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## GALVESTON'S MARITIME WORKERS IN 1880: A QUANTITATIVE VIEW<sup>1</sup>

BY DAVID BECK RYDEN

Galveston represented the promise of the New South better than any other Gulf-side town. Connecting the state's cotton-producing hinterland to the wider Atlantic world, the island's port served as a regional marketplace for both commerce and credit and was dubbed by its own boosters the "Wall Street of the Southwest" or "the New York of the Gulf."<sup>1</sup> By 1880, the island's wharf district was crisscrossed by train tracks and dotted by warehouses, cotton press operations, and mercantile firms; the two-mile train trestle to the mainland and the well-protected deep-water port along the bayside (north shore) ensured an export capacity of a half-million cotton bales per year. This geographically small wharf was a busy one, with an average of 185 ocean-going ships clearing annually.<sup>2</sup> The revenue and the economic development that flowed from this sector enabled the island to declare itself, in 1891, the "wealthiest city in the world of its size."<sup>3</sup> The accompanying promise of good jobs led to influx of migration and extraordinary demographic growth, so that between 1850 and 1880, the number of residents increased at an annual rate of 5.6 percent, surging from 4,177 to 22,282 inhabitants. As in the much larger cities along America's east coast, migrants moved to the island from throughout the United States as well as from all parts of Europe.

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1 An earlier draft of this paper was presented at UHD's Social Science Lecture Series and the East Texas Historical Association Fall 2015 Meeting. The author thanks Theresa Case, Michael Botson, Austin Allen, Melissa Hovsepian, and the participants at both meetings for their comments and encouragement.

This pilot project sets forth to develop a new approach to the social history of the international labor force that made up Galveston's maritime sector, through an analysis of person- and household-level data drawn from the 1880 U.S. census. Using machine-readable, complete-count records made available by the University of Minnesota's Population Center (MPC),<sup>4</sup> the following tests the long-held position that seafarers and dockside laborers were set apart from the larger community.<sup>5</sup> While there are limitations to this census-based approach, which will be discussed below, these records are the only basis for piecing together the ethnic composition, marriage patterns, and household structure of the men who were most closely tied to the island's export sector.

### **IPUMS DATA**

The data for this analysis are drawn from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) for the 1880 census year, which is freely available through the MPC website. Unlike other public-use census files, the 1880 dataset is a "complete count," in that it presents to us a machine-readable file that incorporates every household and every individual enumerated in the United States. The comprehensive nature of these figures makes it a rich resource for community studies such as this one.

Census taking on Galveston Island in 1880, as was the case throughout the United States, was conducted during the first two weeks of June. Census enumerators were instructed to record information such as the household's street address and the number of households within each dwelling, but much of their work targeted person-level information. In addition to the name of each household member, enumerators took care to record basic demographic information, so that the manuscripts include each individual's race ("color"), sex, age, relationship to the household head, marital status, birthplace, and even parent's birthplace. Fortunately for the purposes of this project, the census also includes each individual's occupation, which along with the above-mentioned information (excluding of name), was integrated into the 1880 IPUMS dataset.

While the MPC data includes the universe of all people enumerated on the island, there are a number of factors that prevent the identification of the entire maritime workforce. In addition to the straight-forward censoring attributed to sailors being at sea during the enumeration, the census design failed to adequately identify the industry in which each employed person worked.<sup>6</sup> Thus, some 1,100 men living in Galveston were identified as "laborers," with no indication of the specific sector in which they



worked. It is likely that many of these nondescript workers—and others, such as those labeled “drayman” and “carriage drivers”—were actually working along the waterfront, side-by-side with those who were clearly identified as dockworkers. The timing of the census taking further exacerbates this undercount problem, given that June was one of the slowest months for maritime work; many, who held dockside jobs during the busy cooler months, were likely to have drifted into other areas of the Galveston economy or have simply left the island in the late spring. Similarly, oystering and fishing may have pulled these workers closer to other off-island communities,<sup>7</sup> thus further contributing to the potential undercount of Galveston’s maritime workers in the census. The final caution regarding under-identification of maritime workers is the possibility that some unknown proportion of laborers who were on the island, but never recorded by the census takers. As was reported in the local press on the final day of the census, enumerators were unable to identify all those living in “hotels,” such as the “Tremont, owing to its large proportions and the number of persons residing within its walls.”<sup>8</sup> Thus, one must keep in mind that these data are a seasonal sample that likely excluded those who were the least rooted on Galveston Island as well as those who held non-descript positions along the wharf side.

Keeping in mind the known and suspected limitations embedded the dataset, this study uses the *transcribed* occupational field (OCCSTR) in order to identify those individuals who were clearly working in the maritime sector. Of the 8,216 people employed workers in Galveston in 1880, just over six percent (492 workers) can be identified as either seafarers or as working within the onshore marine sector of the economy. While this figure does not capture those who may have been working the docks at other points in the year (and excludes those who failed to give a detailed description of their work) the person-level nature of these census data provides a powerful tool for the analysis of demographic and migratory information about these workers and their families; there is simply no other source that provides as much insight into the lives of Galveston’s sailors and dockworkers.

### OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE AND ETHNIC ORIGIN

As a point-of-comparison, the census identifies that nearly 400 (or five percent of Galveston’s workforce) worked in the overland transport industry, either as railroad employees or as teamsters. Although these workers are not included in the universe of maritime workers, the labor that these men

provided was inextricably tied to the export sector of the island economy, and indeed laborers, drayman, and carriage drivers worked on two sides of the cotton transport business, ferrying cotton from the railcars to the cotton presses and then moving bails from the cotton presses to the wharf, where they would be loaded by longshoremen. According to Cliff Carrington, September through March was the most intense period for all those connected to the export of cotton, with merchants and their agents contracting with stevedores to organize teams of dockworkers, including specialized longshoremen dubbed "screwmen." These workers, who were the elite among Galveston's dockworkers, not only loaded bound bales onto deep-water ships, but also further compressed the cotton cargo into ship holds by using specialized tools, such as block-and-tackle rigs and screw jacks (hence the "screwmen" job title). This shipboard work was frenetic, yet demanded skill, care, and experience in order to achieve safe and efficient hull rim.<sup>9</sup> The onshore marine service occupations found in the 1880 census can best be broken-into three subcategories: Sales and Management; Construction, Boat Building, and Maintenance; and Dockside Labor. The frequency distribution in Table 1 shows that at the time in which the census was taken, there were at least 202 men involved in wharf-side work, with Dockside Laborers making up 70 percent (127) of this subpopulation. Just under half of the enumerated dockside laborers (60) were listed as "screwman," which is far short of the approximately 250 men registered as belonging to the Screwman's Benevolent Society, the powerful trade union that represented these skilled laborers.<sup>10</sup> The variance between these figures is likely due to the abovementioned seasonality of loading cotton and the timing of the census: James Reese notes that there was simply not enough dockside work to go around during the summertime,<sup>11</sup> when "screwmen and longshoremen had to seek alternative work," such as house carpentry, painting, fishing, and even serving as crew on private yachts.<sup>12</sup> Yet, even with this likely undercount in mind, this seasonal-determined sample of screwman conforms to some known features about this category of worker, most notably its all-white composition: before the mid-1880s, the trade union that represented these workers succeeded in excluding black men from entering this line-of-work in Galveston. This segregationist agenda, however, apparently mirrored more subtle barriers placed upon blacks working on the wharf, given that men-of-color made up less than 10 percent of workers within this subsector:<sup>13</sup> with the exception of the 14 men-of-color, dock workers were white.



Table 1: Distribution of Galveston's Maritime Occupations by Race, 1880

	Race		Total
	White	Black	
<b>ONSHORE MARITIME SERVICES</b>			
<b>Sales &amp; Management</b>			
Shipping Merchant/Ship Broker/Agent	9	0	9
Clerk	11	0	11
Ship Chandler	1	0	1
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>21</i>
<b>Construction &amp; Boat Maintenance</b>			
Boat Builder/Repair	26	0	26
Dock Builder	1	0	1
Sailmaker/Rigger	15	0	15
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>42</i>
<b>Dockside Labor</b>			
Laborer	11	11	22
Long Shoreman/Stevedore/Wharfinger	32	0	32
Screwman	60	0	60
Stevedore	24	2	26
Watchman	0	1	1
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>127</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>141</i>
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>190</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>204</b>
<b>SEAFARING</b>			
<b>Water Transportation</b>			
Captain/Officer	29	0	29
Pilot	12	0	12
Boatman/Sailor	169	29	198
Cook/Steward	3	1	4
Engineer/Fireman	3	0	3
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>216</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>246</i>
<b>Fishing</b>			
Fisherman	30	6	36
Oysterman	6	0	6
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>36</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>42</i>
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>252</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>288</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>442</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>492</b>

African Americans, however, did aspire to work as screwman and longshoremen<sup>14</sup> and there two men-of-color that held middle management roles, as stevedores, but one of the two, James Rogers, was not African American, but an immigrant from Scotland, where both his parents were also born.<sup>15</sup> Recorded as a “Mulatto” by the census taker, Rogers lived with his Texas-born “Black” wife, Hattie, and their three “Mulatto” sons on Avenue M, south of Broadway and just under a mile from the wharf.<sup>16</sup>

Rogers was unusual in that he was a “mulatto” working within a profession dominated by whites, but the census data shows us that the Atlantic nature of his ancestry, and his own biography, is not at all unusual among 1880 dockworkers: less than 3 percent of this subpopulation was Texas-born and over 80 percent of the 141 dockside laborers were European born. There was only one other worker from Roger’s native Scotland, but 18 percent of this class of laborers came from other parts of Great Britain. Ireland was place-of-origin for some 20 percent of dockworkers and Scandinavia countries supplied another 18 percent to this pool. Roughly 14 percent were born in Germany, which was approximately the same concentration of Germans among the entire Galveston workforce. Men involved in boat construction or maintenance were also disproportionately foreign born in comparison to the general population, but not nearly as much as the cargo handlers: two-thirds of working Galvestonians were American born, while two-thirds of shipwrights, carpenters, riggers, and the like were foreign born. For these boat builders and maintenance workers, German-born men comprised a plurality of these tradesmen, but no single ethnicity in these data dominated either the construction or rigging trades: one also finds within this class of worker a Canadian, an Italian, a Norwegian, two Germans, a couple of Swedes, a Scot, and seven U.S.-born riggers/sail makers.

White-collar wharf workers were the least foreign born of the dockside category of workers. The 11 clerks identified in this subpopulation were all native born, whereas the seven out of the 11 categorized as brokers/merchants/shipping agent were foreign born. These figures, however, do not include the dizzying number of non-descript Galvestonian “merchants” and merchant employees that appear in the census, but are not clearly identified as being part of the maritime community and are, therefore, excluded from this analysis.

Perhaps surprisingly, sailors were less international than the population of cargo handlers: according to the census data, approximately 60 percent those employed in the “water transportation” sector were foreign



born. This pattern was similar for both crew and officers, with one-fourth of the total having been born in England, Ireland, Norway, or Scotland. Men-of-color had better employment opportunities as sailors, boatman, or fishermen than as dockworkers, with 12.5 percent of this category being identified as either black or mulatto. As with the case of James Rogers, not all these men were technically African American, with five people-of-color stating a West Indian nativity, one French sailor declaring Mauritius ancestry, and another identifying himself as Indonesian. Whether one classifies these workers as "black/mulatto" or not, the point should be taken that the proportion of men-of-color who worked as sailors or fishermen was far smaller than the 20 percent concentration of African Americans seen in Galveston's wider workforce. Based on this census rendering, one concludes that Galveston's dockworkers and sailors were primarily white and disproportionately migrant, with over two-thirds identified as foreign born.

### **FAMILY DEMOGRAPHY**

The preponderance of foreign-born workers among the cargo handlers and sailors meant that this workforce was slightly older than the average worker's age on the island. The growth in the Galveston labor force was largely a function of in-migration, with over three-fourths of employed workers having been born outside Texas. Of the nearly 10,000 island workers who were non-native to Texas, roughly 4,400, or 36 percent of the total workforce, were foreign born. Naturally, the minority who were born in Texas were, almost by definition, more youthful than migrants, with an average age of 24.8, while workers who migrated from other parts of the United States were, on average, ten years their senior (34.9). The oldest migrants in the census were immigrants, who were 38.6 years of age, on average. Thus, the typical maritime worker was older (36.9) than the typical Galvestonian, but these men were younger than the typical Galveston immigrant workers; cargo handling or long stints at sea meant that these professions valued those with the strongest backs or those who were the least home-bound.

While marriage rates for the maritime sector, in aggregate, were similar to the overall pattern of working men on Galveston Island, sailors, boatman, and fishermen more-often-than-not eschewed marriage. The nature of seafaring involved regular stretches from home, so workers attracted to this line of business were disproportionately unattached and more youthful than the typical male employee. For example, the average age of the 246 sailors and boatman identified in the census was only 35.2, which was two



years younger than that of the average age of the entire maritime workforce. Only 46.9 percent of these seafarers stated that they were ever married, compared to two-thirds of all Galvestonian working men. Fishermen, whose average age was higher than the typical worker in the maritime sector (38.7), were similarly single, with only 45.7 percent of this subgroup having ever been married. The only class of worker in Table 1 that was younger than seafarers were the dockside office clerks and “laborers,” who were the least likely to have been married (40 percent and 45.5 percent, respectively).

The majority of married dockside workers and sailors did not migrate to Galveston with their spouses. Only 44 percent of the 270 wives of maritime workers were foreign born, even though the majority of married men were immigrants (72 percent). The women betrothed to maritime workers were three times as likely to have been born in Texas, in comparison to their husbands (19 percent Texas born vs 5.6 percent). The tendency of maritime migrants to pair with native-born American women was more pronounced than that of the wider population of immigrant men in Galveston: whereas 44.6 of maritime immigrants attached themselves to American-born women, only 33.2 percent of married foreign-born working men in Galveston married women who were born in the United States. Further, only one-third of foreign-born maritime workers were paired with women from their own country of birth, whereas 48.8 percent of their foreign-born counterparts (who worked outside the maritime sector) were married to fellow countrywomen. Of the universe of married maritime workers, dockside workers were the least likely have shared their birthplace as their wives (only 29 percent of marriages), while married boat builders and those who maintained vessels shared birthplaces with their spouses 45 percent of the time.

The census data suggests that Galveston’s maritime sector offered many married men and their families an opportunity to achieve the nineteenth-century American goal of a single-bread-winner household. In aggregate, the women who married Galveston’s maritime workers removed themselves from the labor market with greater frequency than the general population of married women: only 5.2 percent of maritime worker’s spouses identified themselves as being employed compared to 8.9 percent of the wives of all Galvestonian workingmen. The 14 working wives from maritime households were nearly all laboring in low-skilled positions, such as laundresses and domestics. Work for these women was likely an economic necessity, but there was maritime wife, a Mrs. M. E. Dycus, who

apparently built a career as a music teacher. Yet, even in this instance, Dycus's participation in the workforce may have been essential to the maintenance of her middle class household: her husband, a "well known in Galveston as a steamboat captain" named Green Berry Dycus,<sup>17</sup> disclosed to the census taker his neuralgia disability (chronic headaches). In the main, however, the database suggests that maritime families mirrored the nineteenth-century, separate-sphere ideal — with wives focused on "Keeping House" and providing care to children—with greater frequency than the general population of working families.

Household living arrangements of married maritime workers also tended to map onto the nineteenth-century ideal, with almost all of these men (95.9 percent) identified as household heads. The proverbial 2.2 children was the norm for these families,<sup>18</sup> which was a nearly identical crude fertility rate for all island couples (2.1 children). The children of maritime workers were, more often-than-not, non-participants in the labor force. Whether-or-not a 13 through 17 year old's father labored in the maritime sector or in some other field had little bearing on his or her workforce participation (25 percent vs. 24 percent). Apparently there was little pressure for children of maritime workers to join their father's trade, with only one teenager entering the maritime economy.<sup>19</sup>

Given the typicality of family size and child workforce participation, it is somewhat surprising to find that maritime families were far more likely to be living in single-family accommodation in comparison to the typical male headed household (employed men). Only 26.7 percent of Galveston's maritime families occupied dwellings shared with other families, whereas one-third of married working men in Galveston (either the foreign born or American born) lived in multi-family units. One might deduce from these data the married maritime workers were better compensated in comparison to the typical Galveston worker, thus giving these workers, on average, a better opportunity to enjoy a private family life.

Roughly half (222) of maritime workers were either never married (191), widowed (11), or not living with their spouse at the time of the enumeration (20). These men, however, rarely lived alone. Of the 22 who did live by themselves, five were recorded as widowers and six were listed as never married. Widowers, unsurprisingly, were the oldest category, with an average age of 60.4, but even the half-dozen never-married heads-of-household were older than the typical married household head, with an average age of 40.2. These affluent heads-of-household bachelors were atypical, however, and, on average, unmarried maritime men were



four years younger than their married co-workers. Typically, these young workers lived as either boarders or lodgers (68.9 percent). The youngest maritime workers, with an average age of 22.5, were those who were not only unattached, but also identified as children of household heads. Living with their parents, these young men were disproportionately seafarers, with two thirds being classed as sailors, boatman, or officers.

## GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION

From the end of the Civil War to 1880, Galveston underwent a commercial and residential construction boom in order to accommodate both economic and demographic migration to the island. Accompanying the widening of the wharf's footprint was the construction of substantial buildings in the commercial district. An 1875 visitor to the island claimed "The business portion of the city cannot be surpassed for the elegance and solidity of its structures," while the "private residences" were said to be "neat and often showy, with tasteful yards and shrubbery." Commuters could move along railways "to any portion of the city," thus giving some dockworkers, such as the above mentioned Scotsman, James Rogers, the flexibility to reside some distance from the wharf<sup>20</sup> Thus, by the final two decades of the nineteenth century, the eastern end of the island had fully "transformed itself... from a village of dirt streets and clapboard buildings to a town of [oyster] shell streets and iron-front brick emporiums."<sup>21</sup>

Table 2: Percent North-South Geographic Distribution of *Avenue* Residents by Maritime Occupation, 1880

Location	Fishermen	Sailors	Dockside Workers	Boat Builders Maintenance	Sales/ Management	All Maritime Workers
North of Broadway (Avenue J)	52	72	75	79	50	71
Broadway and South	48	28	25	21	50	29
Σ	100	100	100	100	100	100
n:	23	137	96	28	16	300

Establishing the exact geographic distribution of each worker's residence based on the census manuscripts is not possible because the enumerators were very inconsistent in recording house numbers. In most cases, the census takers only recorded the street name along the left-hand side of the manuscript. Yet, despite this missing information, the grid arrangement of the roads—where the letter-designated avenues ran parallel with

the bay shore and the numbered streets reached across the island-- permits an approximate estimation of the distribution of maritime homes along a northeast-southwest and a northwest-southeast axis. Table 2 indicates the percentage of distribution of the 300 maritime workers that can be identified as living on Broadway or south of Broadway (Avenue J), the island's primary thoroughfare, commonly referred to as the "St. Charles [Avenue] of Galveston,"<sup>22</sup> Dockside workers, sailors, boat builders, and boat maintenance workers disproportionately clustered on the north side of Avenue J, toward the bayside harbor. While no longer residential today, the wharf, itself, was also home to some 21 men who were enumerated as residents of the Bean, Brick, Kuhn's, or "New" wharf. The only subset of maritime workers who could be found in an equal distribution, both to the north and the south of Broadway, were Fisherman--who presumably could work wherever the fish were--and white-collared workers, who could afford the extra commuting cost in exchange for cooler breezes.

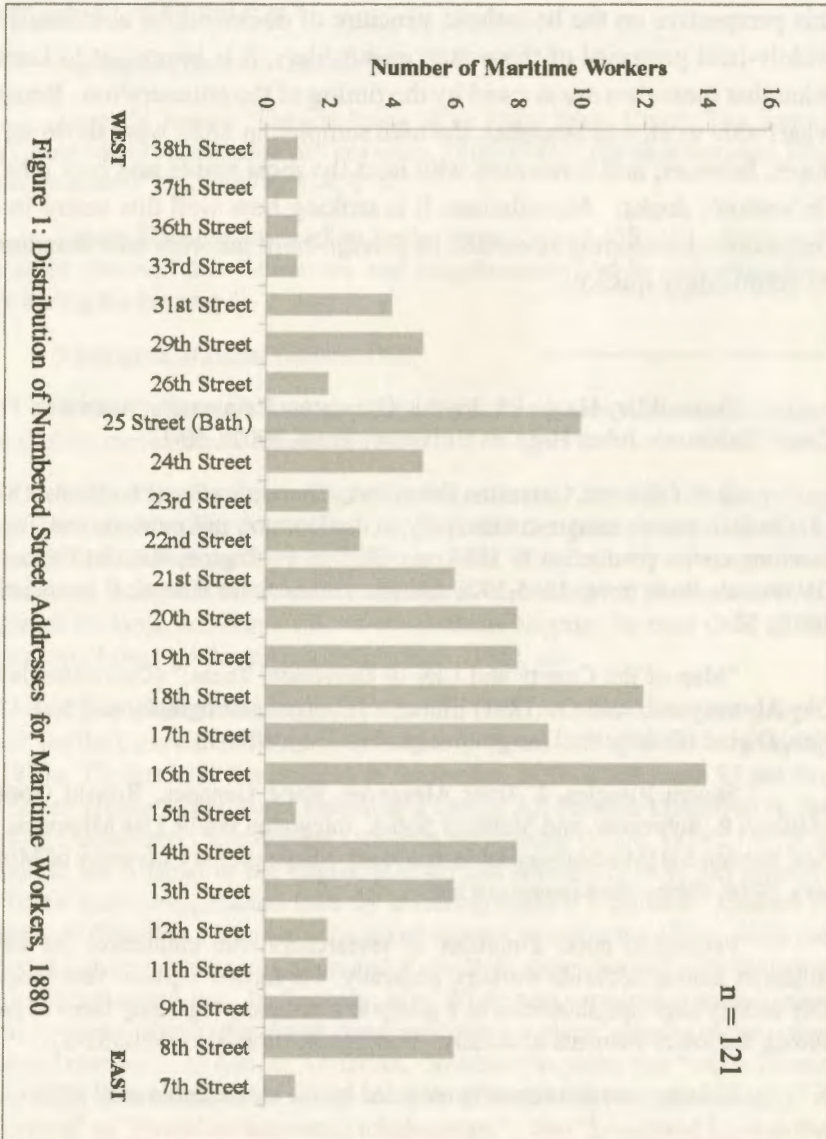
Table 3: Percent East-West Geographic Distribution of *Street* Residents by Maritime Occupation, 1880

Location	Fisherman	Sailors	Dockside Workers	Boat Builders/ Maintenance	Sales/ Management	All Maritime Workers
East of Bath Ave (25th St)	82	65	83	72	0	71
Bath Ave and West	18	35	17	28	100	29
$\Sigma$	100	100	100	100	100	100
n:	11	72	36	11	2	132

The frequency of street names permits an approximation of the distribution of maritime workers' homes along an east-west dimension. The *numbered* roads stretch across the island, from the Gulf northward to the bay. What is striking about the distribution in these data, presented in Table 3, is the concentration of worker's homes east of 25<sup>th</sup> St (Bath Avenue): nearly three fourths of this subpopulation of maritime workers lived on this part of the island, which is unsurprising since much of the residential development that stretched in this easterly direction. Figure 1 provides a bit more precision in describing the data, showing that there is a bell-shaped pattern clustering of the numbered streets, centered on 16<sup>th</sup> St., just east of the commercial district. This frequency distribution, combined with that of the Avenue data in Table 2, permits a triangulation-based estimate of



the geographic concentration of maritime worker's homes, which suggests that the greatest density of maritime residences clustered in the neighborhood south of Church Street and in-between 22<sup>nd</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> Streets; maritime workers settled in the area just beyond the freight railway terminus and the Galveston Oil Co. Works. Dockside workers, in particular, clustered on between 19<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> St, inclusive, while the center of gravity for sailor residences laid slightly to the west, clustering around 18<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> street as well on Bath Street.



## CONCLUDING REMARKS

The U.S. 1880 Census data situates dockworkers as predominantly foreign-born laborers who were living domestic lives that conformed to the American ideal. These men married with similar frequency as the general population and unlike other foreign-born men in Galveston, they more-often-than not married American women. These homes tended to be single-family and single-income and the spouses of these dockworkers went into the labor force only when economic imperative demanded. While this perspective on the household structure of dockworkers confounds the widely-held portrayal of these men as outsiders, it is important to keep in mind that these data are skewed by the timing of the enumeration. Because wharf-side work was seasonal, the men sampled in 1880 were those stevedores, laborers, and screwmen who held the most stable and best jobs on Galveston's docks. Nonetheless, it is striking how well this sector in the Galvestonian economy rewarded its foreign-born laborers who acculturated surprisingly quickly.

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<sup>1</sup> Susan Wiley Hardwick, *Mythic Galveston: Reinventing America's Third Coast* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 60-1.

<sup>2</sup> Q. A. Gillmore, *Galveston* (New York: Charles Scribners and Sons, 1879), 13. On Galveston's unique connectivity to the Houston rail network and Texas's booming cotton production in 1880, see Clifford Farrington, *Biracial Unions on Galveston's Waterfront, 1865-1925* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 2007), 52.

<sup>3</sup> "Map of the County and City of Galveston, Texas," (Galveston: Island City Abstract and Loan Co., 1891) Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, Digital ID: <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g4033g.la000981>.

<sup>4</sup> Steven Ruggles, J. Trent Alexander, Katie Genadek, Ronald Goeken, Matthew B. Schroeder, and Matthew Sobek. *Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 5.0* [Machine-readable database]. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2010. <<https://usa.ipums.org/usa/>>.

<sup>5</sup> Farrington notes a number of researchers who emphasize the strong solidarity among dockside workers, generally. He further explains that "respectable society kept longshoremen as a group at a distance, regarding them as being among the lower elements of society." Farrington, *Biracial Unions*, 32-37.

<sup>6</sup> Industry was not formally recorded by the U.S. Census until 1930.



<sup>7</sup> According to a 1915 overview of the Texas oyster industry, there were some 70 vessels involved in the Galveston Bay oyster business, which employed 140 sailors and another 100 onshore workers. The bay produced 85,000 bushels, annually at that point in time. However, a Texas Almanac and State Industrial guide, published 11 years earlier, state that "In 1880 the only oyster shippers in the State were located at Galveston and they handled only a few oysters each year."

<sup>8</sup> "Closing their Labors," Galveston Daily News June 15, 1880) col 3, p. 4. Two days later," Mr. Ed. H. Callaway," supervisor of the census, was still requesting the un-enumerated to come forward "The Enumerators," Galveston Daily News (June 17, 1880) col. 1 p. 4.

<sup>9</sup> Farrington, *Biracial Unions*, 32.

<sup>10</sup> James V. Reese, "The Evolution of an Early Texas Union: The Screwmen's Benevolent Association of Galveston, 1866-1891," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 75: 2 (1971): 164, 175.

<sup>11</sup> Reese, "The Evolution of an Early Texas Union," 178, 183. Farrington also notes observes that "screwmen and longshoreman had to seek alternative work during the summer."

<sup>12</sup> Farrington, *Biracial Unions*, 148.

<sup>13</sup> While Galveston's total population was 75 percent white, dockworkers were slightly more than 90 percent white.

<sup>14</sup> Reese, "The Evolution of an Early Texas Union," 179-80. The competing Black screwman's union, the "Cotton Jammers and Longshoremen's Association was permitted to work on the wharfs in the 1890s. They quickly developed "the reputation of doing the best work of any cotton screwmen" in Galveston. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, ed., *Some Efforts of American Negroes for their Own Social Betterment* (Atlanta: Atlanta University Press, 1898), 26.

<sup>15</sup> A Scottish-born James Rogers was also listed "Assistant weigher, guager, & etc." for the United States Treasury, District of Texas, Port of Galveston" during the 1870s. He first held this position in September of 1870 and made \$3 per day. The States Treasury Register, Containing a List of All Persons Employed in the Treasury Department (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1874), 143. It is difficult to say whether or not Rogers held African ancestry or if he was subverting Texas' anti-miscegenation laws by declaring himself a mulatto. Charles F. Robinson II describes a court case from Galveston County in the 1890s, when the interracial LaMarque couple, Calvin and Katie Bell, were charged with violating Texas miscegenation law. In this case, Mrs. White was condemned to two years prison for being white (after it was discovered that her claim of being mulatto was false) and married to an African American. Robinson explains that "white Texans [sometimes] demonstrated an ability to endure black/white sexual mixing[.]" it was "taboo" to "formalize interracial relationships." See "Legislated Love in the

Lone Star State," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 108:1 (2004): 65-7.

<sup>16</sup> Galveston Census Manuscript, Enumeration District 68, page 133, lines 113.

<sup>17</sup> "Death of Captain Dycus," *Galveston Daily News*, November 20, 1887, p. 12. Galveston Census Manuscript, Enumeration District 62, page 8, lines 21-2. The census lists Dycus as having suffered from neuralgia. The couple lived on 78 Church Street.

<sup>18</sup> Note that the age distribution of the two populations of wives is similar, with the average age for both groups equal to 33 years.

<sup>19</sup> Enumeration District 71, page 182, line 11.

<sup>20</sup> Norwood Stansbury to J. Y Gilmore, January 20th 1874 [sic]. Reprinted in James P. Baughman, ed., "Letters from the Texas Coast, 1875" *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 69:4 (1966): 501.

<sup>21</sup> Barrie Scardino and Drexel Turner, *The Architecture of Nicholas J. Clayton and His Contemporaries* (Texas A & M University Press, 2000), 27.

<sup>22</sup> "Galveston," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 10 (New York: Werner Company, 1898), 54.

<sup>23</sup> Between Bath Avenue and 19th street (and South of Post Office Ave) was the city's commercial district.

<sup>24</sup> Augustus Koch, *Map of Galveston Texas, 1885*. Lithographer unknown. Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, Texas <[http://www.birdseyeviews.org/zoom.php?city=Galveston&year=1885&extra\\_info=>](http://www.birdseyeviews.org/zoom.php?city=Galveston&year=1885&extra_info=>)>