link to the main records for each Form was indispensable for record documentation.

Each Form can easily produce an excellent narrative biography for each sailor using artificial intelligence. The information in the notes must be written in a style that the software can transform into a clear biographical statement. In other words, just state the facts; do not embellish. See Exhibit G, Page 78 for an example.

Post-War Case Study

We conducted a genealogical record search on all ten African American *Juniata* crew members born in Delaware and eighteen additional Black sailors born in other states. As mentioned, finding complete biographies was scarce. This was also true with the White sailors. We then researched the availability of pension records on all 161 sailors on the *Juniata*. There were 22 pensions (14 %) by sailors on the *Juniata*. These were examined for completeness.

The review of the twenty-eight Blacks on board resulted in six Delaware-born sailors and four sailors from other states who had complete pensions in the Black Sailor group. The White Sailor group consisted of ten White sailors born in Scotland, Germany, Ireland, and the United States.

All 20 biographies were obtained from pension records, which have complete genealogical records confirming the significant variables for the year of birth, pre-war occupation, age at enlistment, enlistment location, years in service, rating, number of punishments, post-war location, post-war occupation, marriage, second marriage, number of children, in-service disability, widow pension, death year, age at death, and cause of death. See Exhibit C for the group list.

Case Study Results

This case study examined the post-war genealogical variables of ten Black and ten White veterans of the USS *Juniata*, emphasizing the post-war experiences. The following is a summary of the variables.

Age-Related Data. The average age at enlistment was almost identical for White (25.1) and Black (24.9) sailors, with ranges of 15 – 36 and 22 – 29 respectively. These ranges are the same average age of soldiers in the Union Army, which was 25.8 years of age.⁴³ The average age of the entire crew of the *Juniata* was 26.3, with a range of 15 to 48 years.

The variance in age at enlistment was significantly higher for White sailors (41.43) than for Black sailors (6.54), with a statistically significant difference ($F = 5.15$, $p = 0.036$). This indicates that White enlistees were drawn from a much wider age range, while Black enlistees were restricted to a narrower age bracket.

All Black sailors enlisted in Philadelphia, and White sailors above median age also enlisted there. The younger White sailors had entry-level ratings, whereas the older White sailors had higher ratings. This suggests that the rating difference stemmed from greater experience, resulting in a wider age range among White sailors. However, creating a subgroup of skilled and unskilled White sailors, the unskilled mean age was 23.4 years, and the skilled mean age was 29.0. Only three of the White sailors above the average age had higher-skilled pre-war jobs. This does not support a hypothesis that White sailors may have delayed enlistment due to more stable pre-war occupations.

⁴³ American Battlefield Trust, *Civil War Facts*, updated November 14, 2024, <https://www.battlefields.org>.

In contrast, Black sailors showed no in-group differences in pre-war occupations that could influence their age range; they were all unemployed or employed as laborers. Their starting age of 22 suggests prolonged unemployment as a motivation to enlist.

Pre-War/Post-War Occupation.

Almost all White enlistees reported marine or technical experience. Nearly all Black enlistees reported no experience. In the White group, only two enlistees had no reported experience. One had a Landsman rating; the other was a 1st Class Boy. In the Black group, only three had reported laborer experience, and all had a Landsman rating.

White sailors tended to maintain skilled and semi-skilled occupations post-war. Only two kept their pre-war occupation after the war. James Hayes, a New York Irish immigrant, continued as a sailmaker after the war. Alexander Geddes, a Scottish immigrant, was a plumber before and after the war. Daniel Grimes, a Boston fisherman and bootmaker, attempted his pre-war occupation as a bootmaker after the war but became a vagabond in Kansas City, MO.

Black sailors predominantly held laborer or service-related jobs both pre and post-war. However, Joseph Walker, a Wilmington-born sailor, became a barber after the war, and William Cowan, another Wilmington native after the war, became a preacher.

White and Black sailors, with few exceptions, resided in the same location after the war as they had pre-war. White immigrants, after the war, stayed in the same area where they enlisted.

Marriage and Children

Because all group members had pensions, all but one of the 20 sailors were married. Daniel Grimes, the vagabond, was the exception. Only two White sailors had more than one wife; four Black sailors had more than one wife.

The number of children showed a significant difference. The average number of children with White parents was 1.8. Black sailor families averaged 2.4 children. Two Black sailors with second marriages had no children with either, so this variance did not influence the differences. George Carpenter, the Black sailor from Wilmington, had the most children, seven.

Age and Cause of Death

Black sailors in this study lived longer than the White sailors. The average age at death of Black veterans is 61.5 years; White sailors lived to an average age of 57.6. James Hayes from Ireland and Daniel Grimes, the vagabond, lived to 68. The oldest Black veteran was John King from Montgomery County, Maryland. He lived to 85 and died of senility. John was married and had no children.

Henry Maston, a Black veteran from Dover, Delaware, lived to age 75 and died of Parkinson's Disease. William Cowan, a Black preacher who was married with three children, lived and died in North Carolina and died of pneumonia at the age of 74.

The cause of death between the two groups helps to explain the differences in age at death. Two white veterans died from accidents at ages 47 and 61. Black veterans had no accidents. Four White veterans died of heart and kidney diseases. Only one Black veteran had a kidney disease and no heart disease.

The post-war occupation differences can help explain the earlier average age of death for White veterans. White veterans worked in higher-level skill occupations, resulting in more stress and accidents. Both White veterans, William Gillam and John Conrad, worked with the railroad and died of occupational accidents. On the other hand, Black veterans were cooks, waiters, drivers, and low-skilled laborers. Black veteran Joseph Walker was a barber, and William Cowan was a preacher. Joseph and William only served their communities, an important detail when researching the impact of racial discrimination. Other Black veterans were cooks, waiters, drivers, and low-skilled laborers.

Punishments

In this report's previous punishment section, 55.6 percent of White sailors received punishments compared to 89.3 percent of Black sailors. In this post-war study, 40 percent of White veterans and 90 percent of Blacks received punishments. The White veterans in the case study received an average of 1.4 punishments, and Black veterans an average of 4.1. These are close to the averages of the entire ship (1.5 v 3.86).

Knowing their entire post-war life provides some interesting details. Daniel Grimes, a White Boston resident and Ordinary Seaman, had no punishments. He spent the majority of his life as a homeless vagabond. He never married and died at the age of 68 of alcoholism. John Quinn, the 1st Class Boy from Philadelphia, had seven punishments, three high-level. He married, had no children, and died of Kidney disease at the age of 39.

The White veterans in the study group had no high-level iron punishments. The Black veteran group had two, Joseph Price and John King. King had two. Joseph Price, a Cook from Wilmington, married and had two children. He worked in a brickyard after the war and died of a general disability at the age of 66. John King, from Maryland, also a Cook, was a laborer in Washington D.C. after the war, was married and had no children, and died of senility at the age of 85.

There is no correlation between the number and type of punishments and post-war life measures. If you had told the crew of the USS *Juniata* when they mustered out that John King, their cook with six punishments, two in irons, would outlive everyone, they wouldn't have believed it.

Other Native African-American Delaware Stories

As mentioned, finding the lifespan genealogical information of many veteran sailors was difficult. Peter Manley was one such veteran. Peter was born in Wilmington around 1843. In the 1850 census, we find him in Wilmington at seven, living with the Sam Brister, Joseph Nelson, James Brister, and Stephen Cooper family. He has no confirming parents. In 1860, he was listed as Peter Luff, living with Stephen Cooper's family, hinting that Jane Cooper may have

been his mother. Peter enlisted in the Navy in Philadelphia in June 1864 at 21. He declared no occupation, served with the USS *Juniata*, *Ottawa*, and *Paul Jones*, and was discharged in Mobile, Alabama, in June 1867. He may have returned to Wilmington, living at 721 Winsor Street, age 55 in 1900, as a boarder. There are no further confirming records.

Samuel Green was African American and lived in Philadelphia with his mother, grandmother, sister, and brother. On 14 September 1864, he was punished with double irons for disobeying orders. Samuel didn't last long in the service. He contracted phthisis pulmonalis, a form of TB in the lungs caused by exposure. He was discharged from the Naval hospital in Norfolk, VA, on 17 December 1864 and died ten days later from the disease at home with his mother. Samuel liked his Navy service but had a terrible time with his shoes. Here are excerpts from his letters home.

*Dear Mother, I like it very well so far. We have better wittals here, coffee in the morning and butter and soup and bully and spunds (25 July 1864). Dear Mother, I sent to you for 2 pair of calf skin boots No. 9 and I have been looking for them. I want them so bad that I dream about them. The shoes they got here is nothing but slippers and you know mother that I can not wear anything that is low and hard to my feet (26 October 1864). I am a cook of Mast #2. I have 14 men to feed 3 times a day. I get up at 4 o'clock and get breakfast. (14 November 1864) – Letters home, Samuel Green, African American. Age 21, USS *Juniata*⁴⁴*

Other *Juniata* veterans also had tragic endings. Isaac Hamilton was born in Wilmington. Before the war, Isaac was a farm laborer on the farm of William S. Cleaver near Middletown. His father was Perry, and his mother was Loah. He had six siblings. He enlisted in June 1864 in Philadelphia. Just a week after the first battle of Fort Fisher, he married his sweetheart, Elizabeth Write, in Fortress Monroe, Virginia. Elizabeth stayed in the area, and Isaac reenlisted and served on the USS *Lenapee*. Elizabeth became pregnant, and one month later, on May 3, 1867, Isaac drowned on duty, jumping from a wharf to a shoreboat. His son Joseph was born on December 5, 1867. Elizabeth was denied a widow's pension because she couldn't prove they were married.

George H. Carpenter, a Delaware native born in Brandywine Hundred around 1837, was one of 11 sailors injured in the First Battle of Fort Fisher. George was severely wounded in his right elbow by shattered glass from a solid shot blasting through a porthole. George was married and had two children (Sarah E. and Albert) four years before enlisting in 1864. George was married twice and had five more children with his second wife, Elizabeth Henry. he had the most children of the 20 veterans studied. George was a bricklayer in Wilmington and died of Chronic Nephritis in 1905 at the age of 68.

Daniel Allston, a Smyrna native-born veteran, was one of the only veterans who served both in the Navy and the Army. He served on the USS *Glaucus* and *Minnesota* and was a cook with Company A, 43rd USCT in Texas. Daniel enlisted with the 43rd in March of 1865 and mustered

⁴⁴ Fold3.com, US, Navy Widows' Certificates, 1861-1910, Widow pension certificate No. 1929, Image 57.

out in October of the same year in Texas. He settled in Worcester, Massachusetts, married twice, and died in 1891 at 57.

Henry Maston, a black sailor from Wilmington, Delaware, was punished seven times (two above the norm). All punishments were extra duty. After the war, he returned to Delaware and lived to age 75. He had a daughter and remarried after the death of his first wife.

Another sailor, John H. King, a black sailor from Maryland, received six punishments (one above the norm). Two were double-irons for neglect of duty. He died in Sandy Springs, Maryland, at the age of 85. He was married to his wife, Sarah, for 40 years and owned his home.

John Quinn, a first-class Boy in the Navy, was the most punished white sailor in the genealogy research group with four punishments. He ended up working in Philadelphia as a plasterer, never married, and died at the young age of 39 from kidney disease. The black sailor who was most punished with five punishments was George Zadock. George was married twice, worked as a driver in Philadelphia, had no children, and died at the age of 66 of TB.

Section Discussion

Comprehensive genealogical data on all 161 USS *Juniata* sailors was impossible. Only 14 percent of the crew had available digitized pensions that helped to provide complete genealogical information. In addition, the speculative use of aliases and lack of consistency between muster documentation of names and pre and post-war official records undermined confirmed documentation.

While the study population was small and not random, some interesting findings surfaced that challenged generalizations about African-American service and subsequent post-war life.

One of the more conspicuous findings was the fact that Black sailors had not engaged in skilled work before service and only engaged in low-skilled work post-war.⁴⁵ This is also true for White sailors. Only one sailor, James Hayes, continued post-war as a sailmaker. White sailors also returned to the same type of higher-skilled work.

For both White and Black sailors, the type of work they performed on the ship appeared to affect the number of punishments they received. This suggests that for White sailors, providing coal and firing the ship's boilers shielded them to some degree from receiving punishment. Black sailors who were cooks also received some protection.

Finally, despite being punished more, the Black sailors in the case study, who returned to their pre-enlistment homes, married, had families and filed for pension, appeared to live longer than White sailors who did the same.

⁴⁵ Discrimination certainly had an impact on these results.

Key Report Findings and Insights

This report's initial enlistment data of the 341 Black enlistees from Delaware showed that 82 percent of all Black enlistees received an entry-level rating of Landsman, and 34 percent of Black enlistees who self-described as experienced mariners only received an entry-level rating. Despite the apparent disparity, the lack of confirming self-declared occupation data in the enlistment records compelled us to examine the data differently.

Consequently, we used the Navy's skill requirements for each rating to assess the legitimacy of the 'lost' higher rating. Focusing on the Philadelphia Rendezvous Center, we tested the legitimacy by performing pre-war genealogical research on the 14 Black enlistees (seven mariner, seven mariner/other) who self-reported some mariner experience and did not receive ratings above the entry-level Landsman.

The research revealed a new point of view: the reason for the lower rating was centered more on skill level, not race, i.e., low skills—rather than the rating process itself. In addition, our extensive research into one Civil War vessel, the USS *Juniata*, allowed us to clarify the data.

Because we only had African-American enlistment records, we used the muster roll of the USS *Juniata* to provide a unique opportunity to identify variables that might explain the deeper racial relationships within that group.

When analyzing the *Juniata* rating data, we found that 79 percent of White and 66 percent of Black sailors with previous mariner experience received a higher rating—a 13 percentage point difference. In addition, the fact that 21 percent of White sailors with self-disclosed mariner experience also did not receive a higher rating above Landsman confirmed the illegitimacy of the relevancy of the initial enlistment rating variables. It was clear that discrimination was not systemic to the rating system itself. Analyzing the punishments on the USS *Juniata* did point to a primary cause of racial discrimination.

Finding and analyzing every offense and subsequent punishment on board the *Juniata* from initial muster to a first combat event showed that a Black sailor was more than twice as likely to be punished at sea and anchor. Officers punished Black sailors almost 2 ½ times more than Whites. The crew of White and Black sailors (133 vs. 28) yielded 3.86 punishments per Black sailor and 1.59 punishments per White sailor. Even the subset of Irish sailors showed an average of 1.12 punishments per sailor.

This trend continued in the subcategories of punishments. Blacks were 1.87 times more likely to receive single or double-iron punishments and 1.98 times more likely to receive high-level punishment. These specific disparities also continued over time in service.

However, looking deeper revealed that the disparity of results only remained consistent when the analysis used all Black and all White sailors. When we analyzed the data within the punished groups, hidden variables surfaced. These deeper variables show how racial disparities may have manifested on the USS *Juniata*.

Punished Black sailors (n=25) and White sailors (n=74) showed that Black sailors received an average of 4.32 punishments per sailor and White sailors an average of 2.69. Blacks still

received more punishments than White sailors. However, the severity distribution produces a different pattern. The group of punished Black sailors received 52% (13/25) of iron punishments, and Whites 43% (32/74). The distribution was statistically indistinguishable.

Also, rating and skill levels may have affected the punishment distribution. This deduction is strengthened by the fact that Blacks were punished more at sea than at port. Where Black sailors were generally 1.6 times more likely to receive punishments, they were 2.9 times more likely to receive punishments at sea. This at-sea disparity suggests that White sailors' more critical operational roles provided some insulation from punishment at sea. The Black sailor's more mundane duties might have endorsed a more biased interpretation of compliance.

The primary difference wasn't only how often Black sailors were punished. The severity distribution within punished sailors shows relative parity and that locational offenses may be associated with different duty stations and responsibilities.

These deeper variables show that within the social context of racial discrimination, the underlying rating and punishment rules showed a more unbiased administration. Black sailors received the same punishment as White sailors for the same category of behavior. The frequency disparity, however, reflects individual racial bias in officer's surveillance and infraction identification.

Notwithstanding, the overall disparity remains striking. The nearly 3x higher punishment rate for Black sailors suggests that operational rules alone cannot fully rectify the differences, and racial bias remains a significant factor.

The report's final section, post-war biographical analysis, also provides key results.

While the average age at enlistment of both groups was almost identical and similar to the average age of soldiers, the standard deviation of White sailors' age range was 6.44 compared to 2.56 for Black sailors. The enlistment process pulled White men from a much wider life-stage spectrum—teenagers to men in their forties, while Black enlistments were tightly clustered in the early twenties. This suggests that because over 50% of the White enlistees had higher skilled pre-war work and the Black enlistees had no pre-war skilled employment, the Black enlistees were more motivated to join the Navy earlier due to fewer civilian employment options.

After the war, six White veterans had skilled occupations. Only two continued their same skilled occupation after the war. The other four had skilled occupations unrelated to their Navy service. Black veterans continued after the war with unskilled occupations. Two veterans, J. Walker and W. Cowan, were a Barber and Preacher, respectively. These occupations only served the African American community.

For this study group, the war did little to convert naval skills into civilian upward mobility for both White and Black Navy veterans. These results support continued post-war employment discrimination and refusal to allow Black veterans to enter the more lucrative higher, skilled-paying jobs.

Both group's post-war genealogy documents geographic immobility, but for different reasons. Both White and Black veterans mainly settled in their pre-enlistment areas. White veterans remained in the regions that supported their trades; however, Black veterans returned to

home communities that supplied social support and capital, not industrial opportunity. It reflected distinct post-war support systems—guild/workshop networks for Whites versus church/family networks for Blacks.

Marriage for both groups was nearly universal. This observation, of course, was due to the reliance on pension files for complete genealogies. Nonetheless, Black veterans averaged 2.4 children and Whites 1.8. This implies household-building as a resilience strategy in the face of limited occupational mobility.

A post-war analysis of punishments by the 20 members of the post-war study group is interesting. The average number of White veteran punishments is 1.4. Black sailors received an average of 4.1 punishments. Six members of the White group had no punishments during the six-month service period. The Black study group had only one member, Joseph Walker, who had no punishments. George Zadock had 10 punishments. Two were high-level, but no irons punishments.

John King is the only Black veteran in the post-war study group ever to receive punishment by irons. He was a cook. The offense was neglect of duty while he was at sea. John had two other high-level punishments, both neglect of duty. John married once, had no children, and lived to the age of 85. He outlived everyone in the study group.

John Quinn, the White 1st Class Boy, had seven punishments. Three were high-level: “Not obeying taps orders,” “Insolence to Officer of Deck,” and Cursing the schoolmaster.” He married, had four children, and died at the age of 39 of kidney disease.

The key finding is that onboard disciplinary disparities did not translate into diminished lifespan or family formation; punitive data appear more reflective of racialized authority than sailor character or prospects.

We can now see in a small segment of these records that underneath blatant and extensive racial discrimination, there was an administrative system of ratings and application of discipline that manifested a fragment of fairness one could speculate Black sailors experienced during the Civil War. One could, therefore, perhaps entertain a hypothesis that Black enlistees and sailors coming from a lifelong social context of extreme systemic discrimination would view a more equally manifested administrative treatment quite positively. Perhaps this might have been what Samuel Green felt when he wrote the first words to his mother: “*Dear Mother, I like it very well so far.*”

We hope that when the main *Bluejacket Project* in the United Kingdom digitizes all the U.S. Navy records, this report will underscore the importance of micro-historical approaches that serve as a template to show the importance of deep research and genealogy in reconstructing a more fundamental historical documentation of Civil War sailors.

END OF REPORT

Exhibit A

The USS Juniata – History, Officers, Ft. Fisher

USS *Juniata* was a steam-powered sloop of the United States Navy that served honorably for over 30 years in war and peace. During the Civil War, she captured Confederate blockade runners, protected Union convoys, and played an essential role in the Battle of Fort Fisher, eliminating the South's last major port of entry for foreign supplies and munitions.

Ship Description

Juniata was laid down in June 1861 at the Philadelphia Naval Yard, launched on 20 March 1862, and christened by the daughter of the yard's commandant, Miss Angela Turner. *Juniata* was commissioned on 4 December 1862 under the command of Commander John M.B. Glitz. She was named after the Juniata River, a tributary of the Susquehanna River in central Pennsylvania. She was one of four sister ships, including *Adirondack*, *Housatonic*, and the first of her class, *Ossipee*.

Juniata's hull was designed by John Lenthall, who was responsible for constructing and repairing US Navy ships during the Civil War.⁴⁶ Her machinery was designed by Benjamin Isherwood, Engineer-in-Chief of the Navy during the Civil War and founder of the Navy's Bureau of Steam Engineering.⁴⁷ Her displacement was 1934 tons, length 235 feet, beam 38 feet, draft 16 feet 7 inches, and speed 12 knots. She was propelled by a single propeller powered by two boilers and two horizontal double-crossed back-acting steam engines. Pusey and Jones Shipbuilders, of Wilmington, Delaware connection: made the boilers and engines.⁴⁸

There are no available online drawing plans for the *USS Juniata*. However, it is known that she had three primary decks. The main deck, sometimes called the "weather deck," was the top deck. Part of this was where the guns were positioned.

Juniata's initial armament consisted of: a 100-pounder muzzle-loading "Parrott" rifle, 11-inch smoothbore Dahlgren gun, 30-pounder muzzle-loading "Parrott" rifles; 12-pounder, 24-pounder howitzers, 8-inch smoothbores; and a 2-pound howitzer.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ John Lenthall (shipbuilder), [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/JohnLenthall_\(shipbuilder\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/JohnLenthall_(shipbuilder))

⁴⁷ Benjamin F. Isherwood, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Benjamin_F._Isherwood

⁴⁸ Paul H. Silverstone, *Civil War Navies* (Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, 2001) 25-26.

⁴⁹ NavSource Online, <https://www.navsource.org/archives/09/86/86024.htm>

Officers and Crew

The *USS Juniata* had been decommissioned in port in Philadelphia for repairs during the first half of 1864. Once the repairs were complete, the Navy installed a new crew and a new captain, William Rogers Taylor.

The *USS Juniata* was privileged to have an extraordinary group of well-trained officers. Most reached flag rank and had significant post-war postings, including as superintendents of the US Naval Academy and commanders of important naval squadrons.

William Rogers Taylor, Captain and Commanding Officer of *USS Juniata* upon its Recommissioning in July 1864.

William Rogers Taylor was an experienced seaman and officer when he was appointed captain of the *USS Juniata*. He was first appointed as a U.S. Navy Midshipman in 1828, served in several sloops, and was promoted to Lieutenant in 1840. He next had coast survey duty and was an officer of the Sloop of War *Saint Mary* during the Mexican War. Beginning in 1853, he primarily served in the field of naval ordnance. He was promoted to Commander in 1855 and to Captain in July 1862. He then commanded the steam sloop *Housatonic* during the next several months. In 1863, he was Fleet Captain of the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron. Captain Taylor then commanded *Juniata* during 1864-65 and took part in the operations that led to the capture of Fort Fisher, North Carolina.

After the Civil War, Taylor was advanced to the rank of Commodore. He then had further ordnance duty and commanded the Northern Squadron of the Pacific Fleet. Taylor reached the rank of Rear Admiral in early 1871 and spent his final active-duty period as President of the Board of Examiners before being placed on the Retired List in November 1873 (Figure 20). He died on 14 April 1889 at the age of 77.



Figure 20: Rear Admiral Frederick V. McNair

Frederick Valette McNair, Lieutenant and Executive Officer

Frederick McNair had the distinction of serving on *Juniata* twice, from October 1862 until February 1863 and then upon its recommissioning in July 1864.

McNair was appointed midshipman on 21 December 1853 and graduated from the US Naval Academy in 1857. During the Civil War, he served on the Mississippi Patrol and participated in the capture of New Orleans. After being promoted to lieutenant commander on 20 April 1864, he was assigned as executive officer of the *Juniata*. He was promoted to rear admiral in July 1898 and served as superintendent of the Naval Observatory from June 28, 1890, to November 21, 1894. McNair was commander of the Asiatic Squadron from 1895 to 1897, turning command over to Commodore George Dewey immediately before the start of the Spanish-American War. He then became superintendent of the Naval Academy from 1898 to 1900. He died on 28 November 1900 at age 61.

David Wemple, Lieutenant

David Duane Wemple was born on 21 June 1843 and grew up in Emerald Grove, Wisconsin. He was admitted to the Naval Academy in 1858 at age 15, was promoted to ensign in 1862, and lieutenant on 22 February 1864.

Wemple was killed on 24 December 1864 when the *Juniata*'s 100-pound Parrott Rifle he was standing behind burst at the breech during the 1st battle for Fort Fisher, North Carolina. He was initially buried in Beaufort, North Carolina. He was later reinterred in his hometown of Emerald Grove.

James H. Sands, Ensign

James H. Sands was the son of Rear Admiral Benjamin F. Sands. Sands graduated from the Naval Academy in 1863. During the Civil War, he served on several ships, including *Juniata*. Some of that time, his father commanded the blockading fleet of which *Juniata* was part. During the two attacks on Fort Fisher, he was cited for gallantry in action and twice recommended for promotion.

After the war, he served at the Naval Observatory and the Hydrographic Office, and he was at sea in the Asiatic Squadron and on several other ships. In 1901, he became a retirement board member and assumed its presidency in 1902. Commissioned rear admiral the same year, he served as commandant of the Philadelphia Navy Yard, commanded the Coast Squadron, and then became the superintendent of the Naval Academy. Sands died on 26 October 1911, at age 66, and is buried at Arlington National Cemetery.

Charles McGregor, Ensign

Charles McGregor was born in Ohio. He entered the Navy as acting midshipman on 21 September 1860; became ensign on 28 May 1863; master on 10 November 1865; lieutenant on 25 July 1866; lieutenant commander on 12 March 1868; and commander on 5 June 1878.

He died on 1 Aug 1891 at age 49 and is buried in Cincinnati, Ohio

Charles H. Hamilton, Acting Master

Charles H. Hamilton joined the Navy on 17 September 1861. Besides Acting Master of *Juniata*, he had also been acting master steamer *Harriet Lane*.

Civil War Operations

After fitting out in Philadelphia, *Juniata* was temporarily assigned to the North Atlantic Blockading Squadron. She was stationed in Norfolk, Virginia, to correct issues with her machinery. She departed on 26 April 1863 for her permanent duty station in the West Indies. On April 30, *Juniata* captured *Harvest*, a schooner with a cotton cargo bound for Nassau, Bahamas. She then officially joined the West Indies Squadron on 5 May. She captured the English steamer *Victor* about 8 miles off Morro Castle, Cuba, on 28 May. On 13 June, *Juniata* seized schooner *Fashion* with her critically needed cargo of chemicals bound for Mobile, Alabama, from Havana. The next day, she captured English schooner *Elizabeth* out of Digby, Nova Scotia, and then *Don Jose* on 2 July. In all these cases, a prize crew from *Juniata* was placed onboard the captured ship to take her to a nearby port, generally Key West, Florida. The seized ship's company was brought back to *Juniata* as prisoners.⁵⁰

Juniata continued to escort California-bound merchant ships to protect them from Confederate raiders until 24 November, when she headed to New York. She arrived there on 2 December 1863.

Juniata spent the first half of 1864 under repair in the Philadelphia Navy Yard. In July, she took on a new crew and officers, including Captain William Taylor. She left Philadelphia on 12 August to intercept the Confederate cruiser CSS *Tallahassee* and reported off Sandy Hook, New Jersey. After an unsuccessful search, *Juniata* left the area and sailed to join the North Atlantic Blockading Squadron in Hampton Roads, Virginia. She operated there until early December.

Battle of Fort Fisher

By the latter half of 1864, the Union naval strategy of blockading and capturing the South's ports had largely succeeded, slowly strangling the Confederacy by preventing trade, supplies, and munitions from abroad. However, Wilmington, North Carolina, remained a Confederate stronghold. Wilmington's primary fortification was Fort Fisher on the Cape Fear River. It was made predominantly out of soil mounds and sand, and its unique design allowed it to absorb cannon blasts more effectively than traditional brick and mortar.

Union naval, army, and marine forces attacked Fort Fisher on 23 December 1864. Despite the 37-ship Union fleet, including five ironclads, firing more than 20,000 shells over two days, the damage to the fort was minimal, and the amphibious troop landing failed. By December 27, the force withdrew to Beaufort, North Carolina, to refit and resupply.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Log of USS *Juniata*: 12/4/1862-12/3/1863, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/183323888>

⁵¹ James M. McPherson, *War on the Waters* (University of North Carolina Press, 2012) 213-219

Juniata had been a crucial participant in this bombardment. Unfortunately, at 2:40 PM, 24 December, the 100-pounder “Parrot” gun blew up. (Figure 21) Such an explosion was not an unusual occurrence. In fact, “With the exception of a boiler explosion on board the *Mackinaw* by a shell, the casualties [for the Navy] were entirely from the bursting of 100-pounder Parrott rifled guns, and they were serious. These occurred on board the *Ticonderoga*, eight killed and 11 wounded; *Yantic*, two killed and three wounded; *Juniata*, five killed and eight wounded; *Mackinaw*, one killed and one wounded; and *Quaker City*.⁵²”

Among those killed on *Juniata* was Lieutenant David Semple. He was buried the next day in Beaufort, North Carolina, but his body was later moved to Emerald Grove Cemetery, Rock County, Wisconsin.

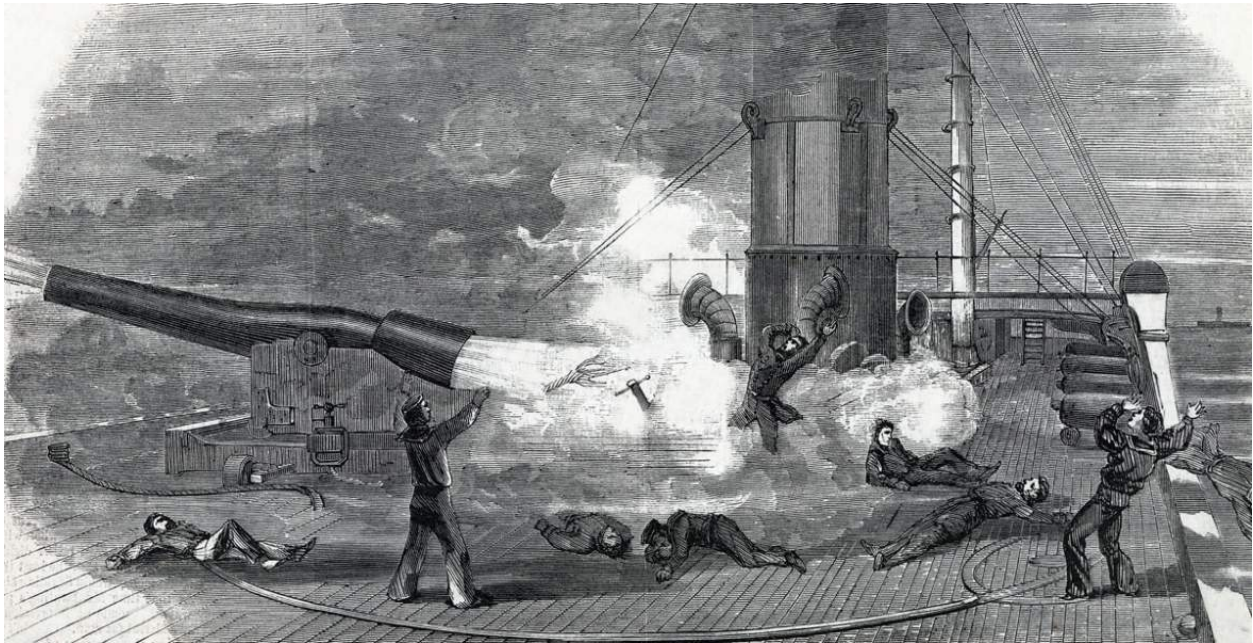


Figure 21: Bursting of the 100-pound Parrott Gun aboard the USS *Juniata*
Harper's Weekly Magazine, January 21, 1864, p. 37; <https://hd.housedivided.dickinson.edu/node/43505>

The second attempt to overcome Fort Fisher was successful. During this battle between 13 and 15 January 1865, a new Army commander, Major General Alfred Terry, joined Rear Admiral David D. Porter. More troops and ships were employed (nearly 10,000 troops and 58 ships), and the naval and amphibious attacks were better coordinated. Admiral Porter's ships were arrayed in four battle lines: five ironclads were located about ½ mile offshore, and the

⁵² Daniel Ammen, *The Navy in the Civil War, Volume 2: The Atlantic Coast* (Scribner's & Sons, NY, 1883) pages 222, 228, 233, 259, 267; downloaded from Cornell University, <https://archive.org/details/cu31924092908635>

wooden vessels were nominally arrayed in ¼ mile increments from the ironclads. *Juniata*, now under the command of Lt. Commander Thomas S. Phelps, was in the second line with 11 other ships led by *Minnesota*. She fired 238 shells from her two 30-pounders and 765 shells from her six 8-inchers (the exploded Parrott gun had not yet been replaced).

She also used her boats to assist in landing troops and directly participating in the land battle. For example, on January 15, under the command of Acting Master Hamilton, Ensign McGregor, and Acting Master Mates Warnick and Prescott, she landed eight men and 22 marines, all armed. Three men were killed in the assault and buried onshore, and six others were wounded, including Acting Master Hamilton. Onboard, “the ship was struck by a shot carrying away three shrouds of the main rigging, one main topsail backstay, one main pendant tackle fall, and another, striking the chase of the 100 pdr (sic) and carrying away three smoke-stack guys”.⁵³ These shots wounded three men.

The bloody but ultimately successful capture of Fort Fisher required the largest amphibious operation of the Civil War and effectively ended the Confederacy’s ability to be resupplied.

Juniata was transferred to the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron on 18 January 1865. Under the command of Commander John J. Almy, she supported the 12 February landings of troops in Bull’s Bay, South Carolina, sixteen miles northeast of Charleston, South Carolina. Among other duties, *Juniata* sent two boats with an armed crew under the command of Ensign McGregor and Master Mate Prescott to join the fleet going into Bull’s Bay. The landings at Bull’s Bay, together with General William Sherman’s drive north from Savannah, Georgia, directly led to the Confederate evacuation of Charleston. This was a victory with great symbolic significance since the war had begun there with the shelling of Fort Sumter.

Juniata was under repair at Port Royal, South Carolina, for the rest of the war. *Juniata*’s post-war service involved a series of decommissionings, re-commissionings, and cruises around the world, sometimes in the presence of leadership that would go on to future greatness. One noteworthy captain was George Dewey, who assumed command of the *Juniata* in 1882. Dewey took the *Juniata* on a worldwide journey through the Mediterranean and the Suez Canal to India, the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia), Singapore, and Hong Kong, among other locations. The *Juniata* returned to New York on December 10, 1885. Later, Dewey became the Battle of Manila Bay hero during the Spanish-American War. *Juniata*’s final decommissioning was on 18 February 1889. On 25 March 1891, she was sold for \$15,890 (equivalent to \$539,000 in 2024 dollars) to Herbert H. Ives at the Portsmouth, New Hampshire Navy Yard.

END OF EXHIBIT A

⁵³ Log of USS *Juniata*: 7/16/1864-5/31/1865, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/183324094>

Exhibit B

List of Delaware-Born African-American Civil War Sailors

First Name	Middle Initial	Last Name
John	Q	Adams
Benjamin		Allen
John		Allen
John	T	Alligood
Daniel		Allston
Kinnard		Allston
Anthony		Alston
Moses		America
Allen	A	Anderson
Dennis		Anderson
Jacob		Anderson
Joseph	P	Anderson
William	T	Archer
William		Ayers
Nero		Baccus
John		Backus
Henry		Bailey
Joseph	R	Barcley
John	H	Barkley
Daniel		Barr
John	W	Barr
James		Bateman
Frank		Battle
William	T	Bayard
John		Beckett
Caleb		Benson
Caleb		Benson
Robert		Benson
Benjamin		Biddle
Thomas		Biddle
Peter		Blackston
William		Blackston
Henry		Blackstone
Peter		Blake
Samuel	G	Blake
Stephen	P	Boardley
William	H	Bolden
Benjamin		Borman
George	H	Bowser

First Name	Middle Initial	Last Name
Joseph	T	Bowser
Emmanuel		Boyer
Robb		Brackley
Robert	H	Brinkley
Thomas		Brinkley
Robert		Briser
Charles		Brown
Charles	H	Brown
George		Brown
Henry		Brown
Henry	P	Brown
John	H	Brown
Joseph		Brown
Robert		Brown
Thomas		Brown
Thomas	H	Brown
George		Burrows
Milford		Burton
John		Butler
John	H	Butler
Francis		Caldwell
William		Callaham
Joshua		Campbell
George	H	Carpenter
Joseph		Carpenter
William	H	Caulk
Jacob	J	Chambers
John	W	Collins
John	H	Conner
William		Conner
Charles	E	Counsello
Charles	H	Counsello
Thomas		Craig
John	H	Cummins
Robert	B	Curry
William	P	Curry
John		Davis
Risdon		Davis
Robert	B	Davis

First Name	Middle Initial	Last Name
William		Davis
Benjamin		Deaton
John		Demby
Henry		Derby
Nathan		Derias
James	H	Derrickson
John		Dingle
Benjamin		Dixon
Henry		Dixon
Charles		Dolly
George		Dompson
Wesley		Dorrall
John		Eliason
William		Ellis
Henry		Evans
James		Evens
Charles	H	Ferguson
Barrett		Fisher
Robert	G	Fitzgerald
Stephen		Floyd
Henry		Fordner
Samuel		Foster
Risdon		Fulmer
Abraham		George
Washington		Gibbons
Jonas		Gibson
Joseph	W	Gibson
Peter		Gould
Edward		Graves
Caleb		Gray
James	H	Gray
James	H	Grey
Edward		Guy
Abraham		Guyer
Isaac		Hamilton
James		Hamilton
John		Hamilton
Thomas		Harden
James		Harington

Delaware Civil War Bluejackets: Race, Punishment, and Post-War Lives

First Name	Middle Initial	Last Name
James		Harlow
Matthew		Harman
Theodore		Harris
William	H	Harris
Edgar	E	Haselet
Isaac		Hawes
Frank		Hawkins
Thomas	H	Hawkins
John		Hayes
William		Hector
James		Henry
Joseph	H	Henson
Joshua		Hill
Edward		Hogan
Dennis		Holland
Benjamin		Holt
Simeon		Hood
Thomas		Hopkins
Robert	T	Horsey
George		Hovington
James		Hovington
John		Hudson
Sheppard		Hudson
James		Hughes
Cornelius		Humphreys
Shadrack		Hutchinson
George		Hyatt
Alexander		Jackson
George		Jackson
Samuel	E	Jackson
Enoch		Jefferson
John		Johns
George	W	Johnson
Henry	C	Johnson
Matthew		Johnson
William	W	Johnson
Joseph		Jones
John		Kelly
George		Kennard

First Name	Middle Initial	Last Name
Peter		Kinton
James		Lambern
Wallace		Laws
Stephen		Lewis
Thomas		Lilly
Jacob		Little
James	A	Livingston
John		Lockman
Wilson		Lockman
James		Loffley
William		Lombard
John		Long
Nathaniel	J W	Long
Henry		Lopeman
Henry		Loper
Thomas		Lord
George		Love
James		Loves
Benjamin		Lucker
George		Luff
George		Mandluff
Ellesley		Manluiff
Peter		Manly
Thomas		Mansfield
James		Martin
Isaiah		Mason
Thomas	H	Mason
Joseph	W	Massey
Henry		Maston
James		Maston
George	W	Mattison
Jesse		McKee
William		McKnight
Jacob		Mellis
William		Mellis
David		Miller
George		Miller
George	W	Miller
James		Miller

First Name	Middle Initial	Last Name
Levis		Miller
Benjamin		Millis
Richard		Millis
Kennard		Moore
James	T	Morgan
James	S	Morgan
James	Henry	Morgan
John		Morris
Simon		Morris
James		Morton
Joshua		Moseley
John		Mottley
Isaac		Munson
Elihu		Murray
John		Murray
Thomas		Nicholson
John		Nilson
James		Nutter
Samuel		Painter
Jacob		Parker
Theodore		Parker
William	J	Parker
Garry		Paxton
Samuel		Paynter
William	T	Pepper
Levi	V	Pernell
Samuel	J	Perregan
Charles	P	Pitts
James	K	Polk
Silas		Polk
John		Poulston
William		Prettyman
George	A	Price
James	H	Price
John		Price
Joseph		Price
John	L	Purnell
Richard		Purnell
Peter		Puttiman

Delaware Civil War Bluejackets: Race, Punishment, and Post-War Lives

First Name	Middle Initial	Last Name
Henry		Reece
Joshua		Richards
George		Richardson
George	W	Rickards
George	W	Riggs
Joseph		Roberts
Cato	S	Robinson
Edward		Robinson
J.	B	Robinson
James	B	Robinson
Adam		Rodney
James		Rodney
John		Rooney
Benjamin		Ross
George	H	Ross
John	H	Ross
Elzy		Russ
George		Ryan
Alfred		Saben
Edward		Sanders
George		Sanders
John		Sanders
Charles		Saunders
Edward	J	Scott
George		Scott
William	Henry	Scott
Joseph	F	Seals
James		Serman
Robert		Shankland
William	M	Sharper
William		Sharper
William	H	Shockley
Leonard		Short
Frank		Sidbury
John	W	Simmonds
James		Simms
David		Simonds
William	P	Simpson
George		Smith

First Name	Middle Initial	Last Name
Luke		Smith
Matthew		Smith
Samuel	A	Smith
Samuel		Smith
Samuel	S	Smith
William	H	Smith
Isaac	H	Sockum
Asbury		Sterling
Aaron		Stokely
Charles		Stokely
Ezekiel	H	Stokle
Jameson		Tann
Adam		Taylor
James	H	Taylor
Simon		Taylor
William	A	Taylor
Lewis		Tennant
Matthew		Thatcher
John		Thomas
Richard	H B	Thomas
Daniel	H	Thompson
John		Thompson
Joshua		Thompson
Solomon		Thompson
William		Thompson
William		Thompson
Charles		Tillman
John		Tillman
George		Todd
Joseph		Todd
Peter		Todd
Peter		Todd
James		Trusty
Anthony		Tucker
Benjamin		Tucker
Henry		Turner
John		Vanbeck
John	H	Venable
Jacob		Vessels

First Name	Middle Initial	Last Name
Joseph		Walker
John		Walthal
Jacob	B	Ward
George		Warner
John		Wesley
Waymus		Whaybanks
Alexander		Whitaker
George	W	Whitaker
John		White
William	L	Whitecho
John	W	Whitely
John		Whittaker
Stewart	W	Whittico
John		William
Henry		Williams
Jacob		Williams
Jesse		Williams
Thomas		Williams
Edward		Wilson
John		Wilson
John		Wilson
Presley		Woodward
William		Woolford
James		Worrey
Emory		Wright
John		Wright
Richard		Wright
Anthony		Young

Exhibit C

Master Form - Twenty Biographies by Group

Name	Race: DE AA, AA, White	Yr. Born	Birth location	Pre-War Occupation	Age at Enlistment	Enlistment Location	Yrs in Service	Rating	# Punishments	Post-War location	Post-War Occupation	Married Y/N	Other marriages	No. Children	In- Service Y/N	Widow Pension Y/N	Death Year	Age at Death	Cause of Death
Hayes, James	W	1836	Ireland	Sailmaker	25	New York	10	Seaman	2	New York City	Sail Maker	Y	N	5	No	Yes	1904	68	TB
Himmond, George	W	1834	Maine	Farm Laborer	27	Philadelphia	3	Ordinary Seaman	1	New Hampshire	Shoe Worker	Y	N	1	No	Yes	1873	38	Unknown
Grimes, Daniel	W	1838	Boston, Mass.	Fisherman/ Boat maker	23	Boston, MA	7	Ordinary Seaman	0	Kansas City, MO	Sheepherd/ Vagabond	N	N	0	Yes	No	1906	68	Alcoholism
Gillam, William	W	1828	Philadelphia, PA	Mariner	36	Philadelphia	1	Coal Hauler	0	Camden, NJ	Railroad laborer	Y	Y	1	No	Yes	1889	61	RR Accident
Goddie, Alexander	W	1836	Aberdeen Scotland	Plumber	26	Philadelphia	3	1st Class Fireman	0	Philadelphia, PA	Plumber	Y	N	0	No	Yes	1896	60	Kidney Disease
Burke, Michael J	W	1845	Tipperary, Ireland	None	19	Philadelphia	3	Landman	2	Bronx, New York City	Painter, Machinist	Y	N	5	Yes	No	1909	64	Heart Disease
Tucker, Samuel R	W	1834	Nova Scotia, Canada	Factory Worker	30	New York	3	1st Class Fireman	0	CT & NYC	Gas tube maker	Y	Y	0	Yes	Yes	1899	65	Heart Disease
Corrad, John	W	1844	Germany	Paper Carrier	20	Philadelphia	3	Coal Hauler	0	Philadelphia, PA	RR Conductor	Y	N	2	No	Yes	1889	47	Weapon Accident
Burdick, George	W	1833	Philadelphia, PA	Fireman	31	Philadelphia	3	2nd Class Fireman	0	Philadelphia, PA	Shoe Maker	Y	N	0	Yes	No	1903	66	Unknown
Quinn, John	W	1850	Philadelphia, PA	None	14	Philadelphia	3	1st Class Boy	4	Philadelphia, PA	Plaster/Laborer	Y	N	4	No	Yes	1889	39	Kidney Disease
Average		1838			25.1				0.9					1.8			1886	57.6	
Standard Deviation		6.6			6.4				1.4					2.1			11	11.7	
Name	Race: DE AA, AA, White	Yr. Born	Birth location	Pre-War Occupation	Age at Enlistment	Enlistment Location	Yrs in Service	Rating	# Punishments	Post-War location	Post-War Occupation	Married Y/N	Other marriages	No. Children	In- Service Y/N	Widow Pension Y/N	Death Year	Age at Death	Cause of Death
Walter, Joseph	DE AA	1839	Wilmington, DE	None	25	Philadelphia	3	Landman	0	Wilmington, DE	Barber	Y	N	2	No	No	1874	35	Unknown
Price, James	DE AA	1838	Wilmington, DE	None	25	Philadelphia	3	Landman/Cook	0	Wilmington, DE	Brick Yard	Y	N	2	Yes	No	1905	66	Gen Disability
Mills, Benjamin	DE AA	1835	Wilmington, DE	Laborer	29	Philadelphia	3	Stearge Cook	0	Wilmington, DE	Brick Yard	Y	N	6	No	Yes	1884	49	Brain Tumor
Mason, Henry	DE AA	1839	Dover, DE	Laborer	25	Philadelphia	3	Landman	3	Philadelphia, PA	Cook	Y	Y	4	Yes	No	1914	75	Parotiditis
Carpenter, Joseph	DE AA	1843	Wilmington, DE	None	21	Philadelphia	3	Landman	3	Wilmington, DE	Laborer	Y	N	0	No	No	1872	29	TB
Carpenter, George	DE AA	1837	Brandywine, DE	Laborer	27	Philadelphia	3	Landman	1	Wilmington, DE	Waiter/Laborer	Y	Y	7	Yes	Yes	1915	68	Kidney Disease
Cowan, William	AA	1840	Wilmington, NC	None	24	Philadelphia	3	Landman	1	North Carolina	Preacher	Y	N	3	Yes	No	1914	74	Pneumonia
Peters, William	AA	1836	Philadelphia, PA	None	28	Philadelphia	3	Stearge Cook	0	Camden, NJ	Laborer	Y	Y	0	Yes	No	1898	68	Unknown
King, John	AA	1841	Montgomery Co, MD	None	23	Philadelphia	3	Cook	4	Washington, DC/MD	Laborer	Y	N	0	Yes	No	1926	85	Senility
George, Zedock	AA	1842	Accomac Co, VA	None	22	Philadelphia	3	Landman	5	Philadelphia, PA	Driver/Laborer	Y	Y	0	Yes	No	1908	66	TB
Average		1839			24.9				1.7					2.4			1900	61.5	
Standard Deviation		2.6			2.6				1.9					2.6			18	18.0	

Exhibit D

List of Punishments on the USS Juniata

The following is a list of punishments onboard the USS Juniata from 22 July 1864, just after the vessel left Philadelphia with a newly assigned crew, and 31 December 1864 at the end of the Battle of Fort Fisher, North Carolina. The list contains 307 punishments in chronological order.

African American sailors' names native to the Philadelphia area are in blue; native Delaware African American sailors are in red. The Offense column is the verbatim punishment from the ship's log. The Level column indicates high, medium, or low levels of punishment. The Anchor/Sea column designates the ship's location when the offense occurred.

Date	Name	Race	Punishment	Offense	Level	Day of Week	Location	Anchor/Sea
22-Jul-64	Clark, George	W	Sentry charge	Insubordination	H	Friday	Anchor off Wilmington, DE	A
23-Jul-64	Lindsay, Edward	W	Double irons	Desertion	H	Saturday	In Delaware Bay & at Sea	A
29-Jul-64	Knight, John	W	Double irons	Desertion	H	Friday	At Anchor Hampton Roads	A
29-Jul-64	Rutherford, Thomas	W	Double irons	Desertion	H	Friday	At Anchor Hampton Roads	A
30-Jul-64	Cowan, William	B	Sentry charge	Improper Conduct	M	Saturday	At Anchor Hampton Roads	A
30-Jul-64	Mack, Benjamin	B	Sentry charge	Improper Conduct	M	Saturday	At Anchor Hampton Roads	A
31-Jul-64	McCarthy, Daniel	W	Extra Duty	Fighting	H	Sunday	At Anchor Hampton Roads	A
4-Aug-64	Farroll, John	W	Extra Duty	Missing Muster	M	Thursday	At Anchor Hampton Roads	A
4-Aug-64	Green, Samuel	B	Extra Duty	Missing Muster	M	Thursday	At Anchor Hampton Roads	A
4-Aug-64	Johnson, James H 2	B	Extra Duty	Disobeying Captain	H	Thursday	At Anchor Hampton Roads	A
4-Aug-64	McGreer, Hugh	W	Extra Duty	Missing Muster	M	Thursday	At Anchor Hampton Roads	A
4-Aug-64	Smith, Samuel	B	Extra Duty	Missing Muster	M	Thursday	At Anchor Hampton Roads	A
4-Aug-64	Thomas, John	W	Extra Duty	Missing Muster	M	Thursday	At Anchor Hampton Roads	A
5-Aug-64	George, Zaddock	B	Extra Duty	Missing Muster	M	Friday	At Anchor Hampton Roads	A
7-Aug-64	Clark, George	W	Double irons	Interfering with sentry	H	Sunday	At Anchor Hampton Roads	A
7-Aug-64	Hayes, James	W	Sentry charge	Insolence to gunner	H	Sunday	At Anchor Hampton Roads	A
7-Aug-64	Lindsay, Edward	W	Double irons	Interfering with sentry	H	Sunday	At Anchor Hampton Roads	A
11-Aug-64	Brockman, Christian	W	Extra Duty	Missing Muster	M	Thursday	At Anchor Hampton Roads	A
11-Aug-64	Davis, Richard	W	Double irons	Cussing at sentry	H	Thursday	At Anchor Hampton Roads	A
12-Aug-64	Hubbard, William R	W	Extra Duty	Missing Muster	M	Friday	At Anchor Hampton Roads	A

Delaware Civil War Bluejackets: Race, Punishment, and Post-War Lives

13-Aug-64	Pastorius, William	W	Double irons	Provoking discontent	H	Saturday	At Sea	S
14-Aug-64	Crouch, Samuel	W	Extra Duty	Missing Muster	M	Sunday	At Sea	S
14-Aug-64	Franklin, William	W	Extra Duty	Missing Muster	M	Sunday	At Sea	S
14-Aug-64	Gardner, Augustus	W	Extra Duty	Missing Muster	M	Sunday	At Sea	S
14-Aug-64	George, Zaddock	B	Extra Duty	Missing Muster	M	Sunday	At Sea	S
14-Aug-64	Hutchinson, Lewis	W	Extra Duty	Missing Muster	M	Sunday	At Sea	S
14-Aug-64	Martin, Charles	B	Extra Duty	Missing Muster	M	Sunday	At Sea	S
14-Aug-64	McCarthy, Daniel	W	Extra Duty	Missing Muster	M	Sunday	At Sea	S
14-Aug-64	Thompson, William	W	Extra Duty	Missing Muster	M	Sunday	At Sea	S
16-Aug-64	Carpenter, Joshua (Jos)	B	Extra Duty	Missing Muster	M	Tuesday	At Sea	S
16-Aug-64	Christain, Jurian	W	Extra Duty	Missing Muster	M	Tuesday	At Sea	S
16-Aug-64	Farroll, John	W	Extra Duty	Missing Muster	M	Tuesday	At Sea	S
16-Aug-64	Fitzsimmons, Thomas	W	Extra Duty	Missing Muster	M	Tuesday	At Sea	S
16-Aug-64	Gardner, Augustus	W	Extra Duty	Not going aft promptly	L	Tuesday	At Sea	S
16-Aug-64	Gater, Charles	W	Extra Duty	Missing Muster	M	Tuesday	At Sea	S
16-Aug-64	George, Zaddock	B	Extra Duty	Not going aft promptly	L	Tuesday	At Sea	S
14-Aug-64	Hutchinson, Lewis	W	Extra Duty	Missing Muster	M	Sunday	At Sea	S
14-Aug-64	Martin, Charles	B	Extra Duty	Missing Muster	M	Sunday	At Sea	S
14-Aug-64	McCarthy, Daniel	W	Extra Duty	Missing Muster	M	Sunday	At Sea	S
14-Aug-64	Thompson, William	W	Extra Duty	Missing Muster	M	Sunday	At Sea	S
16-Aug-64	Carpenter, Joshua (Jos)	B	Extra Duty	Missing Muster	M	Tuesday	At Sea	S
16-Aug-64	Christain, Jurian	W	Extra Duty	Missing Muster	M	Tuesday	At Sea	S
16-Aug-64	Farroll, John	W	Extra Duty	Missing Muster	M	Tuesday	At Sea	S
16-Aug-64	Fitzsimmons, Thomas	W	Extra Duty	Missing Muster	M	Tuesday	At Sea	S
16-Aug-64	Gardner, Augustus	W	Extra Duty	Not going aft promptly	L	Tuesday	At Sea	S
16-Aug-64	Gater, Charles	W	Extra Duty	Missing Muster	M	Tuesday	At Sea	S
16-Aug-64	George, Zaddock	B	Extra Duty	Not going aft promptly	L	Tuesday	At Sea	S
16-Aug-64	Greazano, Peter	W	Extra Duty	Missing Muster	M	Tuesday	At Sea	S
16-Aug-64	Hubbard, William R	W	Extra Duty	Missing Muster	M	Tuesday	At Sea	S
16-Aug-64	Johnson, James H 2	B	Extra Duty	Neglect of duty	M	Tuesday	At Sea	S
16-Aug-64	Knight, John	W	Extra Duty	Missing Muster	M	Tuesday	At Sea	S
16-Aug-64	Long, Jacob	W	Extra Duty	Missing Muster	M	Tuesday	At Sea	S
16-Aug-64	Manley, Peter	B	Extra Duty	Not going aft promptly	L	Tuesday	At Sea	S
16-Aug-64	Meyers, Anton	W	Extra Duty	Missing Muster	M	Tuesday	At Sea	S

Delaware Civil War Bluejackets: Race, Punishment, and Post-War Lives

16-Aug-64	Parker, Alfred	W	Extra Duty	Asleep on watch	H	Tuesday	At Sea	S
16-Aug-64	Quinn, John	W	Extra Duty	Leaving bucket - overboard	L	Tuesday	At Sea	S
16-Aug-64	Riley, William	B	Extra Duty	Not going aft promptly	L	Tuesday	At Sea	S
16-Aug-64	Rutherford, Thomas	W	Extra Duty	Missing Muster	M	Tuesday	At Sea	S
16-Aug-64	Smith, Joseph	W	Extra Duty	Missing Muster	M	Tuesday	At Sea	S
16-Aug-64	Whalen, James	W	Extra Duty	Missing Muster	M	Tuesday	At Sea	S
16-Aug-64	Williams, Stephen	B	Extra Duty	Not working when called	L	Tuesday	At Sea	S
22-Aug-64	Anderson, John	B	Double irons	Using naked light in storeroom	H	Monday	Anchor off Craney Island, VA	A
22-Aug-64	Lavey, Patrick	W	Extra Duty	Neglecting hammock	L	Monday	Anchor off Craney Island, VA	A
22-Aug-64	Long, John	B	Extra Duty	Upsetting ink in steerage	L	Monday	Anchor off Craney Island, VA	A
22-Aug-64	Jackey Robert E	W	Single irons	Insolence to gunner	H	Monday	Anchor off Craney Island, VA	A
27-Aug-64	Williams, Raymond	B	Sentry charge	Neglect of duty	M	Saturday	Anchor off Craney Island, VA	A
28-Aug-64	Long, John	B	Single irons	Neglect of duty	H	Sunday	Anchor off Craney Island, VA	A
28-Aug-64	Longberry William	W	Single irons	Neglect of duty	H	Sunday	Anchor off Craney Island, VA	A
29-Aug-64	Lindsay, Edward	W	Single irons	Throwing hammock on deck	H	Monday	Anchor off Craney Island, VA	A
29-Aug-64	Longue, William	W	Double irons	Insolence to B.M. & Dis. Orders	H	Monday	Anchor off Craney Island, VA	A
31-Aug-64	Beckett, Joseph	W	Extra Duty	Late with hammock	L	Wednesday	At Sea	S
31-Aug-64	Christain, Jurian	W	Extra Duty	Having clothes in tacky bag	L	Wednesday	At Sea	S
31-Aug-64	Dennels, James D	W	Extra Duty	Having clothes in tacky bag	L	Wednesday	At Sea	S
31-Aug-64	Ennis, Thomas	W	Extra Duty	Having clothes in tacky bag	L	Wednesday	At Sea	S
31-Aug-64	Fitzsimmons, Thomas	W	Single irons	Going below before relieved	H	Wednesday	At Sea	S
31-Aug-64	Gater, Charles	W	Extra Duty	Late with hammock	L	Wednesday	At Sea	S
31-Aug-64	George, Zaddock	B	Extra Duty	Having clothes in tacky bag	L	Wednesday	At Sea	S
31-Aug-64	Green, Samuel	B	Extra Duty	Having clothes in tacky bag	L	Wednesday	At Sea	S
31-Aug-64	Greenwood, Steadman	W	Extra Duty	Having clothes in tacky bag	L	Wednesday	At Sea	S
31-Aug-64	Hamilton, Isaac (John)	B	Extra Duty	Improperly dressed	M	Wednesday	At Sea	S
31-Aug-64	Johnson, James	W	Extra Duty	Late with hammock	L	Wednesday	At Sea	S
31-Aug-64	Johnson, James H 2	B	Single irons	Going below before relieved	H	Wednesday	At Sea	S
31-Aug-64	King, John H	B	Extra Duty	Having clothes in tacky bag	L	Wednesday	At Sea	S
31-Aug-64	Long, Jacob	W	Double irons	Disobeying orders	H	Wednesday	At Sea	S
31-Aug-64	Longberry William	W	Extra Duty	Disobeying orders	H	Wednesday	At Sea	S
31-Aug-64	Maguire, Thomas	W	Double irons	Neglect of duty	H	Wednesday	At Sea	S
31-Aug-64	Manley, Peter	B	Extra Duty	Having clothes in tacky bag	L	Wednesday	At Sea	S
31-Aug-64	Maston, Henry	B	Extra Duty	Late with hammock	L	Wednesday	At Sea	S
31-Aug-64	Miller, Agustus	W	Extra Duty	Having clothes in tacky bag	L	Wednesday	At Sea	S
31-Aug-64	Price, Joseph	B	Single irons	Going below before relieved	H	Wednesday	At Sea	S
31-Aug-64	Quinn, John	W	Extra Duty	Late with hammock	L	Wednesday	At Sea	S

Delaware Civil War Bluejackets: Race, Punishment, and Post-War Lives

31-Aug-64	Riley, John	W	Extra Duty	Late with hammock	L	Wednesday	At Sea	S
31-Aug-64	Riley, William	B	Extra Duty	Improper Conduct	M	Wednesday	At Sea	S
31-Aug-64	Savage, William F	W	Extra Duty	Disobeying orders	H	Wednesday	At Sea	S
31-Aug-64	Smith, Joseph	W	Extra Duty	Late with hammock	L	Wednesday	At Sea	S
31-Aug-64	Smith, William II	W	Extra Duty	Having clothes in tacky bag	L	Wednesday	At Sea	S
31-Aug-64	Storms, Charles B	W	Extra Duty	Having clothes in tacky bag	L	Wednesday	At Sea	S
31-Aug-64	Thomasson, John	W	Extra Duty	Having clothes in tacky bag	L	Wednesday	At Sea	S
31-Aug-64	Whalen, James	W	Extra Duty	Not sleeping in Hammock	L	Wednesday	At Sea	S
2-Sep-64	King, John H	B	Double irons	Neglect of duty	H	Friday	At Sea	S
3-Sep-64	Daley, Timothy	W	Double irons	Neglect of duty - Insolence	H	Saturday	At Sea	S
3-Sep-64	Oldham, John C	B	Double irons	Neglect of duty	H	Saturday	At Sea	S
3-Sep-64	Pinhiro, Solomon	W	Double irons	Insolence to Officer	H	Saturday	At Sea	S
4-Sep-64	Riley, William	B	Double irons	Neglect of duty - disobedience	H	Sunday	At Sea	S
6-Sep-64	Carpenter, Joshua (Jos)	B	Extra Duty	Improper Conduct	M	Tuesday	At Sea	S
6-Sep-64	Johnson, James H 2	B	Extra Duty	Improper Conduct	M	Tuesday	At Anchor off Craney Island	A
6-Sep-64	Lindsay, Edward	W	Extra Duty	Improper Conduct	M	Tuesday	At Anchor off Craney Island	A
6-Sep-64	Maston, Henry	B	Extra Duty	Improper Conduct	M	Tuesday	At Anchor off Craney Island	A
6-Sep-64	Meyers, Anton	W	Extra Duty	Missing Muster & Laziness	L	Tuesday	At Anchor off Craney Island	A
6-Sep-64	Pilkington, Matthew	W	Extra Duty	Neglect of duty	M	Tuesday	At Anchor off Craney Island	A
8-Sep-64	Dennels, James D	W	Sentry charge	Disobeying orders	H	Thursday	At Anchor off Craney Island	A
8-Sep-64	Miller, Augustus	W	Double irons	Profanity on Deck	H	Thursday	At Anchor off Craney Island	A
8-Sep-64	Thompson, William	W	Extra Duty	Standing on a gun	L	Thursday	At Anchor off Craney Island	A
8-Sep-64	Weldon, Walter	W	Extra Duty	Leaving quarters w/out Perm.	L	Thursday	At Anchor off Craney Island	A
9-Sep-64	Parker, Alfred	W	Double irons	Disobeying orders & Contempt	H	Friday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
10-Sep-64	Carpenter, Joshua (Jos)	B	Extra Duty	Missing muster	M	Saturday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
10-Sep-64	Farley, Thomas	W	Extra Duty	Leaving deck w/out relief	M	Saturday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
10-Sep-64	Gardner, Augustus	W	Extra Duty	Missing muster	M	Saturday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
10-Sep-64	George, Zaddock	B	Sentry charge	Neglect of duty	H	Saturday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
10-Sep-64	Hutchinson, Lewis	W	Extra Duty	Missing muster	M	Saturday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
10-Sep-64	Johnson, James H 1	B	Sentry charge	Neglect of duty	H	Saturday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
10-Sep-64	Johnson, James H 2	B	Extra Duty	Missing muster	M	Saturday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
10-Sep-64	King, John H	B	Sentry charge	Neglect of duty	H	Saturday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
10-Sep-64	Mack, Benjamin	B	Sentry charge	Neglect of duty	H	Saturday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
10-Sep-64	Mahoney, Thomas	W	Extra Duty	Missing muster	M	Saturday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
10-Sep-64	Pinhiro, Solomon	W	Extra Duty	Missing muster	M	Saturday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
10-Sep-64	Riley, William	B	Extra Duty	Missing muster	M	Saturday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
10-Sep-64	Smith 1, William	B	Extra Duty	Missing muster	M	Saturday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A

Delaware Civil War Bluejackets: Race, Punishment, and Post-War Lives

11-Sep-64	Lindsay, Edward	W	Sol. confinement-bread wat.	Interfering with prisoners	H	Sunday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
13-Sep-64	Knight, John	W	Extra Duty	Missing muster	M	Tuesday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
13-Sep-64	McCann, John	W	Extra Duty	Missing muster	M	Tuesday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
13-Sep-64	McGreer, Hugh	W	Extra Duty	Missing muster	M	Tuesday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
14-Sep-64	Green, Samuel	B	Extra Duty	Disobedience	H	Wednesday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
14-Sep-64	Hammond, George	W	Extra Duty	Went below without relief	M	Wednesday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
14-Sep-64	Kearns, Thomas	W	Extra Duty	Disobedience	H	Wednesday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
14-Sep-64	King, John H	B	Double irons	Neglect of duty	H	Wednesday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
14-Sep-64	Morris, Thomas	W	Extra Duty	Not cleaning brightwork	L	Wednesday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
14-Sep-64	Nicholas, George	W	Extra Duty	Not obeying Capt taps orders	H	Wednesday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
14-Sep-64	Quinn, John	W	Extra Duty	Not obeying Capt taps orders	H	Wednesday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
14-Sep-64	Rolf, Rudolf	W	Extra Duty	Went below without relief	M	Wednesday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
14-Sep-64	Sprague, Benjamin	W	Extra Duty	Missing muster & going below w/our off	H	Wednesday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
14-Sep-64	Storms, Charles B	W	Extra Duty	Not cleaning brightwork	L	Wednesday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
14-Sep-64	Wilson, James	W	Sentry charge	Endangering safety of ship	H	Wednesday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
15-Sep-64	York, Edward W	W	Sol. confinement-bread wat.	Disobeying orders	H	Thursday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
17-Sep-64	Butler, Michael J	W	Extra Duty	Not cleaning brightwork	L	Saturday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
17-Sep-64	Coles, William L	W	Extra Duty	Missing muster	M	Saturday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
17-Sep-64	Johnson, James H 2	B	Double irons	Attempting to strike officer	H	Saturday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
17-Sep-64	Pilkington, Matthew	W	Extra Duty	Missing muster	M	Saturday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
17-Sep-64	Stewart, James H	W	Double irons	Gross Profanity	H	Saturday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
19-Sep-64	Parker, Alfred	W	Double irons	Disobeying orders	H	Monday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
20-Sep-64	Hayes, James	W	Sentry charge	Aided desertion	H	Tuesday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
20-Sep-64	Rutherford, Thomas	W	Double irons	Abetting theft	H	Tuesday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
20-Sep-64	Smith, William II	W	Extra Duty	Missing muster	M	Tuesday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
21-Sep-64	Carpenter, George H	B	Extra Duty	Leaving quarters w/out Perm.	L	Wednesday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
21-Sep-64	Smith 1, William	B	Double irons	Concealing stolen money	H	Wednesday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
21-Sep-64	Wilson, Thomas	W	Sentry charge	Aided desertion	H	Tuesday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
21-Sep-64	Wilson, Thomas	W	Double irons	Aided desertion	H	Wednesday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
22-Sep-64	Christain, Jurian	W	Extra Duty	Missing muster	M	Thursday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
22-Sep-64	Maston, Henry	B	Extra Duty	Not cleaning brightwork	L	Thursday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
23-Sep-64	Stewart, James H	W	Sol. confinement-bread wat.	Disrespect/Disobeying orders	H	Friday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
24-Sep-64	McCann, John	W	Extra Duty	Missing muster	M	Saturday	At Sea	S
28-Sep-64	Dennels, James D	W	Extra Duty	Not cleaning brightwork	L	Wednesday	At Sea	S
28-Sep-64	Rolf, Rudolf	W	Extra Duty	Not cleaning brightwork	L	Wednesday	At Sea	S
29-Sep-64	Condon, Patrick	W	Extra Duty	Missing muster	M	Thursday	At Sea	S
29-Sep-64	Green, Samuel	B	Double irons	Disobeying orders	H	Thursday	At Sea	S

Delaware Civil War Bluejackets: Race, Punishment, and Post-War Lives

29-Sep-64	Johnson, James H 1	B	Extra Duty	Skulking ('hiding')	M	Thursday	At Sea	S
29-Sep-64	McCarthy, Daniel	W	Extra Duty	Neglect of dress	M	Thursday	At Sea	S
29-Sep-64	Miller, Agustus	W	Sol. confinement-bread wat.	Insulting Capt. of taps	H	Thursday	At Sea	S
29-Sep-64	Pinhiro, Solomon	W	Extra Duty	Neglect of dress	M	Thursday	At Sea	S
29-Sep-64	Quinn, John	W	Extra Duty	Inattention at drill	L	Thursday	At Sea	S
29-Sep-64	Smith, Joseph	W	Extra Duty	Neglect of dress	M	Thursday	At Sea	S
29-Sep-64	Storms, Charles B	W	Extra Duty	Inattention at drill	L	Thursday	At Sea	S
29-Sep-64	Weldon, Walter	W	Extra Duty	Neglect of dress	M	Thursday	At Sea	S
29-Sep-64	Williams, Stephen	B	Extra Duty	Not cleaning brightwork	L	Thursday	At Sea	S
30-Sep-64	Butler, Michael J	W	Extra Duty	Neglect of dress	M	Friday	At Sea	S
30-Sep-64	Longue, William	W	Extra Duty	Neglect of dress	M	Friday	At Sea	S
1-Oct-64	Carpenter, Joshua (Jos)	B	Extra Duty	Breaking ship's rules	M	Saturday	At Sea	S
1-Oct-64	Coles, William L	W	Extra Duty	Breaking ship's rules	M	Saturday	At Sea	S
1-Oct-64	Millis, Benjamin	B	Extra Duty	Breaking ship's rules	M	Saturday	At Sea	S
1-Oct-64	Pilkington, Mathew	W	Extra Duty	Breaking ship's rules	M	Saturday	At Sea	S
1-Oct-64	Riley, William	B	Extra Duty	Breaking ship's rules	M	Saturday	At Sea	S
3-Oct-64	Gardner, Augustus	W	Extra Duty	Breaking ship's rules	M	Monday	At Sea	S
3-Oct-64	Gater, Charles	W	Double Irons	Fighting	H	Monday	At Sea	S
3-Oct-64	King, John H	B	Extra Duty	Breaking ship's rules	M	Monday	At Sea	S
3-Oct-64	Mahoney, Thomas	W	Solitary Confinement	Leaving Station	H	Monday	At Sea	S
3-Oct-64	Manley, Peter	B	Extra Duty	Breaking ship's rules	M	Monday	At Sea	S
3-Oct-64	Maston, Henry	B	Extra Duty	Breaking ship's rules	M	Monday	At Sea	S
3-Oct-64	Peters, William F	B	Extra Duty	Breaking ship's rules	M	Monday	At Sea	S
3-Oct-64	Smith, Joseph	W	Double irons	Fighting	H	Monday	At Sea	S
5-Oct-64	Lindsay, Edward	W	Extra Duty	Various reasons	M	Wednesday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
5-Oct-64	Pinhiro, Solomon	W	Extra Duty	Various reasons	M	Wednesday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
5-Oct-64	Riley, William	B	Extra Duty	Various reasons	M	Wednesday	At Anchor at Hampton Roads	A
7-Oct-64	Hammond, George	W	Extra Duty	Various reasons	M	Friday	At Anchor off Craney Island	A
7-Oct-64	Manley, Peter	B	Extra Duty	Various reasons	M	Friday	At Anchor off Craney Island	A
7-Oct-64	Smith, Samuel	B	Extra Duty	Various reasons	M	Friday	At Anchor off Craney Island	A
11-Oct-64	McGraw , Hugh	W	Extra Duty	Various reasons	M	Tuesday	At Anchor off Craney Island	A
11-Oct-64	Oldham, John C	B	Extra Duty	Various reasons	M	Tuesday	At Anchor off Craney Island	A
11-Oct-64	Quinn, John	W	Sentry charge	Dirty hammock	L	Tuesday	At Anchor off Craney Island	A
11-Oct-64	Riley, William	B	Sentry charge	Dirty hammock	L	Tuesday	At Anchor off Craney Island	A
11-Oct-64	Storms, Charles B	W	Sentry charge	Dirty hammock	L	Tuesday	At Anchor off Craney Island	A
11-Oct-64	Storms, Charles B	W	Extra Duty	Various reasons	M	Tuesday	At Anchor off Craney Island	A
12-Oct-64	Manley, Peter	B	Sol. confinement-bread wat.	Cursing sentry	H	Wednesday	At Anchor off Craney Island	A

Delaware Civil War Bluejackets: Race, Punishment, and Post-War Lives

15-Oct-64	Parker, Alfred	W	Double Irons	Imprudence at mast	H	Saturday	Norfolk Navy Yard, VA	A
15-Oct-64	Ryan, William	W	Demoted to Seaman	Fighting	H	Saturday	Norfolk Navy Yard, VA	A
16-Oct-64	Davis, Richard	W	Sol. confinement-bread wat.	Extreme insolence to officer	H	Sunday	Norfolk Navy Yard, VA	A
17-Oct-64	Williams, Raymond	B	Sentry charge	Disobedience	H	Monday	Norfolk Navy Yard, VA	A
18-Oct-64	Cowan, William	B	Sentry charge	Gross insolence	H	Tuesday	Norfolk Navy Yard, VA	A
18-Oct-64	George, Zaddock	B	Sentry charge	Outrageous Destruction of Public Property	H	Tuesday	Norfolk Navy Yard, VA	A
18-Oct-64	Kelly, Charles	W	Reduction in rank	Leaving ship without permission	H	Tuesday	Norfolk Navy Yard, VA	A
18-Oct-64	White, Talbot M	W	Reduction in rank	Leaving ship without permission	H	Tuesday	Norfolk Navy Yard, VA	A
29-Oct-64	Pinhiro, Solomon	W	Double Irons	Disobedience	H	Saturday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
30-Oct-64	Williams, Raymond	B	Extra Duty	Missing muster; lying of officer	H	Sunday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
1-Nov-64	Parker, Alfred	W	Extra Duty	Breaking ship's Rules	M	Tuesday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
1-Nov-64	Sprague, Benjamin	W	Extra Duty	Breaking ship's Rules	M	Tuesday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
1-Nov-64	Williams, George	W	Extra Duty	Breaking ship's Rules	M	Tuesday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
2-Nov-64	Williams, Stephen	B	Double Irons	Outrageous abuse of Ship's Boy	H	Wednesday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
5-Nov-64	Carpenter, Joshua (Jos)	B	Extra Duty	Not obeying standby hammock	L	Saturday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
5-Nov-64	Dennels, James D	W	Sentry Duty	Carelessness	M	Saturday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
5-Nov-64	Dennels, James D	W	Extra Duty	Breaking ship's Rules	M	Saturday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
5-Nov-64	Vosburgh, Lewis P	W	Double Irons	Mutinous conduct	H	Saturday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
7-Nov-64	Rutherford, Thomas	W	Double Irons	Insolence toward Captain/disobedience	H	Monday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
8-Nov-64	Miller, Agustus	W	Double Irons	Insulting language to officer	H	Tuesday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
12-Nov-64	Carpenter, Joshua (Jos)	B	Sentry's Charge	Disobedience of orders	H	Saturday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
12-Nov-64	Long, Jacob	W	Double Irons	Gross neglect of duty	H	Saturday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
12-Nov-64	Sprague, Benjamin	W	Double Irons	Gross neglect of duty	H	Saturday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
13-Nov-64	Gater, Charles	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Sunday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
13-Nov-64	George, Zaddock	B	Sentry's Charge	Neglect of Duty	M	Sunday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
13-Nov-64	Johnson, James H 1	B	Sentry's Charge	Neglect of Duty	M	Sunday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
13-Nov-64	Kelly, Charles	W	Sentry's Charge	Neglect of Duty	M	Sunday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
13-Nov-64	Knight, John	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Sunday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
13-Nov-64	Maston, Henry	B	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Sunday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
13-Nov-64	McCann, John	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Sunday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
13-Nov-64	Meyers, Anton	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Sunday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
13-Nov-64	Riley, William	B	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Sunday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
13-Nov-64	Ryan, William	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Sunday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
13-Nov-64	Smith, Samuel	B	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Sunday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
13-Nov-64	Thomas, John	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Sunday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
18-Nov-64	Lindsey, Edward	W	Extra Duty	Breaking ship's Rules	M	Friday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
18-Nov-64	Storms, Charles B	W	Solitary Confinement	Disrespect to Officer of Deck	H	Friday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A

Delaware Civil War Bluejackets: Race, Punishment, and Post-War Lives

19-Nov-64	Cowan, William	B	Extra Duty	Neglect of Duty	M	Saturday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
19-Nov-64	George, Zaddock	B	Extra Duty	Neglect of Duty	M	Saturday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
19-Nov-64	Johnson, James H 1	B	Extra Duty	Neglect of Duty	M	Saturday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
19-Nov-64	Mack, Benjamin	B	Extra Duty	Neglect of Duty	M	Saturday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
21-Nov-64	Riley, William	B	Double Irons	Failure to report desertion of sailors	H	Monday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
24-Nov-64	Sprague, Benjamin	W	Double Irons	Fighting	H	Thanksgiving Day	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
25-Nov-64	Condon, Patrick	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Friday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
25-Nov-64	Crouch, Samuel	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Friday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
25-Nov-64	Doyle, Michael	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Friday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
25-Nov-64	Farroll, John	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Friday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
25-Nov-64	Gater, Charles	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Friday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
25-Nov-64	Hamilton, Isaac (John)	B	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Friday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
25-Nov-64	Pinhiro, Solomon	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Friday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
25-Nov-64	Smith 1, William	B	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Friday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
25-Nov-64	Williams, Raymond	B	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Friday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
25-Nov-64	York, Edward W	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Friday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
27-Nov-64	Quinn, John	W	Solitary Confinement	Insolence to Officer of Deck	H	Sunday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
27-Nov-64	Ryan, William	W	Double Irons/disrated	Attempting theft	H	Sunday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
29-Nov-64	Christain, Jurian	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Tuesday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
29-Nov-64	Long, Jacob	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Tuesday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
29-Nov-64	Longue, William	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Tuesday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
29-Nov-64	Maston, Henry	B	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Tuesday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
29-Nov-64	McNeil, Peter	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Tuesday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
29-Nov-64	Muller, William	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Tuesday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
29-Nov-64	Parker, Alfred	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Tuesday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
29-Nov-64	Riley, William	B	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Tuesday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
30-Nov-64	Gater, Charles	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Wednesday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
30-Nov-64	Lindsey, Edward	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Wednesday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
30-Nov-64	Martin, Charles	B	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Wednesday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
30-Nov-64	Miller, Agustus	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Wednesday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
30-Nov-64	Whalen, James	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Wednesday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
30-Nov-64	Wilson, Robert	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Wednesday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
2-Dec-64	Carpenter, George H	B	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Friday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
2-Dec-64	Carpenter, Joshua (Jos)	B	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Friday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
2-Dec-64	Christain, Jurian	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Friday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
2-Dec-64	Condon, Patrick	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Friday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
2-Dec-64	Dennels, James D	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Friday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A

Delaware Civil War Bluejackets: Race, Punishment, and Post-War Lives

2-Dec-64	Fitzsimmons, Thomas	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Friday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
2-Dec-64	George, Zaddock	B	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Friday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
2-Dec-64	King, John H	B	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Friday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
2-Dec-64	Long, Jacob	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Friday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
2-Dec-64	Long, John	B	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Friday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
2-Dec-64	Longberry, William	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Friday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
2-Dec-64	Longue, William	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Friday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
2-Dec-64	Mack, Benjamin	B	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Friday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
2-Dec-64	Manley, Peter	B	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Friday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
2-Dec-64	Martin, Charles	B	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Friday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
2-Dec-64	Millis, Benjamin	B	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Friday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
2-Dec-64	Price, James H	B	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Friday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
2-Dec-64	Price, Joseph	B	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Friday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
2-Dec-64	Riley, William	B	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Friday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
2-Dec-64	Saunders, Edward	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Friday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
2-Dec-64	Storms, Charles B	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Friday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
2-Dec-64	Thomasson, John	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Friday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
2-Dec-64	Thompson, William	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Friday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
2-Dec-64	Vosburgh, Lewis P	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Friday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
2-Dec-64	Whalen, James	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Friday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
2-Dec-64	Williams, Raymond	B	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Friday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
3-Dec-64	Hayes, James	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Saturday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
3-Dec-64	McCarthy, Daniel	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Saturday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
4-Dec-64	Maston, Henry	B	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Sunday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
4-Dec-64	Parker, Alfred	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Sunday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
5-Dec-64	Riley, William	B	Extra Duty	Breaking ship's Rules	M	Monday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
6-Dec-64	Dennels, James D	W	Extra Duty	Breaking ship's Rules	M	Tuesday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
8-Dec-64	Kearns, Thomas	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Thursday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
8-Dec-64	Quinn, John	W	Solitary Confinement	Cursing the Schoolmaster	H	Thursday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
8-Dec-64	Storms, Charles B	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Thursday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
9-Dec-64	Gater, Charles	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Friday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
9-Dec-64	Nicholas, George	W	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Saturday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
9-Dec-64	Smith 1, William	B	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Sunday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
9-Dec-64	Williams, Raymond	B	Extra Duty	"Various Offenses"	M	Monday	Anchor - Hampton Roads	A
21-Dec-64	George, Zaddock	B	Extra Duty	Quarelling	M	Wednesday	At Sea	S

Delaware Civil War Bluejackets: Race, Punishment, and Post-War Lives

21-Dec-64	Lindsey, Edward	W	Extra Duty	Quarelling	M	Wednesday	At Sea since 14 Dec '64	S
22-Dec-64	Carpenter, George H	B	Extra Duty	Skulking ('hiding')	M	Thursday	At Sea	S
22-Dec-64	Coles, William L	W	Extra Duty	Skulking ('hiding')	M	Thursday	At Sea	S
22-Dec-64	Maston, Henry	B	Extra Duty	Skulking ('hiding')	M	Thursday	At Sea	S
22-Dec-64	Pinhiro, Solomon	W	Extra Duty	Skulking ('hiding')	M	Thursday	At Sea	S
22-Dec-64	Riley, William	B	Extra Duty	Skulking ('hiding')	M	Thursday	At Sea	S
31-Dec-64	Ferroll , John	W	Sol. confinement-bread wat.	Leaving station on Lookout	H	Saturday	At Anchor Beaufort, NC	A

END OF PUNISHMENT LIST

Exhibit E

Crew List – USS Juniata

This is the crew list of the USS Juniata. Officers are described in Exhibit A. The total crew lists 161 sailors as of 16 July 1864.

The link to the record: <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/134426140?objectPage=11>

Race	Last Name	MI	First Name	Rating	Date of Enlistment	Where Enlisted	Term	Received Vesse	Born	Residence State	Age	Occupation
White	Abos		Theodore	Landsman	1864-05-26	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	New Brunswick, NJ	New York	30	Farmer
White	Allen		John	1st Class Fireman	1864-06-21	New York	3	Princeton R,S	New York	New York	27	Brickmaker
Black	Anderson		John	Landsman/Frw. Off. Steward	1863-12-03	Philadelphia	1	Princeton R,S	New York	New York	27	Not Reported
White	Beckett		Joseph	2nd Class Fireman	1864-07-06	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Camden, NJ	Pennsylvania	23	Not Reported
White	Bellford	M	James	2nd Class Fireman	1864-07-06	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Louisiana	Pennsylvania	21	Fireman
White	Blaney	O.B	Charles	Ordinary Seaman	1864-06-29	Philadelphia	2.5	Princeton R,S	Westfield, Mass.	Massachusetts	24	Sailor
White	Bonsill		Alfred	2nd Class Fireman	1862-08-06	Philadelphia	3	New Ironsides	Philadelphia PA	Pennsylvania	22	Jeweller
White	Brockman		Christian	Seaman	1854-06-10	New York	3	Princeton R,S	Denmark	Denmark	20	Mariner
White	Brown		William	1st Class Fireman	1864-07-11	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Ireland	Pennsylvania	31	Fireman
White	Brudley		George	2nd Class Fireman	1864-07-07	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Philadelphia PA	Pennsylvania	31	Fireman
White	Burns		William	1st Class Fireman	1864-07-08	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Rhode Island	Pennsylvania	28	Fireman
White	Butler	J	Michael	Landsman	1864-07-6	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Ireland	Pennsylvania	21	Not Reported
Black	Carpenter		Joshua (Joseph)	Landsman	1864-06-29	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Wilmington, DE	Pennsylvania	21	Not Reported
Black	Carpenter	H	George	Landsman	1864-06-29	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Brandywine Hd, DE	Pennsylvania	27	Not Reported
White	Cassin	L	Charles	Sur Steward	1864-06-24	Appointment	N/A	Appointment	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	18	Druggist
White	Cheatle	L	Richard	Landsman/Ward Room Steward	1864-05-18	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	England	Pennsylvania	21	Plasterer
White	Christain		Jurian	Seaman	1864-07-06	New York	3	Princeton R,S	Germany	Pennsylvania	23	Mariner
White	Clark		George	Landsman/Nurse	1864-05-31	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	England	Pennsylvania	37	Mariner
White	Clifford		John	Landsman	1864-07-06	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Philadelphia PA	Pennsylvania	22	Miner
White	Clinton		Thomas	1st Class Fireman	1864-06-20	New York	3	Princeton R,S	Ireland	Not Reported	25	Not Reported
White	Coles	L	William	Ordinary Seaman	1864-06-29	Philadelphia	2.1	Princeton R,S	Southbridge Mass.	Massachusetts	29	Teamster
White	Condon		Patrick	Landsman	1863-12-28	Philadelphia	1	Princeton R,S	Ireland	Ireland	20	Not Reported
White	Connors		David	Landsman/Cabin Cook	1864-06-07	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Philadelphia PA	Pennsylvania	40	Cook
White	Conrad	F	John	Coal Hauler	1864-07-12	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Bavaria	Pennsylvania	21	Not Reported
White	Cook		John	Landsman	1864-05-28	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Brooklyn NY	Pennsylvania	34	Mariner
Black	Cowan		William	Landsman	1864-07-07	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	New Boston	Pennsylvania	21	Not Reported
White	Crouch		Samuel	Seaman	1864-07-07	New York	3	Princeton R,S	England	Pennsylvania	22	Mariner

Delaware Civil War Bluejackets: Race, Punishment, and Post-War Lives

White	Daley		Timothy	1st Class Fireman	1864-06-16	New York	3	Princeton R,S	Ireland	Not Reported	30	Not Reported
White	Davis		Richard	Seaman	1864-07-06	New York	3	Princeton R,S	Nova Scotia	Not Reported	38	Mariner
White	Day		Daniel	M. at Arms	1864-07-15	Appointment	N/A	Appointment	Albany, NY	New York	40	Mariner
White	Dennels	D	James	1st Class Boy	1864-06-04	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Mauch-Chunk, PA	Not Reported	19	None
White	Dougherty		John	1st Class Fireman	1864-06-18	New York	3	Princeton R,S	Ireland	Not Reported	24	Not Reported
White	Doyle		Michael	Landsman	1864-06-27	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Ireland	Pennsylvania	21	Not Reported
White	Duckham		William	Seaman	1864-07-12	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	England	Pennsylvania	48	Mariner
White	Ennis		Thomas	Landsman	1864-06-28	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Philadelphia PA	Pennsylvania	20	Mariner
White	Falkner	H	William	Coal Hauler	1864-07-12	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Philadelphia PA	Pennsylvania	21	Painter
White	Farley		Thomas	1st Class Boy	1864-04-29	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Ireland	Pennsylvania	16-1/2	Not Reported
White	Farrey	D	Joseph	Landsman	1864-07-05	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Philadelphia PA	Not Reported	21	Boat Maker
White	Farroll		John	Ordinary Seaman	1864-06-29	Philadelphia	2.6	Princeton R,S	Ireland	Not Reported	21	Shoemaker
White	Fitzsimmons		Thomas	Landsman	1864-07-28	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Ireland	Pennsylvania	28	Not Reported
White	Fox		William	Seaman	1864-06-14	New York	3	Princeton R,S	England	Not Reported	21	Mariner
White	Franklin		William	Seaman	1864-07-12	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Philadelphia PA	Pennsylvania	45	Mariner
White	Fremont	H	Charles	Seaman	1861-12-09	New York	3	Princeton R,S	Bavaria	Not Reported	26	Sail Maker
White	Gardner		Augustus	Ordinary Seaman	1864-06-29	Philadelphia	2.3	Princeton R,S	Charlestown MA	Massachusetts	21	Sailor
White	Gater		Charles	Seaman	1864-06-13	New York	3	Princeton R,S	Bremen	Not Reported	22	Not Reported
White	Geddes		Alex	1st Class Fireman	1862-08-18	Baltimore	3	New Ironsides	Scotland	No Record	28	Plumber
Black	George		Zaddock	Landsman	1864-05-24	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Virginia	Pennsylvania	22	No Record
White	Gillam		William	Coal Hauler	1864-07-12	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Philadelphia PA	Pennsylvania	35	Mariner
White	Goodrich	H	James	Seaman	1864-06-09	New York	3	Princeton R,S	New York NY	New York	43	Not Reported
White	Greaves	H	Simeon	1st Class Fireman	1863-12-17	Philadelphia	1	Princeton R,S	Salisbury VT	Vermont	39	Fireman
White	Greazano(?)		Peter	Seaman	1864-07-05	New York	3	Princeton R,S	Greece	Not Reported	35	Mariner
Black	Green		Samuel	Landsman/Mast 2 Cook	1864-06-24	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Philadelphia	Pennsylvania	21	Laborer
White	Greenwood		Steadman	1st Class Fireman	1864-06-10	New York	1	Princeton R,S	England	Ohio	35	Machinist
White	Grimes		Daniel	Ordinary Seaman	1864-06-23	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Boston MA	Pennsylvania	26	Sailor
Black	Hamilton		Isaac (John)	Landsman	1864-07-06	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Delaware	New Jersey	22	Basket Maker
White	Hammell		Charles	2nd Class Fireman	1864-07-11	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Camden NJ	Pennsylvania	21	Fireman
White	Hammond		George	Ordinary Seaman	1864-06-29	Philadelphia	2.0	Princeton R,S	North Hampton NH	No Record	29	Farmer
White	Harrell	M	Charles	Seaman	1864-06-14	New York	3	Princeton R,S	New York	Brookhaven, NY	46	Mariner
White	Hawkins		John	Landsman	1864-07-02	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Ireland	Pennsylvania	23	Machinist
White	Hayes		James	Seaman	1864-06-13	New York	3	Princeton R,S	Canada	No Record	30	Sailmaker
White	Haynes		Thomas	2nd Class Fireman	1864-07-12	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Ireland	Pennsylvania	23	No Record
White	Hopkinson	N	William	Ordinary Seaman	1864-06-29	Philadelphia	2.4	Princeton R,S	Newburyport MA	Massachusetts	27	Shoemaker

Delaware Civil War Bluejackets: Race, Punishment, and Post-War Lives

White	Hubbard	R	William	Ordinary Seaman	1864-06-29	Philadelphia	2.5	Princeton R,S	Troy NY	New York	21	Machinist
White	Hutchinson		Lewis	Ordinary Seaman	1864-06-23	Philadelphia	2.4	Princeton R,S	Clark Co. MI	No Record	31	Mariner
White	Irwin		William	Ordinary Seaman	1864-07-05	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Philadelphia PA	Pennsylvania	23	Mariner
White	Johnson		James	Seaman	1864-06-13	New Jersey	3	Princeton R,S	Sweden	No Record	40	Sailmaker
White	Johnson		Andrew	Seaman	1864-06-09	No Record	3	Princeton R,S	Ireland	No Record	25	Mariner
Black	Johnson 1st	H	James	Landsman	1864-06-23	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Baltimore MD	Berlington, NJ	20	Barber
Black	Johnson 2nd	H	James	Landsman	1864-06-23	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Hudson, NY	Burlington, NJ	22	Butcher
White	Kearns		Thomas	1st Class Boy	1864-04-18	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Tipperary, Ireland	Pennsylvania	16-1/2	No Record
White	Kelly		Charles	Ordinary Seaman	1864-05-26	Philadelphia	2.8	Princeton R,S	Philadelphia PA	No Record	20	Steward
White	Kennedy		Daniel	Seaman	1864-06-13	New York	3	Princeton R,S	Ireland	No Record	23	Sailor
Black	King	H	John	Landsman/Ward Room Cook	1864-06-26	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Washington DC	Burlington, NJ	23	No Record
White	Knight		John	Seaman	1864-06-14	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	England	No Record	21	Mariner
White	Lavey(?)		Patrick	1st Class Fireman	1864-06-13	New York	3	Princeton R,S	Ireland	No Record	25	Fireman
White	Liman		George	Landsman	1864-07-07	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Ireland	Pennsylvania	23	Plasterer
White	Lindsay		Edward	Landsman	1864-07-06	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Brussels	Pennsylvania	22	Painter
Black	Long		John	Landsman/Storage Stewar	1864-12-09	Philadelphia	1	Princeton R,S	Delaware	No Record	22	Cook
White	Long		Jacob	Ordinary Seaman	1864-05-20	Philadelphia	2.8	Princeton R,S	Germany	No Record	21	Mariner
White	Longsberry		William	Landsman	1864-06-27	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Philadelphia PA	Pennsylvania	21	No Record
White	Longue		William	Landsman	1864-05-18	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Ireland	Pennsylvania	22	Blacksmith
White	Loughian(?)		William	Seaman	1864-06-13	New York	3	Princeton R,S	Sweden	No Record	33	Mariner
Black	Mack		Benjamin	Landsman	1864-07-06	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Wilmington NC	Burlington, NJ	21	None
White	Maguire		Thomas	Ordinary Seaman	1864-06-29	Philadelphia	2.2	Princeton R,S	Boston MA	Massachusetts	27	Laborer
White	Mahoney		Thomas	Ordinary Seaman	1864-06-29	Philadelphia	2.3	Princeton R,S	Ireland	No Record	21	Sailor
Black	Manley		Peter	Landsman	1864-06-30	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Wilmington DE	Pennsylvania	21	No Record
Black	Martin		Charles	Landsman	1863-12-14	Philadelphia	1	Princeton R,S	Middlebush, NJ	New York	26	No Record
Black	Maston		Henry	Landsman	1864-06-23	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Delaware	Burlington, NJ	23	Waiter
White	McCann		John	Landsman	1864-07-18	Chicago	3	Princeton R, S	Baltimore	Not Recorded	22	Clerk
White	McCarthy		Daniel	Seaman	1864-06-13	New York	3	Princeton R, S	Ireland	Not Recorded	33	Cook
White	McCourt		David	1st Class Fireman	1864-06-21	New York	3	Princeton R, S	Ireland	Not Recorded	28	Not Recorded
White	McDevitt		Daniel	1st Class Fireman	1864-07-11	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R, S	Ireland	Pennsylvania	22	Not Recorded
White	McGear		Hugh	Seaman	1864-07-09	New York	3	Princeton R,S	Ireland	No Record	24	No Record
White	McNeil		Peter	Seaman	1864-06-13	New York	3	Princeton R, S	Scotland	Not Recorded	28	Cook
White	Meyers		Anton	Seaman	1864-06-08	New York	3	Princeton R,S	Germany	No Record	26	No Record
White	Miller		Augustas	Landsman	1864-06-28	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R,S	Saratoga NY	Pennsylvania	27	No Record
White	Miller		Thomas	Seaman	1864-06-09	New York	3	Princeton R,S	England	No Record	28	Blacksmith

Delaware Civil War Bluejackets: Race, Punishment, and Post-War Lives

Black	Millis		Benjamin	Landsman/Steerage Cook	1864-06-29	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R, S	Wilmington, Delaware	Pennsylvania	29	Not Recorded
White	Moran		Francis	Seaman	1864-07-09	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R, S	Ireland	Pennsylvania	24	Mariner
White	Morris		Thomas	2nd Class Boy	1864-07-12	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R, S	Philadelphia PA	No Record	28	Moulder
White	Muir		Robert	Seaman	1864-06-10	New York	3	Princeton R, S	Scotland	No Record	28	No Record
White	Muller		William	Ordinary Seaman	1864-06-22	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R, S	Ireland	Pennsylvania	21	Mariner
White	Neat		John	Seaman	1864-06-13	New York	3	Princeton R, S	Scotland	Not Recorded	30	Not Recorded
White	Nicholas		George	Seaman	1864-07-10	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R, S	Italy	Not Recorded	34	Mariner
Black	Oldham	C	John	Landsman	1864-05-20	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R, S	Virginia	Pennsylvania	22	Boatman
White	Parker		Alfred	Ordinary Seaman	1864-06-23	Philadelphia	2.75	Princeton R, S	Halifax, N Scotia	Not Recorded	30	Carpenter
White	Pastorius ?		William	1st Class Fireman	1862-07-23	Washington	3	New Iron Sides	Washington, DC	Pennsylvania	24	Fireman
White	Payne		Henry	Seaman	1864-06-13	New York	3	Princeton R, S	England	Not Recorded	25	Mariner
Black	Peters	F	William	Landsman	1864-06-16	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R, S	Philadelphia, PA	Burlington, NJ	28	None
White	Phillips	E	Charles	Ordinary Seaman	1864-07-29	Philadelphia	2.2	Princeton R, S	Genoa, New York	New York	23	Sailor
White	Pilkington		Matthew	Landsman/Nurse	1864-06-28	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R, S	England	Pennsylvania	27	Weaver
White	Pinhiro		Solomon	Landsman	1864-06-20	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R, S	Germany	Pennsylvania	28	Sail Maker
White	Potter		James	Ordinary Seaman	1864-06-06	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R, S	New Jersey	Pennsylvania	32	Mariner
Black	Price		Joseph	Landsman	1864-06-30	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R, S	Wilmington, Delaware	Pennsylvania	22	Not Recorded
Black	Price	H	James	Landsman/Frw Off. Cook	1864-06-29	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R, S	Wilmington, Delaware	Pennsylvania	29	Not Recorded
Black	Purnell	F	Charles	Landsman	1864-06-27	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R, S	Baltimore, Md	Salem, NJ	28	Not Recorded
White	Quinn		John	1st Class Boy	1864-04-23	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R, S	Philadelphia, PA	Philadelphia	15	Not Recorded
Black	Riley		William	Landsman	1864-06-09	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R, S	Philadelphia, PA	Pennsylvania	21	Barber
White	Riley		John	Landsman	1864-07-01	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R, S	Ireland	Pennsylvania	22	Laborer
White	Ring		George	Seaman	1864-07-13	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R, S	England	Pennsylvania	38	Not Recorded
White	Ritch		Lewis	Landsman/SchoolMaster	1864-06-20	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R, S	Philadelphia, PA	Pennsylvania	22	Hospital Stewart
White	Rogers		James	Seaman	1864-06-06	New York	3	Princeton R, S	England	Not Recorded	38	Mariner
White	Rolf		Rudolph	Seaman	1864-06-20	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R, S	Sweden	Not Recorded	26	Not Recorded
White	Rose		James	Seaman	1864-06-17	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R, S	Ireland	Not Recorded	24	Mariner
White	Rutherford		Thomas	Ordinary Seaman	1864-06-17	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R, S	New York City, NY	Not Recorded	22	Mariner
White	Ryan		William	Seaman	1864-06-09	New York	3	Princeton R, S	England	Not Recorded	24	Mariner
White	Saunders		Edward	Ordinary Seaman	1864-06-29	Philadelphia	1.9	Princeton R, S	Fairhaven, Mass	Massachusetts	37	Cooper
White	Savage	F	William	Ordinary Seaman/Carpenter	1864-06-29	Philadelphia	2.1	Princeton R, S	Norwich, Maine	Maine	21	Carpenter
White	Slavin		James	1st Class Fireman	1864-06-10	New York	3	Princeton R, S	Ireland	Not Recorded	27	Baker
White	Smith		Joseph	Landsman	1864-06-25	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R, S	England	Pennsylvania	28	Not Recorded
Black	Smith		Samuel	Landsman	1864-06-23	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R, S	Philadelphia, PA	Pennsylvania	21	Barber
Black	Smith I		William	Ordinary Seaman	1864-06-02	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R, S	Bermuda	Passaic, NJ	24	Barber
White	Smith II		William	Seaman	1864-06-11	New York	3	Princeton R, S	Scotland	Not Recorded	38	Mariner
White	Sprague		Benjamin	Seaman	1864-06-06	New York	3	Princeton R, S	Lubec, Maine	Not Recorded	35	Mariner

Delaware Civil War Bluejackets: Race, Punishment, and Post-War Lives

White	Stewart	H	James	Landsman	1864-05-20	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R, S	Plattsburg, MD	Not Recorded	22	farmer
White	Storms	B	Charles	1st Class Boy	1864-04-21	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R, S	Salem, NJ	Pennsylvania	16	Butcher
White	Stryke	C	Charles	Landsman	1864-06-05	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R, S	England	Pennsylvania	24	Painter
White	Tackney	E	Robert	Landsman	1864-06-24	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R, S	Syracuse, NY	Pennsylvania	23	Blacksmith
Black	Thatcher		Mathew	Landsman	1864-06-26	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R, S	Wilmington, Delaware	Pennsylvania	22	Carpenter
White	Thomas		John	Seaman	1864-06-10	New York	3	Princeton R, S	England	Not Recorded	21	Mariner
White	Thomasson		John	Seaman	1864-06-10	New York	3	Princeton R, S	Sweden	Not Recorded	31	Mariner
White	Thompson		William	Seaman	1864-06-13	New York	3	Princeton R, S	Scotland	Not Recorded	30	Mariner
White	Tobin		Thomas	Landsman	1864-02-09	Philadelphia	1	Princeton R, S	Philadelphia, PA	Pennsylvania	30	Not Recorded
White	Tucker	R	Samuel	1st Class Fireman	1864-06-13	New York	3	Princeton R, S	Nova Scotia	Not Recorded	30	Grazier
White	Vosburgh	P	Lewis	Seaman/Carpenter	1862-01-27	New York	3	Princeton R, S	Osewego, NY	Not Recorded	30	Cauker
Black	Walker		Joseph	Landsman/Cabin Steward	1864-06-09	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R, S	Wilmington DE	Pennsylvania	25	Cook
White	Walters		James	Seaman	1864-07-13	New York	3	Princeton R, S	Rotterdam	New York	44	No Record
White	Weldon		Walter	Landsman	1864-06-27	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R, S	Ireland	Pennsylvania	21	No Record
White	Whalen		James	Ordinary Seaman	1863-06-29	Philadelphia	2.4	Princeton R, S	Gloucester MA	Massachusetts	21	Sailor
White	White	M	Talbot	Seaman	1864-04-27	Philadelphia	1.6	Princeton R, S	Mackinaw MI	No Record	25	Mariner
White	White		John	Coal Handler	1864-07-12	Philadelphia	1	Princeton R, S	Boston MA	Pennsylvania	22	No Record
Black	Williams		Steven	Ordinary Seaman	1864-06-27	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R, S	Cape de Verde	Burlington, NJ	24	Mariner
Black	Williams		Raymond	Landsman	1864-02-04	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R, S	New York, NY	NY	16	Waiter
White	Williams		George	Seaman	1864-07-13	New York	3	Princeton R, S	Spain	No Record	26	No Record
White	Willis	G	John	1st Class Boy	1864-04-18	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R, S	Philadelphia PA	Pennsylvania	16	No Record
White	Wilson		Thomas	Seaman	1864-07-13	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R, S	Maine	No Record	21	No Record
White	Wilson		James	Seaman	1864-07-09	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R, S	West Chester NY	New York	40	Mariner
White	Wilson		Robert	Seaman	1864-07-14	New York	3	Princeton R, S	Scotland	No Record	34	Mariner
White	Winters		Charles	Seaman	1864-06-10	New York	3	Princeton R, S	Sweden	No Record	37	Sailor
White	Woodford	M	Bernard	Landsman	1864-06-16	Philadelphia	3	Princeton R, S	New Briton, Conn.	Pennsylvania	24	Mariner
White	York	W	Edward	Ordinary Seaman	1864-06-29	Philadelphia	2.4	Princeton R, S	Beverly MA	Massachusetts	25	Shoemaker

END OF SHIP CREW LIST

Delaware Civil War Bluejackets: Race, Punishment, and Post-War Lives

Exhibit F

Excel Research Form for Henry Maston

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
1	Name:	Maston, Henry						Pension File:	Yes	
2	Record Date	Event	Age	Location	Occupation/ Rating	Other Person	Notes	Source		Source Links
3	15 Feb 1839	Birth	0	Dover, Delaware			He was born a slave (pension files, pages 20, 21). 1912 affidavit in pension files, page 20, says "...this day of my birth was given to me by a relative of my owner. My owner and his relations are dead and I am unable to locate Plantation Books or of a Church or County or Family Bible Card of my birth."	Rendezvous; Death Index; Invalid Pension Files, pages 20, 21, 32		Pension Files
4	22 June-1860	1860 US Census	21	Hazletville, Dover Hundred, Kent County, Delaware	Laborer		Census form is for "Free Inhabitants in Dover Hundred in the County of Kent, State of Delaware. Mastin is spelled here with an "i", not an "O". Is Rachel Mastin Henry's sister? Henry is listed as Black and 19 (i.e., born in 1841).	1860 US Census		1860 US Census
5	c. 1864	Marriage	25	1017 Orange St., Wilmington, Delaware	Waiter	Elizabeth Wilson, wife	Date based on birth of first daughter and before muster. Maiden name in pension file. Location fm pension, p. 52 his address before he enlisted	Pension p. 53		
6	23 June 1864	Naval Enlistment	25	USS Princeton, Philadelphia	Landsman		23 years old (1841); Residence listed as Burlington, New Jersey, but is probably an enlistment location. Born Delaware, scar on right forearm	US Navy Enlistment Rendezvous; Pension Files, page 55	Rendezvous	Pension Files
7	15 July 1864	Muster and Boarding Ship Date	25	USS Juniata	Landsman		In addition to Juniata and Pinta, Maston's pension files indicate he served on the USS New Hampshire and USS Constellation. Boarding date from Pension Files, page 55.	NPS Search for Sailors; Invalid pension files, pages 15, 32, 34	Juniata Mstr Roll	Pension Files
8	20 Apr 1865	Musters out from Juniata	26	USS Juniata	Landsman			Pension Files, page 55		Pension Files
9	21 April 1865	Boards Ship	26	USS New Hampshire	Landsman		Served on New Hampshire to 15 June 1866. New Hampshire anchored at Port Royal, South Carolina from 1 July 1865 to 2 April 1866 as store and depot ship. See History for more details.	Pension files, pages 55, 56	Pension Files	History
10	16 June 1865	Boards Ship	26	USS Constellation	Landsman			Pension files, page 55	Pension Files	
11	5 Aug 1865	Birth of daughter Ella Marston	26			Ella Maston, Daughter	Ella's birth certificate gives date of 5 Aug 1865. Aug 1864 was given by Henry in Pension File record in 1898, many years later. No birth record found.	Pension Files, page 52	Pension Files	Death Certificate
12	26 Sept 1866	Musters out from Constellation	27	USS Constellation	Landsman		Pension files, page 55 says he served on Constellation to 26 Sept 1867. However, the 1867 should be 1866, since he was discharged from Constellation on 27 June 1867.	Pension Files, page 55		
13	30 Sept 1866	Muster	27	USS Pinta	Landsman		See Pinta history, "Pinta served on harbor duty at the Philadelphia Navy Yard from 1866 until laid up in 1872."	NPS Search for Sailors	NPS Record	Pinta History
14	26 June 1867	Muster out from Pinta	28	USS Pinta, Norfolk VA.	Landsman		USS Pinta was decommissioned at Norfolk on 15 April 1867. Henry may have helped with decommissioning.	Pension files, page 55	Pension Files	
15	27 June 1867	Discharge	28	USS Constellation, Norfolk, VA			The USS Constellation was a receiving ship for final discharges in Norfolk, VA.	Rendezvous; Navy Survivors Pension Files pages 4, 16, 52, 55	Rendezvous	Pension Files
16	July 1867	Residence	28	828 French St. Wilmington, DE			Residence location from pension, p. 52.			
17	01 Jan 1870	Birth of Daughter Florence	31	Wilmington, Delaware			No birth record found.	Pension Files, page 52	Pension Files	
18	30 June 1870	1870 US Census	31	Wilmington, Delaware	Laborer	Elizabeth Maston (age 30); Mary Maston (6); Abraham Veazey (53), clergyman.	Henry listed as 35; thus, born in 1835. He cannot read/write. Perhaps Mary passed away since she was not listed as one of his living children in a record from 1898 in his Pension Files, page 53.	1870 US Census; Pension Files, page 53	1870 US Census	Pension Files
19	1871	Residence	32	Philadelphia			Pension file, p.52, states he moved to Phila after 1870.			
20	1880	1880 US Census	41				No record found.			
21	22 Sept 1883	Death of First Wife, Elizabeth Mastin	44	309 W. 5th Street, Wilmington, Delaware	Washing and ironing	Elizabeth Mastin, James B. Wilson, father; Maria Wilson, mother	Name spelled Mastin, with an "i" on death certificate. Pension files, page 53 says wife Elizabeth Wilson died in 1880 in Wilmington, Delaware. Death certificate is assumed correct since parents surname was Wilson. Delaware native, married, age 46 (1837). Died of valvular dis. of heart with general dropsy.	Pension files, page 53; Death Certificate	Pension Files	Death Certificate
22	19 March 1886	Second Marriage to Mary Bell	47	Providence, Rhode Island		Mary Bell, wife		Pension Files, page 53; RI Marriage Index	Pension Files	Marriage Index
23	19 Nov 1889	Birth of son Henry Maston	50				No birth record found.			
24	07 Mar 1891	Invalid Pension Application	52				Received \$6/month for invalid pension based on disease of rectum and eyes. "Files were contracted while lying on oil cloth at the port of Phila in 1866 and 1867".	Invalid Pension Files, Pages 3, 36, 40	Pension Files	
25	1892	Birth of son James Maston	53				No birth record found.	Pension Files, page 53	Pension Files	
26	1896	1896 Philadelphia City Directory	57	207 S. 24th Street, Philadelphia	Cook			1896 Philadelphia City Directory	1896 Directory	
27	19 April 1899	Invalid Pension Application	60	Philadelphia			Desired increase from \$6 to \$12/month due to: "total disability from result of injury by trolley."	Invalid. Pension Files, page 46	Pension Files	
28	1900	1900 Philadelphia City Directory	61	723 S. Clarion Street, Philadelphia	Cook		Listed as Henry Masten, with an "e".	1900 Philadelphia City Directory	1900 Directory	
29	06 Feb 1905	Invalid Pension Application	66	Philadelphia	Unemployed		Statement in support of pension increase states: "Now unable to do manual labor or support myself in a proper manner at any employment because of because of the results of an accident (broken ribs) and kidney disease."	Invalid Pension Files, pages 3, 32	Pension Files	
30	14 Nov 1905	Invalid Pension Application	66	Philadelphia	Unemployed		Pension increased to \$10/month. Now approved for dispepsia, lumbago, senile debility, in addition to rectum and eye problems.	Invalid Pension Files, pages 32, 75	Pension Files	
31	29 June 1907	Invalid Pension Application	68	Philadelphia	Unemployed		Pension increased to \$12/month because he was then over 62.	Invalid Pension Files pages 3, 28	Pension Files	
32	16 March 1909	Invalid Pension Application	70	Philadelphia	Unemployed		Pension increased to \$15/month because he was then over 70.	Invalid Pension Files pages 5, 24	Pension Files	
33	1910	1910 US Census	71				No record found			
34	26 July 1912	Invalid Pension Application	73	Philadelphia	Unemployed		Pension increased to \$21.50	Invalid Pension Files page 5	Pension Files	
35	20 June 1914	Death	75	Mercy Hospital, Philadelphia	Cook		Death index indicates he was born in Dover, Delaware, 75 (1839), a cook, widowed, and death date was 20 June 1914. Died from Paralysis Agitatis.	Findagrave.com; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Death Certificates Index	Findagrave	Death Index
36	24 June 1914	Burial	75	Philadelphia National Cemetery, Philadelphia			Tombstone has USN and number 814 on it.	Findagrave.com; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Death Certificates Index	Findagrave	Death Index

Exhibit G

Example ChatGPT-Generated Narrative of Henry Maston

First prompt result that requires some minor corrections. This shows the quality of the first draft.

Henry Maston, 75, U.S. Navy Civil War Veteran and Philadelphia Cook

Henry Maston—born enslaved on February 15, 1839, in Dover, Delaware, and later a landsman aboard several Union war-ships—died on June 20, 1914, at Mercy Hospital in Philadelphia. He was 75 years old.

Mr. Maston learned his date of birth from a relative of his former owner; no family Bible or plantation record survived to mark the occasion. By the summer of 1860 he was enumerated as a free laborer in Dover Hundred, Kent County.

On June 23, 1864, at age 25, he enlisted in the U.S. Navy at Philadelphia and was rated a landsman. He first mustered on the receiving ship *USS Princeton* and, on July 15, boarded the screw sloop *USS Juniata*. During and after the war he also served on *USS New Hampshire*, *USS Constellation*, and *USS Pinta*, receiving an honorable discharge at Norfolk, Virginia, on June 27, 1867. His time at sea left him with a scar on his right forearm and chronic ailments that later qualified him for an invalid pension.

Shortly before he entered the Navy, Mr. Maston married Elizabeth Wilson of Wilmington, Delaware. They settled on French Street in Wilmington and welcomed two daughters: Ella, born August 5, 1865, and Florence, born January 1, 1870. Elizabeth died in Wilmington on September 22, 1883, at age 46.

On March 19, 1886, Mr. Maston wed Mary Bell in Providence, Rhode Island. Two sons were born to them—Henry on November 19, 1889, and James in 1892. Mary died before her husband, leaving him widowed in his later years.

Mr. Maston moved to Philadelphia soon after the war. City directories list him variously as a waiter, laborer, and, most often, a cook, with residences on South 24th Street and South Clarion Street. Progressive disability from rectal disease, eye trouble, broken ribs, kidney disease, and the infirmities of age forced his retirement; his naval pension was raised several times, reaching \$21.50 per month in 1912.

Henry Maston succumbed to paralysis agitans on June 20, 1914. He was buried with military honors on June 24 at Philadelphia National Cemetery, his headstone bearing “USN” and the service number 814.

He is survived by his children Ella, Florence, Henry, and James, and by their families, who remember him for his wartime service, his years behind a cook’s stove, and the quiet determination that carried him from bondage to an honored grave.