CHANGES IN THE STATUS OF TEXARKANA, TEXAS, WOMEN, 1880-1920

DISSERTATION

Presented to the Graduate Council of the
University of North Texas in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

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Denton, Texas

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This study concentrates on the social status of women in one southern town during the late nineteenth century and the Progressive Era. Historians are aware that events associated with this time period brought many opportunities to women nationally, but little research has been done to reveal the impact of these opportunities at the local level. Nationally, women gained access to higher education, agitated for suffrage, adopted new clothing styles, and began community reforms, but to what extent did those changes come home to a locality such as Texarkana, Texas? Texarkana was chosen as the focus of this study because it was in its first half-century of existence during these forty years, a new town occupying a position on the rapidly expanding railroad bringing settlers into Texas. Moreover, as a new town, Texarkana did not have the backlog of community mores common to longer-established towns -- mores that might skew the measurement of changing status.

Status is defined in this study as "women's standing within the community." It is further defined in terms of ascribed status and achieved status. In the search for ways to measure change in women's status, several aspects presented themselves: access to education and employment; availability of leisure time; utilization of organized health care; and participation in women's clubs. As is often the case in women's history, measuring change in status is difficult because of the lack of records on women and their activities. However, a number of primary sources exist for Texarkana women from which

conclusions can be drawn: Bowie County Deed Records, Marriage Records, Probate Records, and School Records; employment records of the Texarkana school system; newspapers dating back to the earliest part of the Progressive Era; interviews with women who lived during the period; census data on the female population of Texarkana in three U. S. censuses -- 1880, 1900, and 1920; health care records from the local hospital; and club records.

This study revealed that Texarkana women did not enjoy social changes immediately after the town's founding in 1874, but had to wait approximately two decades before change came locally. Another result of this study was the realization that Texarkana's women never felt that they were behind the times; rather, they had the status they had grown up to expect. Texarkana women enjoyed having college degrees, ample leisure time, membership in women's clubs, and participation in social reform, and the majority of the town's women experienced noticeable change in status in the featured categories of this study during the Progressive Era.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Women experienced a period of change between 1880 and 1920 -- change that altered their status within the community. These changes included increases in women's access to education, employment, leisure time, and health care. An increase in educational opportunities gave women ideas about what they could accomplish as individuals. Employment outside the home gave women recognition for work they accomplished and an income of their own. It also brought them out of the secluded home environment and exposed them to experiences from which society previously had sheltered them. Increase in leisure time was important in changing women's status because it gave them the necessary time to follow personal goals and participate in social housekeeping. The growth of leisure time resulted from lower birth rates, availability of domestic help, and labor-saving devices for the home. A final factor in changing women's status was improved health care, including declining birth rates. Better health meant fewer early deaths and longer lives.

While historians have written about women's access to the targeted areas in general, there have been no studies featuring the degree of change experienced by women in one place over time, nor have there been any studies that sought to compare the experiences of one town's women to women in their state, or in the country as a whole. I

undertook the present study to investigate the degree of change experienced by the women in one small southern town between 1880 and 1920 in the four targeted aspects of their lives.[1]

This study measures change by comparing the status of women in one town over time. For example, it compares the educational level and access to education of Texarkana women in 1880, 1900, and 1920 and notes the degree of change. It also provides information on women nationwide and in Texas in the same time period, thus allowing a comparison of the degree of change experienced by Texarkana's women with that of two other groups. This procedure worked well to address the research question: What degree of change in status did Texarkana women experience between 1880 and 1920?[2] Moreover, this method succeeded in producing useful information for the present study and for future research.

The concept of "status" had to be defined before change in it could be measured. Thus an entire chapter is dedicated to its clarification. Status is both a sociological and

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[1] For examples of national-level studies of women in the United States, see Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 21; and Steven Mintz and Susan Kellogg, *Domestic Revolutions: A Social History of American Family Life* (New York: The Free Press, 1988), 55. Texarkana, Texas, was chosen as the focus of this study because the time period coincided with its first half-century of existence, when it occupied a position on the rapidly expanding railroad bringing settlers into Texas; moreover, because it was a relatively "new" town, it did not have the backlog of community mores present in longer-established towns -- mores that might alter the measurement of women's changing status.

[2] Admittedly, a study of "women" in Texarkana introduces an ambiguity involving economical/social class. For example, the study of changes in educational opportunities and attainments deals with all women regardless of class, but the examination of changes in leisure time deals largely with women who enjoyed relatively high economic status. This ambiguity is unavoidable, and the reader should be aware of it.

historical term in many of its connotations, and its varied meanings are discussed in Chapter 2. Many sociologists use "status" almost interchangeably with "class," and that meaning of the term will be considered in this study. However, the term is used more specifically in this study to mean simply the condition of women's lives rather than their rank in society. For example, improved access to education may or may not have meant an advance in social standing or class status, but it certainly meant an advance in the opportunities particular women enjoyed in their day-to-day lives.

Many authors have shed light on the nuances of "status," but the most instructive were sociology texts used in freshmen college classes in 1999. The three main texts consulted were Richard T. Schaefer and Robert P. Lamm's *Sociology*; John J. Macionis's *Sociology*; and Jean Stockard's *Sociology: Discovering Society*.[3]

Other authors wrote about various components of status from a sociological perspective. Lucile Duberman's *Social Inequality: Class and Caste in America* brought out the important ideas of social mobility and social inequality. One of the main benefits of this book was its concentration on status and mobility from the female perspective, highlighting community elements deemed important by women during the Progressive Era.[4] In *Women, War, and Work: The Impact of World War I on Women Workers in the United States*, Maurine Weiner Greenwald stressed the impact of that conflict on

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[3] Richard T. Schaefer and Robert P. Lamm, *Sociology*, 6th ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1998), 128; John J. Macionis, *Sociology*, 6th ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1997), 150-51; Jean Stockard, *Sociology: Discovering Society* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1997), 106.

[4] Lucile Duberman, *Social Inequality: Class and Caste in America* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1976), iii, 94-110, 194-218, 279-87.

occupational opportunities for women.[5] Sylvia Walby's chapter, "Gender, Class, and Stratification: Towards a New Approach," and David Lockwood's chapter, "Class, Status, and Gender," were especially helpful, because they presented opposing views concerning the use of gender and status as valid research methodology, thus forcing me to develop my own definition of status.[6]

Historical discussions of the term "status" were much more difficult to find, especially in regard to women specifically. The few historians to attack this subject seem to share the belief that good history is specialized history.[7] However, as late as the 1980s historians were still pointing out the dearth of studies on issues involving women.

A search for historical writers who addressed the issue of status revealed a number of useful books published after 1980. Catherine Clinton's work is a good example of the new trends in social history that began to concentrate on women's lives. Her *Plantation Mistress: Women's World in the Old South* and *The Other Civil War American Women in the Nineteenth Century* are good examples.[8] Although not dealing directly with the Progressive Era, her views were instrumental in laying the foundation for this study,

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[5] Maurine Weiner Greenwald, *Women, War, and Work: The Impact of World War I on Women Workers in the United States* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980), 5-10, 20-26, 45.

[6] Rosemary Crompton and Michael Mann, eds., *Gender and Stratification* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1986), 15-22, 25-30.

[7] Eric Foner and Alice Kessler-Harris were two historians who believed in specialized history as "good" history. See especially Kessler-Harris's chapter in Foner's *The New American History* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990), 163-80.

[8] Catherine Clinton, *Plantation Mistress: Women's World in the Old South* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), 123-28, 139-50; Catherine Clinton, *The Other Civil War: Women and the Crisis of Southern Nationalism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 265-88.

because they provided an understanding of the social structure of the South leading up to the Progressive Era. My master's thesis, "How the Civil War Affected the Lives of East Texas Women, 1861-1865," continued the dialogue of change local women experienced during the Civil War, wide-ranging change that carried forward into the Progressive Era.[9]

Anne Firor Scott is a long-time researcher of women's issues, and her *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930* was useful in almost every area of this study.[10] Her comments on the "New Woman" who emerged at the end of the nineteenth century provided the national picture of status changes for women in the Progressive Era. C. Vann Woodward, one of the older acclaimed historians, never addressed women's issues in his writings; however, his *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* provided an excellent framework into which to place the study of Texarkana's women.[11]

By the 1980s, a number of historical works emerged that included the element of status. The four most helpful to this study were dissertations written by female historians who had read the emerging women's studies literature and applied it to their own research interests. Emma Louise Jackson analyzed women's role in Texas politics at

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[9] Beverly Rowe, "How the Civil War Changed the Lives of East Texas Women, 1861-65" (M. S. thesis, East Texas State University - Texarkana, 1992).

[10] Anne Firor Scott, *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 212, 216, 219-20.

[11] C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 1971), 369-429. Texarkana's women fit the pattern of "southern" women because the town itself mirrored those characteristics. It was founded by settlers from the Old South who brought their plantations and slaves into the area fairly early.

the end of the Progressive Era.[12] Patricia Summerlin Martin focused on Texas Baptist women. Her study, "Hidden Work: Baptist Women in Texas, 1880-1920," clearly showed how the state's women used socially approved memberships to build networks, learn how to organize to pursue a cause, and develop educational opportunities to better themselves.[13] Megan Seaholm chronicled the rise of the Texas women's club movement. Her study, "Earnest Women: The White Woman's Club Movement in Progressive Era Texas, 1880-1920," like those of Jackson and Martin, has regional information that provided an opportunity for comparison to the lives of Texarkana's women.[14] Elizabeth Hayes Turner was interested in the role that Presbyterian and Episcopalian women in Texas had played in reform in Galveston during the Progressive Era. Her book, *Women's Culture and Community: Religion and Reform in Galveston, 1880-1920*, provided the counterpoint to Martin's study of Baptist women.[15]

This study also found that prescriptive and proscriptive language regarding the lives of women was important enough to merit a separate chapter. A limited number of

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[12] Emma Louise Jackson, "Petticoat Politics: Political Activism Among Texas Women in the 1920s" (Ph.D. diss. University of Texas, 1980), 1-16. Her dissertation provided a regional picture of how Texas women began to emerge from the domestic sphere to address community issues that they deemed important.

[13] Patricia Summerlin Martin, "Hidden Work: Baptist Women in Texas, 1880-1920" (Ph.D. diss., Rice University, 1982), 224-26, 262, 267.

[14] Megan Seaholm, "Earnest Women: The White Woman's Club Movement in Progressive Era Texas, 1880-1920," (Ph.D. diss., Rice University, 1990), 126, 204-06, 446-65, 509.

[15] Elizabeth Hayes Turner, *Women's Culture and Community: Religion and Reform in Galveston, 1880-1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), i, ii, 43, 129, 283.

authors researched the impact of prescriptive and proscriptive language on women nationally and locally. Nationally, one of the most useful sources was Carroll Smith-Rosenberg's *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America*, which set down the ideas of the Cult of True Womanhood and the New Woman, patterns of behavior for women that were both prescriptive and proscriptive in nature.[16] Ronald W. Hogeland's *Woman and Womanhood in America* contributed Barbara Welter's clear definition of the term, "true womanhood," and identified its main components.[17] Carol Ruth Berkin and Mary Beth Norton added Gerda Lerner's criticism of Welter's definition and helped me establish my own criteria for assessing the role of prescriptive and proscriptive language in changing status for Texarkana's women.[18] It became apparent that in some aspects the language perpetuated the maintenance of ascribed status, while in others it prompted a change toward achieved status. Finally, Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English's *For Her Own Good: 150 Years of the Experts' Advice to Women* detailed how prescriptive and proscriptive language separated women into opposing sides within the four targeted areas of the present study.[19] This definition of opposing sides became useful in comparing Texarkana women's experiences with Texas women and United States women.

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[16] Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 245.

[17] Ronald W. Hogeland, ed., *Woman and Womanhood in America* (Lexington: D. C. Heath and Company, 1973), 104.

[18] Carol Ruth Berkin and Mary Beth Norton, *Women of America: A History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1979), 6.

[19] Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English, *For Her Own Good: 150 Years of the Experts' Advice to Women* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press, 1978), 3.

Thus Chapter 2 and 3 deal with methodological issues -- definitions of "status" and prescriptive and proscriptive writings of the late nineteenth century. Chapter 4 begins the analysis of women's changing status during the Progressive Era with a concentration on their access to education over the forty-year time period. Women's education had been a problem in America since colonial days and access seemed to fluctuate as localities at times emphasized women's domestic duties over individual intellectual preparation and on other occasions advocated educating women so that they could better train the next generation. Arguments against educating females were numerous and included women's frail physical condition, the domestic purpose of their lives, the need to preserve home and family, and their "limited" mental capabilities and the extent of knowledge they should have. Arguments for female education emphasized the social benefits of having better-trained women who would be the "first teachers" to their children, contributors to the community, and moral and religious influences within both home and community. According to this view, the whole community benefited from better educating women.[20]

A number of authors presented the national view of female education. Thomas Woody provided a good overview of the development of female education in *A History of Women's Education in the United States*.[21] In addition to developing an educational chronology from antebellum America to the early 1970s, Woody addressed the issues of women's use of education and the types of education most beneficial in preparing women

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[20] Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States*, 2 vols. (New York: Octagon Books, 1974), I: 529, 531.

[21] Ibid., 301, 310.

for social roles. Sara Burnstall's *The Education of Girls in the United States* gave a developmental profile of female education, as did Jane Bernhard Powers's *The "Girl Question" in Education: Vocational Education for Young Women in the Progressive Era.*[22] In *For Her Own Good: 150 Years of the Experts' Advice to Women*, Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English depicted the genderized American society's definition of "home" and woman's place in it from the post Civil War period into the Progressive Era.[23] Ehrenreich and English called attention to the elevation of housekeeping to "domestic science" during this period, and they note that it was one of the factors causing an expansion of female education curricula. Aileen S. Kraditor's *Up From the Pedestal: Selected Writings in the History of American Feminism* focuses on the obstacles women faced in gaining access to education, beginning with young girls' access to early schools, and continuing to young adult women's access to higher education.[24]

Regional authors have addressed relevant issues in the development of female education in Texas. Debbie Mauldin Cottrell's *Pioneer Woman Educator: The Progressive Spirit of Annie Webb Blanton* chronicled educational policies in Texas from the late 1800s to the late 1900s.[25] Cottrell addressed educational policies generally, rather

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[22] Sara Burnstall, *The Education of Girls in the United States* (New York: Arno Press, 1971), 110-11; Jane Bernard Powers, *The "Girl Question" in Education: Vocational Education for Young Women in the Progressive Era* (London: The Falmer Press, 1992), x, 2.

[23] Ehrenreich and English, *For Her Own Good*, 46, 114-15, 148, 166, 175-76.

[24] Solomon, *In The Company of Educated Women*, 21, 45-49.

[25] Debbie Mauldin Cottrell, *Pioneer Woman Educator: The Progressive Spirit of Annie Webb Blanton* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1993), 3-17.

than policies relating to women specifically, but she did present a good picture of the regional development of schools, percentages of attendance, and access to higher education. Ruthe Winegarten's *Black Texas Women: 150 years of Trial and Triumph* was important to this study because it showed the educational situation of black females -- a group too frequently left out of women's studies because of the difficulty in finding sources. Winegarten provided ample information concerning access, curricula, influential factors, and preparation for higher education for black females. Her work presented a good basis for comparison of Texarkana's black female students.[26]

Both nationally and regionally, numerous articles included education generally and female education specifically. There was no shortage of materials to develop the history of female education both nationally and regionally; however, no local publications existed that covered female education or education in the Progressive Era generally. Therefore, I derived information at the local level from Texarkana and Bowie County school records located in the Texas State Library at Austin, Texas, and from local newspaper articles and advertisements. Some local information came from interviews with longtime Texarkana residents.

Finally, in relation to female education, some ideas were raised in a chapter written by Fane Downs in *Texas Through Time: Evolving Interpretations* that provided useful suggestions in the development of a study of women's changing status during the

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[26] Ruthe Winegarten, *Black Texas Women: 150 Years of Trial and Triumph* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995).

Progressive Era.[27] Perhaps her most helpful instruction was to avoid reading late twentieth-century ideas and attitudes back into earlier history.

Chapter 5 analyzes changing status in women's employment. Here, early employment patterns were established in order to set the stage for status changes to come in the twentieth century. Steven Mintz and Susan Kellogg were useful in describing the role of the "cult of true womanhood" in limiting women's access to education in the mid-nineteenth century.[28] Alice Kessler-Harris presents the end result of the influence of the "new woman" in her *Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States.*[29] These two books provide a picture of women's employment at both ends of the forty-year time period, allowing me to understand how Texarkana women's experience fit into the national pattern. Dorothy Schneider and Carl J. Schneider discuss the overall impact of Progressive Era reform on the issue of women's education in their *American Women in the Progressive Era, 1900-1920.* Additionally, Dina M. Copelman's article, "Masculine Faculty, Women's Temperament," was useful in detailing the need for "meaningful work" expressed by women in 1880 which led to their entrance into the workforce in large numbers by 1920.[30]

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[27] Fane Downs, "Texas Women: History at the Edges," in *Texas Through Time: Evolving Interpretations*, Walter L. Buenger and Robert A. Calvert, eds. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1991), 81-101.

[28] Mintz and Kellogg, *Domestic Revolutions*, 55.

[29] Alice Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 75-108.

[30] Dina M Copelman, "Masculine Faculty, Women's Temperament: Victorian Women's Quest for Work and Personal Fulfillment," *Feminist Studies* 13 (Spring 1987): 185.

One regional source proved influential. Elizabeth York Enstam's "The Frontier Woman as City Worker: Women's Occupations in Dallas, Texas, 1856-1880," allowed me to synthesize what was going on in the north Texas region, in more urbanized cities than Texarkana. Enstam gave occupations, wages, and patterns that helped in putting Texarkana trends in perspective.[31]

The best resource for this chapter was the United States census. The tenth (1880), twelfth (1900), and fourteenth (1920) censuses contain a wealth of information about the female population as a whole and their participation in gainful employment. Moreover, by breaking down employment categories into specific occupations and regions, these censuses demonstrate whether Texarkana women were following "normal" patterns or were deviating from patterns of larger groups of women. Here, in the census statistics, actual status change was measurable.

The focus of Chapter 6 is changes in women's leisure time and their use of it. These factors were important in understanding the climate for change that might have existed for Texarkana's women throughout the time period. Many works provided useful information on women's use of leisure time. Ray Ginger's *Age of Excess: The United States From 1877 to 1914* highlighted changes in the perception of leisure time from the late nineteenth century to the 1920s, including a gender breakdown of perceptions of leisure time use.[32] Joseph E. Gould's *The Chautauqua Movement* filled in information

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[31] Elizabeth York Enstam, "The Frontier Woman as City Worker: Women's Occupations in Dallas, Texas, 1856-1880" *East Texas Historical Journal* 18 (Spring 1980): 12-28.

[32] Ray Ginger, *Age of Excess: The United States From 1877 to 1914* (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, Inc., 1975), 352-53.

about the trend that prompted the development of women's literary clubs, one of the first organizations to actively enlist women's participation.[33] Margaret Gibbons Wilson chronicled the influence of urbanization on women's use of leisure time in her *The American Woman in Transition: The Urban Influence, 1870-1920.* Nancy Woloch provided important statistical information in *Women and the American Experience: A Concise History* as did Glenda Riley in *Inventing the American Woman: A Perspective on Women's History, 1865 to the Present.*[34] In *American Women in the Progressive Era, 1900-1920* Dorothy Schneider and Carl J. Schneider outlined the development of women's organizations nationally, detailing how membership in these organizations drew women out of the home.[35]

The best regional source was a two-volume history of the Texas Federation of Women's Clubs. Even though these volumes were not heavily cited in the chapter, they provided a resource for comparison of Texarkana women's club involvement with regional patterns. They also allowed me to determine if Texarkana clubs joined in federation projects.[36]

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[33] Joseph E. Gould, *The Chautauqua Movement* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1961), 9.

[34] Nancy Woloch, *Women and the American Experience: A Concise History* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1996), 170-71; Glenda Riley, *Inventing the American Woman: A Perspective on Women's History, 1865 to the Present*, 2 vols. (Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1986), II: 39-40

[35] Schneider and Schneider, *American Women in the Progressive Era,* 95-106.

[36] Stella L. Christian, ed. and comp., *The History of the Texas Federation of Women's Clubs* (Houston, TX: Dealy-Adey-Elgin Co., 1919); Fannie C. Potter, ed. and comp., *History of the Texas Federation of Women's Clubs 1918-1938*, vol. 2 (Denton, TX: Wm. H. McNitzky, 1938).

A number of local sources proved useful in documenting status change in women's use of leisure time. Barbara Overton Chandler and Ed Howe's *A History of Texarkana, Bowie and Miller Counties, Arkansas-Texas* provides a concise chronology of the development of clubs and organizations locally along with limited information as to numbers of people involved. Additionally, Chandler and Howe profiled prominent community women who organized these organizations. Texarkana's three newspapers in the time period were also useful. The *Daily Texarkana Independent* was printed in the 1880s, the *Daily Texarkanian* was printed in the 1900s, and the *Four States Press* was printed in the 1920s. Within the pages of these papers was a wealth of information in the form of society announcements, advertisements, and city growth that provided the context for the changes women experienced.

Chapter 7 assesses women's changing status in terms of access to health care. Here, the sources available proved somewhat limited in that none of them addressed the topic directly, but rather, mentioned it in passing. Judith Nies, in *Seven Women: Portraits from the American Radical Tradition*, presents quotes showing the perception of women as the "weaker sex" both physically and mentally.[37] The quotes were important to this study in setting the degree to which women were addressed medically. Marlene Springer and Haskell Spring's *Plains Woman: The Diary of Martha Farnsworth, 1882-1922* and Lillian Schlissel's *Women's Diaries of the Westward Journey* documented women's experiences in the absence of professional medical attention and their

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[37] Judith Nies, *Seven Women: Portraits from the American Radical Tradition* (New York: The Viking Press, 1977), 141.

development of "kinship" health systems.[38] Robbie E. Davis-Floyd's *Birth as an American Rite of Passage* describes the shift from kinship health systems to technocratic ones at the turn of the century.[39] Morris Vogel, George Condon, and Ellen Sue Blakey wrote individually about the growth of hospital systems nationally and regionally that contributed to Texarkana's desire to build a hospital in 1900.[40] This was the key factor in increasing women's access to health care.

The best regional source proved to be W. David Baird's *Medical Education in Arkansas.* This volume detailed the development of medical practice and the educational level Texarkana women's physicians had. Baird outlined the growth of medical schools, conflict between allopaths and homeopaths, and the number of doctors practicing in the Texarkana region. [41]

Local sources were more than adequate to assess the changing status in health care. Herbert Wren, M. D. wrote "Early History of Medicine In Texarkana," which proved invaluable. Wren documented the first doctors present in the city and their specialties;

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[38] Marlene Springer and Haskel Springer, eds., *Plains Woman: The Diary of Martha Farnsworth, 1882-1922* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 60.

[39] Robbie E. Davis-Floyd, *Birth as an American Rite of Passage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 46-47.

[40] Morris Vogel, "Managing Medicine: Creating a Profession of Hospital Administrators in the United States," in *The Hospital in History*, Lindsay Granshaw and Roy Porter, eds. (New York: Routledge, 1989), 245; George Condon, *The Centennial History of Fairview General Hospital* (Cleveland, OH: Health Cleveland, 1992), vi; Ellen Sue Blakey, *Sparks Regional Medical Center: 100 Years of Service* (Fort Smith, AR: Lion & Thomas, Ltd., 1987), 14. Inclusion of material from these sources helped me determine the type of health care available for women during the time period and whether that care was available nationally, regionally, and locally.

[41] W. David Baird, *Medical Education in Arkansas, 1879-1978* (Memphis: Memphis State University Press, 1979), 33.

moreover, he mentioned physicians' associations such as the local medical societies. Chandler and Howe give a very nice, chronological development of the growth of Texarkana Hospital that was the source of hospital admission records used in this study.[42] Marie Jones compiled the "History of Wadley Hospital," which documented the developmental chronology between Texarkana Hospital and Wadley Regional Medical Center, the hospital whose physicians and medical records are featured in this study.[43] Remaining information was supplied from city directories, oral interviews, and U. S. census records.

In summary, there are ample resources nationally, regionally, and locally to produce an assessment of changes in the access of Texarkana's women to education, employment, leisure time, and health care between 1880 and 1920. Taken together, changes in these aspects of women's lives may have constituted an overall improvement in this condition. With that in mind, the following chapters document local developments and compare them to regional and national trends.

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[42] Chandler and Howe, *The History of Texarkana.*

[43] Marie Jones, "The History of Wadley Hospital," (undated), Archives, Wadley Regional Medical Center, Texarkana, Texas.

CHAPTER 2

STATUS

In considering a study of the change in social status for women during the Progressive Era, it is necessary to establish a clear definition of the term "status." Two broad areas of definition must be outlined: one from the work of sociologists and another from that of historians. Richard T. Schaefer and Robert P. Lamm (1998) have defined status from a sociological perspective: it is "the full range of socially defined positions within a large group or society -- from the lowest position to the highest position."[1] John J. Macionis (1997) added that it is the "recognized" social position that an individual occupies, implying that status is not a social aspect defined by the individual.[2] Jean Stockard (1997) wrote that statuses are "positions within the social structure which all of us occupy."[3] The above are authors of standard sociology texts used in basic sociology courses throughout the United States in 1999.

Social status is further categorized as being "achieved" or "ascribed"; that is, it is achieved when the individual has done something to merit inclusion in a given status, and it is ascribed when the individual simply occupies a given status by virtue of birth.[4] Examples of achieved status are the social place occupied by virtue of occupation,

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[1] Richard T. Schaefer and Robert P. Lamm, *Sociology*, 6th ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1998), 128.

[2] John J. Macionis, *Sociology*, 6th ed. (Upper Saddle River, NY: Prentice Hall, 1997), 150-51.

[3] Jean Stockard, *Sociology: Discovering Society* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing, 1997), 106.

[4] Ibid.; Macionis, *Sociology*, 150; Schaefer and Lamm, *Sociology*, 128-29.

personal achievement such as an award, and the bettering of social position resulting from academic achievement. Examples of ascribed status include the family and neighborhood a child is born into and the race and sex of a child.

Sociologists define "master status" as being "a status that has exceptional importance for social identity, often shaping a person's entire life."[5] Shaeffer and Lamm gave an excellent example to illustrate master status. Arthur Ashe had a high social status and personally adopted a high master status as a tennis star in the 1970s and 1980s; however, when diagnosed with Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS), both his general social status and his master status declined.[6]

Schaeffer and Lamm observe that "disability" can have an impact on master status for individuals or groups within society. Although the authors here are specifically discussing physical and mental disabilities, the term "disability" could also be applied to determining the social position of Texarkana's women during the Progressive Era. "For example, in the early twentieth century, the disabled were frequently seen as subhuman creatures who were a menace to society."[7] Women's physical and mental capabilities were questioned during the Progressive Era in the areas of education, legal standing , and occupations, which affected their perception of "who they were" in a sociological sense. They were often deemed a "menace to society" that had to be regulated and controlled.

Much has been written by sociologists and feminists describing women's social status. These works are important to the study of women's status in the Progressive Era

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[5] Macionis, *Sociology*, 151.

[6] Schaefer and Lamm, *Sociology*, 129.

[7] Ibid.

in that they define the issue of status from a sociological perspective in relation to other sociological theories such as social mobility, social inequality, and caste. One such work is Lucile Duberman's *Social Inequality: Class and Caste in America.* Duberman discusses the correlation of status and class in a society; then links social class to physically identifiable indicators of status such as lifestyle, health and education access, and issues of race, gender, and age. Duberman discusses social mobility, writing that "regardless of how open or closed its stratification system, a society does not grant "social mobility" to everyone. She noted, "It is clearly more advantageous, for example, to be born into a wealthy family than a poor family." Social mobility for women during the Progressive Era was tied more closely to the status of their husbands or fathers than to their own endeavors. What women were able to achieve depended directly on their ascribed status.[8]

Duberman indicates the importance of looking at achieved status from both an intragenerational viewpoint and an intergenerational one. Intragenerational mobility is one person's occupational progress during a lifetime, whereas intergenerational mobility is "vertical change from one social stratum to another from one generation to another." This gives the present study one more dimension for measuring change in women's status. Women's access to social mobility in their own right began during the Progressive Era as new occupations became available to them; thus, measuring the possibilities during one woman's lifetime and comparing them to the differences noted from a grandmother's

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[8] Lucile Duberman, *Social Inequality: Class and Caste in America* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1976), iii, iv, 94, 96.

lifetime to that of her granddaughter's could clarify the elusive element of change sought in this study.[9]

The present study of women's status during the Progressive Era is a cross-cultural study, although existing evidence for many cultures within Texarkana's society are meager. Duberman notes the difficulty of such studies and identifies four problem areas. The first is that occupational areas must have the same meanings in terms of prestige ratings, monetary returns, and proportional representation -- something that is difficult to prove when discussing women from various cultures. The second is that it must be possible to compare opportunities for upward mobility among the cultures, another hard-to-prove element. The third is that population samples must not vary in age distributions -- a factor that was automatically prejudiced by the number of existing women's records available. Finally, there must be comparable data-gathering efficiency and techniques.[10] Further complicating research for this study was the fact that it involved a forty-year period of great social change. Women were frequently excluded from existing historical studies because they were classified as unemployed and, therefore, not socially mobile. It seemed mandatory, then, that this study develop alternate ways of measuring women's mobility based on status. Another problem was the degree to which women of this era sought social mobility and how they pursued it. This could not be measured by the terms used to define male social mobility of the same time period.

Duberman includes a section on female social mobility, which proved to be most helpful in defining the possibilities for this study. She notes that "one impediment to

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[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid., 97.

female upward mobility in the professions is the sex-typing of occupations."[11] Women who tried to enter "male" occupations were frequently hindered by certification requirements and access to the certification process. At the same time, those few women who did find a way around the obstacles discovered that female salaries in formerly all-male occupational areas were lower than those of their male counterparts. Women entering the professions found a lack of "colleagues" who would take them on as "proteges" and show them the path to success within the business setting. Women's socialization at the beginning of the Progressive Era did not include the elements of "team-playing" and self-confidence in making their own decisions. Rather, their socialization included training in "pleasing," "placating," and being submissive -- traits undervalued in business. One source of help for the present study was Peter DeJong's 1971 study of female mobility, which Duberman cites. His study indicates that females' occupational heritage was historically similar to that of males. DeJong also notes that women were as mobile as men; upward mobility for women was more likely than downward mobility; and short-distance mobility was more frequent than long-distance mobility.[12] Thus, according to DeJong, "There are no major differences in the patterns for males and females."[13] However, DeJong's study was completed prior to the wealth of information generated by writers on women's issues of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s; and it is dated in its conclusion that there were no differences in male and female social mobility patterns.[14]

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[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid., 110-11.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.

Duberman identifies the importance of access to health and education systems in determining women's social status. She cites Max Weber's definition of "life chances" in saying that social class (status) meant "the chance to join the 'right' clubs, to know the 'right' people, the chance to live in the 'right' neighborhood, and especially, the chance to get better medical care and live longer." The pregnant upper-class woman had the opportunity for better medical care, to have her child born in better health, to eat the best foods, and to have the opportunity to rest during pregnancy. The lower-class woman had access to none of these by virtue of her status in society. Life expectancy data might then be a good indicator of women's changing status during the Progressive Era. Statistics for Texarkana's women in general could be compared to those of cultural and racial groups for contrast. Infant mortality rates and women's death rates resulting from childbirth would also be good indicators of women's access to, and use of, the growing health care industry during the Progressive Era. Duberman says in her summary on access to health care, "Poor people do not share the same life chances as those in the social classes above them. Members of the lower class tend to die younger and to have higher rates of all kinds of illnesses -- physical, dental, and mental."[15]

Social class directly influenced access to education, according to Duberman. Prior to the Second World War, the American education system was stratified in that high schools prepared students for college work, whereas junior high schools prepared students for trade and commercial training schools. In 1998 the stated educational objective was to "make college education available to anyone who wishes to take advantage of the opportunity," but in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth

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[15] Ibid.

century, education was limited to the children of the middle and upper classes. The perception of educating women during the Progressive Era was just emerging from the early nineteenth century idea that women were biologically inferior to men and could not physically endure the educational process; that is, they were "incapable of learning, retaining, and utilizing data." Duberman correctly notes that access to education has a direct impact on credentialism, which, in turn, has a direct impact on social mobility.[16] The Progressive Era was the period in which America emerged as a "credentialing" society, and it was also the period in which access to higher education began to open for women. Thus, change should be visible in this area.

In her chapter titled "Caste in the United States II," Duberman includes a section on sexual stratification that was useful in determining the framework for this study. The discipline of sociology has been dominated by males during most of its history; thus, the issue of sexual stratification was largely ignored in sociological studies prior to the mid-1970s. Duberman observes that "each sex has ascribed characteristics and 'proper' status and roles in society. Although both are boxed into positions that may be uncomfortable, clearly women are the members of the lower caste."[17]

Researchers examined the core elements of the female role during the 1970s and found that three statuses had been historically stressed for women: wife, mother, and sex object. Women were socialized to concentrate on marriage, home, and children; to rely on a male provider for sustenance and status; and to fulfill nurturing and life-preserving social functions. Women were encouraged to "live through others," rather than for the self.

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[16] Ibid., 203, 206, 218.
[17] Ibid., 279.

They were socialized to stress beauty, personal adornment, and the "feminine wiles." Women must not be aggressive or actively seek social power. Adjectives used to describe women physically in the 1880s included "weak," "helpless," "dainty," "non-athletic," "sensual," and "graceful." Sexual adjectives included "virginal," "inexperienced," "seductive," and "flirtatious." Emotional adjectives included "emotional," "sentimental," "romantic, "compassionate," "insecure," and "fearful." Intellectual adjectives included "shallow," "inconsistent," "impractical," "idealistic," and "humanistic." Finally, interpersonal adjectives included "petty," "gossipy," "sneaky," "fickle," "dependent," "subservient," and "status-conscious."[18] Gender-based role perceptions became stereotyped in American society and have been institutionalized to such a degree that it is difficult to measure accurately the possibility of status change available to women during the Progressive Era.

The Progressive Era occurred during the height of the period in which men were seen as "breadwinners," and women were confined to the domestic sphere. To be sure, women became skillful in the domestic arts, but in a society that viewed domestic skills as inferior to almost any other occupational skills, being the best carried little meaning. Women were in a position of social dependence on their fathers or husbands. They had no independent social identity. Although this fact is generally recognized by sociologists and feminists, it is difficult to document because women's inferiority was a part of the socialization process for children.[19] Girls were taught to be submissive, obedient, and domestic while boys were taught to be aggressive, competitive, and dominant. Both sexes

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[18] Ibid., 282.

[19] Ibid., 286-87.

were taught which characteristics were valued in the world outside the home and which were valued within the home.[20]

Marriage played an important role in determining women's access to outside employment. Once married, women were encouraged to give up employment in favor of their domestic roles. Therefore, the majority of female workers were single women whose families depended on the additional income they produced. Marie Weiner Greenwald, author of *Women, War, and Work: The Impact of World War I on Women Workers in the United States*, notes that the emergence in America of corporations and their need for more workers had an impact on "every facet of women's employment" in the early 1900s. It introduced women into previously all-male positions but did not provide them with monetary parity for work performed; in fact, "with wages scaled to skill, women often earned only half as much as men." What emerged was a two-track employment practice: male and female. In this system there were rules for the employment of males and other rules for the employment of females. The system became institutionalized during the twentieth century and was one of the chief complaints of feminists. An occupational shift toward specialization further penalized women in that more women entered the workforce and were willing to work for lower wages, whereas older, more experienced female workers were not given commensurate wage increases. In many occupational areas, there emerged a tri-level stratification of the workforce: at the top

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[20] Sara M. Evans, *Born For Liberty: A History of Women in America* (New York: The Free Press, 1989), 95-6; Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English, *For Her Own Good: 150 Years of the Experts' Advice to Women* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press, 1978), 148.

were men trained to deal with management functions such as judgment and responsibility; in the middle were semi-skilled women who had learned from their work experience and were useful to the employer; and at the bottom, unskilled women assigned to routine, easily-learned tasks.[21]

Although it occurred late in the time period of this study, America's involvement in the "Great War" gave women opportunities to do men's jobs at all levels and to be paid more fairly for the work they performed. Greenwald comments, "As a group, female wage earners were acutely aware of the implications of their new wartime opportunities. No matter how modest their employment options, they took full advantage of this occasion to improve their economic status." Women looked for work in ways not previously seen in females but normally associated with male wage earners. They sought job information from government agencies, newspaper advertisements, and referrals from family, friends, and clergymen. The war allowed women to do things previously thought impossible for the "fairer" sex: operating drills, car-bearing machines, lathes, and cranes. Many women even worked high above the ground, building new structures from office buildings to dreadnoughts.[22]

Greenwald finds that race was an additional factor determining women's occupational possibilities in the war years. Although white women had the opportunity to work at almost every previously male job, black women were confined to domestic jobs, even though they were employed by corporations and retail houses. As white women moved up, their former positions were filled by black women. Nationally, about

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[21] Duberman, *Social Inequality*, 5, 8-10.
[22] Ibid., 20-21.

five thousand black women filled clerical positions, especially with the U. S. government. This provided skilled training to a core of black women who would, in turn, make it possible for black women of the future to gain wider employment opportunities.[23]

According to Greenwald, working women of all races took advantage of their wartime opportunities to change jobs, seek fairer labor practices, agitate for better working conditions, and challenge employers' authority in many areas. In the process, they learned valuable skills that would enable them to make significant occupational progress during the Second World War.[24]

Rosemary Crompton and Michael Mann edited *Gender and Stratification*, a book valuable to this study.[25] It was especially helpful because it revealed many arguments among sociologists regarding the use of the term "status" and linked it with gender as a means of studying change in women's lives. The second chapter, "Class, Status, and Gender," written by David Lockwood, was useful in formulating concepts for the study of status change for Progressive Era women in Texarkana, Texas. Lockwood finds that linking gender and status was a poor research method because men and women did not occupy exclusive status groups, but, rather, were interwoven in status based on class position in society. He argues that women would never rise up as a group to demand changes in status from the dominant male social group. He notes that ethnic divisions were more useful in identifying conflict between social groups than was gender. Referring

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[23] Ibid., 23, 26.

[24] Ibid., 45.

[25] Rosemary Crompton and Michael Mann, eds., *Gender and Stratification* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1986), 15.

to Marxist conflict theory, Lockwood says that it was counterproductive for men and women to pull against each other in a society, as would be supposed by conflict theorists, who felt that males exploited females in capitalist societies. Further, Lockwood calls attention to some evidence that women fit into the Marxist economic theory of system contradictions in that, by performing "domestic labor," women constituted a "reserve army of labor" that could be brought into service as needed. Lockwood cites Max Weber in defining status situation for women. Weber theorized that status was dependent on "marketable skills," which, in turn, were limited by the estimations of social worth placed on them by society. Status groups stratified societies based on monopolization of ideal goods and opportunities, thereby assuring their social rank. And finally, such monopolization was sanctioned by religious, legal, or conventional social institutions. Lockwood concludes that "as outcomes of the differentiation of status situation specific of men and women, sexual divisions of labor were insignificant bases for status-group formation." "Sexual differentiation lacks a status-conferring institutional basis. This is a basic reason why men and women do not, and cannot, form status groups."[26]

Sylvia Walby, in her chapter titled "Gender, Class, and Stratification: Towards a New Approach," takes an opposite view from that of Lockwood. According to Walby, gender is a valid indicator of status, but previous studies had been too cautious in addressing gender issues in relation to status formation. She reviews two earlier studies in illustrating her points. The first study was done by John H. Goldthorpe in 1983 and represents what Walby calls the "conventional view of women." Goldthorpe said that "wives' participation in the labor market was intermittent and limited on the basis of data

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[26] Ibid., 15, 17, 19-20, 22.

which showed that the majority of wives were not in continuous employment and that a sizable proportion will withdraw from participation . . .on more than one occasion.'" Walby found two problems with Goldthorpe's theory: first, that his empirical evidence did not show the intermittent, limited, and conditional nature that he claimed it did; and second, that his study was too narrow to reveal what he said it did.[27]

Walby notes a second study, by M. Stanworth in 1984, saying that its major flaw was that it did not consider the class position of full-time housewives, but rather that it excluded from her categorizing scheme women who had never been paid for work. Walby comments, "While Goldthorpe treats all married women as full-time housewives and considers their paid work to be insignificant, Stanworth treats all women as paid workers and considers full-time housewives to be insignificant.[28] Walby goes on to discuss new feminist stratification theory in relation to more recent (mid-1980s) research, but this did not apply to the present study because it dealt in depth with the multitude of female occupations that emerged in the mid- to late-twentieth century. In the Progressive Era, the trend had just begun. Walby's contribution was important to this study in that it identified the more recent sociological debate on status, so that I could see the end and then go back and study the beginning.

Mary G. Powers's *Measures of Socioeconomic Status: Current Issues* was helpful in defining the importance of women's status socioeconomically.[29] Although stated in the

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[27] Ibid., 25.

[28] Ibid., 26-27.

[29] Mary G. Powers, *Measures of Socioeconomic Status: Current Issues*, Publication from Symposium 81, American Association of Science (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1992), 139-42.

characteristic language of the 1950s, 1960s, and the 1970s, the dialogue of her edited volume provided many ideas for consideration in defining status for Progressive Era women. Based on Max Weber's social stratification theory and research, the approach used census data to define the importance of women's work to the overall economic condition of a community. Socioeconomic measures for women's changing status proved to be one of the most difficult areas to identify for this study. Although women were accounted for in the U. S. Censuses of 1880, 1900, and 1920, and in county tax records, frequent changes in marital status made it difficult to trace them through the records. When they were recorded, they were often mentioned by initial only, making it impossible to be sure that " G. C. Jones" was the same person as "Geneva Cummings Jones." When this study was initiated, it was hoped that one of the strongest indicators of change for women would be statistical evidence of improving economic position. However, this was not possible to prove.

The second area for discussion of the term "status" was historical. Historical discussions of status are virtually impossible to find, especially those dealing with women as a target group. This is because historical research in this area is relatively recent. Venerated historians looked at American history through the lens of male perspectives and interpreted history in that manner. Even Charles and Mary Beard, noted Progressive historians, fail to address the issue of women's social roles. Mary Beard wrote a great deal about women's lives through history, but she did not look at them in terms of gender, separate from males. She saw them as an extension of the male

society to which they belonged.[30] The study of changing status was actually an outgrowth of a relatively new history field, social history. This field began to emerge in the 1960s and defined itself with any area of human concern that focused not on leaders or elites, but rather on the whole population, examining changes in society over time.[31] One of the main problems with pursuing social history is the fact that most history was written by and for the elite classes; thus, there are few existing resources on which to rely in writing the "history of common people." Alice Kessler-Harris wrote a chapter titled, "Social History," which is included in Eric Foner's *The New American History* in which she notes that this type of social history emphasizes the individual and family life.[32] Kessler-Harris says that, although there were numerous problems with the emergence of social history, over the decades what emerged was a new type of history that attempts to understand significant social change during a given period of time by looking at social change within segments of a target population. Many important trends have developed in social history. According to Kessler-Harris, social history developed in response to a variety of issues: society's response to rapid change in the areas of social and occupational mobility, statistical sources available to document those changes, access to social mobility by class, the degree of influence among social classes, and the roles of urbanization and industrialization in these cultural changes. Social history thus began to

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[30] Michael Kraus and Davis D. Joyce, *The Writing of American History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 139-45.

[31] Paul H. Conkin and Roland N. Stromberg, *Heritage and Challenge: The History and Theory of History* (Arlington Heights, IL: Forum Press: 1989), 111-12.

[32] Eric Foner, *The New American History* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1990), 163-80.

concentrate on smaller groupings of people to determine how change affected them. The result of this trend was a further fracturing of the field of history into, for example, women's history, corporate history, and ethnic history.[33]

Once historical study began to concentrate on women's lives, it moved quickly to studies of gender, class, and status. These studies began to emerge in the mid-1980s and continue to the present. Many of the most respected feminist authors have approached these topics, although few have devoted entire works to the study of status from the woman's perspective. Catherine Clinton wrote a great deal about the class structure of the South in her *The Plantation Mistress: Woman's World in the Old South*, but her focal point was prior to 1875. This book was instrumental in providing a situational base on which to build the Progressive Era changes of this study. Clinton's *The Other Civil War: American Women in the Nineteenth Century* provided many useful ideas for approaching this study, especially her emphasis on how the poorer classes of southern women earned a living after the Civil War, which helped in the development of a starting point for the study of this group of women.[34] George C. Rable wrote *Civil Wars: Woman and the Crisis of Southern Nationalism*, which also discussed southern cultures and made many interesting points for consideration. One chapter in particular, "The Janus-Faced Women of the South," created a clear picture of how all sectors of southern womanhood fared after the Civil War, which, in turn, determined how they were socially situated in 1880. Rable notes that, for southern women, it was "change without change. Women's roles

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[33] Ibid., 171-75, 177-80.

[34] Catherine Clinton, *The Plantation Mistress: Woman's World in the Old South* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), 123-50; Catherine Clinton, *The Other Civil War: American Women in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1984), 89.

and status in southern society continued to evolve in new directions, creating a crazy-quilt pattern of modest and limited improvements in an atmosphere of ideological reaction."[35] Although Rable's study was written from a male point of view, he provides much useful information about women's lives in the "New South," domesticity, and society's prescriptions for their behavior. Anne Firor Scott's *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930* provided background information on how women throughout the South in the nineteenth century sought more political voice and the methods they pursued to acquire it. She gave ample information for comparison to Texarkana women's lives. "The 'New Woman'," part two of Scott's book, clarified southern women's pursuit of the vote and their lives outside of the home. In Chapter 9, "The New Woman Observed," she cites Edwin Mim's words in his 1926 work, "The Advancing South," which vividly summed up the situation for many southerners.[36] "All are agreed that something has happened to change the status of women; some are very happy over the change and others are sad, tragically sad." In this same chapter, Scott points out many of the ironies of women's new status. Although family was still central to southern society, it had become obvious that increasing access to education and widening career opportunities had changed southern women's need to marry. Many were consciously choosing not to marry, in favor of a career. Additionally, Scott observes that the number of divorces throughout the South had steadily risen during the Progressive Era. Southern society was in turmoil because, although there were definite new patterns

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[35] George C. Rable, *Civil Wars: Women and the Crisis of Southern Nationalism* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 288, 265-88.

[36] Anne Firor Scott, *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 211.

of female status, there were not correspondingly new male patterns; husbands still expected to be obeyed, recognized as head of the family, and waited upon. The expansion of women's interests caused social turmoil and a period of recrimination clearly visible in the press of the period.[37] Women were chastised for abandoning their traditional roles and the "New Woman" was soundly mocked. C. Vann Woodward's *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* was also useful in studying regional trends in class and status formation throughout the South. Woodward comments that southern progressivism focused on the urban, middle-class, professional male. Two chapters, "Progressivism -- For Whites Only," and "Philanthropy and the Forgotten Man" were useful in establishing social and political conditions in the South, especially as it affected the male population. In the chapter "Bonds of Mind and Spirit" Woodward writes:

> By the turn of the century it was time for the generation that had grown up in the post-Reconstruction period to take command of the cultural life of the South. As a rule, people of this generation were unprepared for the task. They were the children of the cultural famine that blighted the land of their youth, and they came to manhood bearing the marks of intellectual malnutrition. . . .Sterility and imitation were marks of the culture they produced.[38]

However, Woodward found that scholarship began to experience a rebirth beginning at the turn of the century, which enabled the region to begin to produce original art, literature, and scholarship by mid-twentieth century.[39] This was an important point to include in the present study, because it contradicts the picture presented in the press of the period.

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[37] Ibid., 212, 216, 219-20.

[38] C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 1971), 371, 369-95, 396-429.

[39] Ibid., 445-46.

Newspapers presented the region as superior, or at least on a par with the North in these areas.

Late-twentieth-century women's studies that focus on class and status from a female perspective have proliferated exponentially. An overview of numerous books written since women's history emerged was helpful because it disclosed the changing argument about women's status in general. Early histories focused on the injustices done to women and preached retribution for women's long years of suffering at the hands of males. However, later histories began to bring in other viewpoints, especially about women's role in their own subjection and the presence of women's power within the patriarchal system. A few of these works include Elizabeth York Enstam's *Women and the Creation of Urban Life: Dallas, Texas, 1843-1920*; Fane Downs and Nancy Baker Jones's *Women and Texas History: Selected Essays*; and Marjorie Spruill Wheeler's *New Women of the New South: The Leaders of the Woman Suffrage Movement in the Southern States*. These histories revealed that those who studied changes in class or status had to take care not to read late-twentieth-century norms into late nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century women's histories. They were very different American cultures, affected by many elements. What did seem obvious from looking at these works chronologically is that views of women's history have changed a great deal since the mid-1980s. Now, there appears to be no need to prove that studying women's history is a

valid pursuit; rather, more effort is spent in gaining accurate measures by which to test women's progress. This insight was important in the approach to this study.[40]

The four studies most useful in the present study of status are dissertations produced in Texas from 1980-1990. They examined women's changing community roles during the Progressive Era in many areas and their findings are relevant to this status study of Texarkana women. The earliest is Emma Louise Jackson's "Petticoat Politics: Political Activism Among Texas Women in the 1920s" (1980). Although Jackson's focus is strictly on the political, she also presented views of how other Texans viewed politically active women. Women's changing community status was so closely tied to social prescription that it frequently dictated what was possible in the area of change and who had access to that possibility.[41] Jackson showed women discovering their speaking voices and then using those voices to gain power in other areas. Patricia Summerlin Martin's "Hidden Work: Baptist Women in Texas, 1880-1920" (1982) was helpful in indicating how women used traditionally approved avenues to develop organizational and recruiting skills, as well as to broaden their knowledge. Especially useful was Martin's chapter, "Defining Worthy Women." In this chapter she outlines general female characteristics, as well as views on female education, marriage and motherhood, and civic duty. Although not couched in terms of status per se, Martin outlines an almost prescriptive picture of the ideal progressive woman -- according to the Texas Baptists.

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[40] Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, "Texas Women and the Writing of Women's History" in *Women and Texas History: Selected Essays*, Fane Downs and Nancy Baker Jones, eds. (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1993), 3, xii-xiii.

[41] Emma Louise Jackson, "Petticoat Politics: Political Activism Among Texas Women in the 1920s" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1980), 1-16.

Because Texarkana is situated directly in the "Bible Belt," many of Martin's observations about Baptist women were applicable to the women I studied. She contrasts the ideal of "True Womanhood" from the earliest part of the study (1880) to the emerging change in Baptist thinking, as voiced in J. B. Gambrell's editorial of 1912, titled "Why Female Suffrage is Coming." Gambrell, editor of the *Baptist Standard*, the most influential reading material for Texas Baptists, described changes in Baylor's curricula for women that indicated changing times. Martin closes this chapter with an apt phrase related to Baptist women of the 1920s: "For the majority of Baptists -- Baptist women -- many of the implications of that liberty were just beginning to dawn."[42]

Megan Seaholm's study, "Earnest Women: The White Woman's Club Movement in Progressive Era Texas, 1880-1920," was an excellent source of information concerning the presence of women's clubs in the state. It provides a framework against which to check in my documentation of the types of clubs Texarkana's women founded and joined. The variety of these clubs was impressive, and women's use of the club forum to build their organizational skills was instructive. Seaholm is especially effective in documenting changing women's perceptions of their social roles. At the beginning of her study, she shows that the women had typical "Cult of True Womanhood" expectations and used the clubs to provide female companionship and to expand their knowledge on a variety of subjects. They started with socially approved clubs such as church missionary groups and graduated to literary clubs, clubs interested in reform, and finally to more radical clubs (at least by early club standards) such as the Business and Professional Women's Clubs.

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[42] Patricia Summerlin Martin, "Hidden Work: Baptist Women in Texas, 1880-1920" (Ph.D. diss., Rice University, 1982), 224-26, 262, 267.

Seaholm quoted Mrs. Harriet H. Robinson of the Old and New Club of Maiden, Massachusetts, who said in 1891, "The mission of the women's clubs is to fit the sex for larger duties which are so surely coming into their lives."[43] Seaholm also discussed southern women's concerns about joining clubs and their fear that they (the women who joined) would be perceived as violating southern norms of "ladyhood." She notes that "the approbation afforded 'true womanhood' and southern ladyhood became insufficient rewards in a society that increasingly valued competition and achievement."[44] While southern women of means often attended female seminary, or women's colleges, there were few avenues for socially approved use of the knowledge and skills they had learned. Most educated women married, had children, and let their intellectual curiosity wither. The women, themselves, acclaimed the club movement as "filling the void" in their lives. Having established the importance of women's clubs to the South's women, Seaholm carries her argument one step further in showing how the clubs ventured into political issues -- a realm that, previously, no self-respecting southern lady would dare to enter. She is especially effective in her discussion of the influence of the Federation of Women's Clubs as an organizing unit for political and social change, in which she includes a statement from Anne Hertzberg, who addressed the Texas Federation of Women's Clubs convention in 1910: "Opportunity is constantly knocking at your door; listen to her call, and remember that, having accepted responsibility in the spirit of true service, you are turning the common dust of servile opportunity to gold."[45] This view was quite different

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[43] Megan Seaholm, "Earnest Women: The White Women's Club Movement in Progressive Era Texas, 1880-1920" (Ph.D. diss., Rice University, 1988), 126.

[44] Ibid., 204.

[45] Ibid., 205-6, 446-65.

from the old view of woman's service being limited to the home; it actually encouraged women to accept responsibility for community service. Club membership, although limited to women of the upper classes, was a useful indicator of women's changing status.[46]

Elizabeth Hayes Turner's study, *Women's Culture and Community: Religion and Reform in Galveston, 1880-1920*, makes a point concerning the role that Presbyterian and Episcopalian women played in civic reform. This was not the main benefit of her study to my research, however. It was, rather, her statement, "By the Progressive Era women had formed an informal community of civic activists whose focus on improvement grew out of their own cultural and domestic world." In Turner's work, the process of change over time was especially clear and helpful in forming the framework for the study of Texarkana's women. Frontier conditions in Texas during the earliest part of the Progressive Era played a role in what women were allowed to do, activities not normally sanctioned by "proper" society. Survival was foremost at that time and social rules frequently were bent to accommodate necessity. Out of that lassitude, some women found increasing influence outside the home. Turner featured Margaret McCullough, of whom it was it said in 1878 that "She was not the type of woman to remain dependent for long; her life experiences had supplied her with a fortitude common to many women who accompanied their husbands to the frontier." An examination of the roles played by women in the Presbyterian and Episcopalian churches was important because of the more relaxed attitude toward women filling important church positions -- a view not shared by

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[46] Ibid., 458-59, 509.

the South's Baptists. Additionally, Turner noted that sometimes women's individual talents provided them with an avenue to broader participation within the community. One example was the women with singing or musical talent who were able to form music clubs and "perform" for the public -- in a time when female performers were usually seen as being the same as "ladies of the evening."[47]

From this examination of work relating to the concept of status, the methodology for my study of Progressive-Era women in Texarkana, Texas, was formed. The intent is not to produce a full-blown study of Texarkana society during the Progressive Era, but rather to analyze changes in the condition of women's lives during the years from 1880 to 1920. These changes can be viewed simply as improvements in the everyday lives of women -- in their status, in a limited sense of the word -- and they can also be examined in the more formal terms of ascribed, achieved, and master status.

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[47] Elizabeth Hayes Turner, *Women's Culture and Community: Religion and Reform in Galveston, 1880-1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), i, ii, 43, 129, 283.

CHAPTER 3

PRESCRIPTION AND PROSCRIPTION

A study of the change in status women underwent between 1880 and 1920 must consider the role of prescription and proscription. For the purposes of this study the term "prescription" is defined as rules laid down or a course to follow, while "proscription" is defined as something that has been denounced or condemned.[1] These two elements are important because society gave women criteria it wanted them to follow and alternative criteria it wanted them to avoid, thus creating a framework on which women were raised and built their life expectations. Both prescriptions and proscriptions were evident throughout the time period of the present study, but were especially prominent in the 1880s and 1900s.

In the 1880s the "Cult of True Womanhood" was just beginning to give way to the "New Woman."[2] Barbara Welter gave the seminal definition of "True Womanhood" in her 1966 article as follows:

> The attributes of True Womanhood, by which a woman judged herself and was judged by her husband, her neighbors, and society could be divided into four cardinal virtues -- piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity. Put them all together and they spelled mother, daughter, sister, wife -- woman. Without them, no matter whether there was fame, achievement of wealth, all was ashes. With them she was promised happiness and power.[3]

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[1] *Random House College Dictionary, Revised Edition* (New York: Random House Inc., 1980), 1648, 1062.

[2] Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 245.

[3] Ronald W. Hogeland, ed., *Woman and Womanhood in America* (Lexington: D. C. Heath and Company, 1973), 104.

Gerda Lerner, pointed out that Welter's definition did not take into account that the cult was an ideal not followed by all American women. Factory workers and minority women were not held to the same standards as their upper class sisters were, and thus, may not have been as restricted by it.[4] However, by virtue of the fact that it is the upper class women whose history remains the dominant part of women's history, and certainly provided most of the research documents for this study, it would seem that the cult had to have a powerful influence on the way the daughters of the upper class, and those who emulated them, were raised. The present study examines the information that was present for Texarkana women and makes some observations on the importance of prescription and proscription to their changing status.

Another important issue in the dialogue was the "Woman Question." What was a woman? What was her role in society? Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English, authors of *For Her Own Good: 150 Years of the Experts' Advice to Women*, said there was clearly a problem with the definition of woman's life role by the 1880s because of increasing opportunities women gained as the country industrialized and expanded. Pivotal was their access to education and the work place.

> What was a woman to do? Did she build a life, like her aunts and her mother, in the warmth of the family -- or did she throw herself into the nervous activism of a world which was already presuming to call itself "modern"? Either way wouldn't she be ridiculous, a kind of misfit? She couldn't fit into a "man's world" but she had become out of place in the home, isolated by the grand march of industry and progress.[5]

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[4] Carol Ruth Berkin and Mary Beth Norton, *Women of America: A History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1979), 6.

[5] Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English, *For Her Own Good: 150 Years of the Experts' Advice to Women* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press, 1978), 3.

One group believed the answer to the woman question lay "in preserving the Home." This was evident in sermons being preached, magazines being read, and speeches being given during political contests.[6] Another group discovered that women themselves were a question, an anomaly, something that did not fit the patterns of patriarchy.[7]

Texarkana's newspapers recorded the debate on the cult, new woman, and the woman question with articles including both prescription and proscription. One of the dominant characteristics in newspaper coverage of women's activities in the 1880s was the use of selected adjectives to describe admired women -- those held up as "good examples." These adjectives included "estimable," "belle," "handsomest," and "most accomplished."[8] Wives were advised to be "cheerful," "fashionable," and "sympathetic."[9] Editor Warren of the *Daily Texarkana Independent* frequently included extended prescriptive and proscriptive articles for the edification of Texarkana's women. One example is an 1884 piece entitled, "Advice to Young Ladies":

> Many years ago we were a young man -- never was a young lady, but have loved as many young ladies as any *inati* in America -- in fact, although our head is becoming a little silvery, we now never see a refined, modest and unassuming young lady that we don't love just a little.
>
> And we can't help it. God implanted in us an admiration for the noble sex, and we expect to admire them as long as we live.
>
> We never cared so much for beauty as we did for modesty and refinement -- those are the charms of womanhood that captivate sensible men everywhere.
>
> So girls be modest. It is one of the purest, sweetest virtues of your sex. It is the great charm that will bring to your feet the honest, sincere heart of the true man. Fops and dudes may fancy the "pert young miss," but the educated,

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[6] Ibid., 131.

[7] Ibid., 3.

[8] *Daily Texarkana Independent*, 4 September 1884, 3; 19 September 1884, 4; 15 November 1884, 4.

[9] Ibid., 1 January 1885, 2; 28 March 1885, 1; 24 September 1884, 2.

refined gentleman will always look upon her with pity. Modesty is a pure gem in the character of a woman, without which she can never attain the exalted position for which God created her. With modesty she can bring to her the esteem of all, and make her life one of happiness, joy and usefulness. The modest woman wields an influence in society that none other can wield, and modesty coupled with piety is the greatest charm to lead wandering man in the pathway of honor, virtue and truth. Girls, if you have cultivated pert ways, discard them now, they may give you momentary pleasure in the society of the gay and frivolous, but in after years true happiness may not be with you.

Again educate your minds, for with education comes modesty and refinement. 'Tis seldom you see an immodest educated lady. And in your search for education, be careful in the selection of your literature. Yellow back novels, and heartless, nonsensical magazine love stories, add nothing to the store of useful knowledge. Avoid sensational works of fiction, and study those that are calculated to improve your mind -- study history, the arts, sciences, politics, general news and *don't forget the cook book.* Useful household information never did a woman any harm.

Even if you are young, accomplished, as the world expresses it, even if you do play elegantly on the piano, it will not be amiss if you learn how to make bread and broil a steak -- these things do much towards sweetening the temper of a husband and bringing to the wife a new bonnet frequently. After twenty-five years of experience, we can tell you girls, that good bread and well broiled steaks have done a great deal towards making us what the "old lady" calls a model husband.

Prepare yourselves for any station in society. Let your studies be such that will teach you to be queen of the parlor or the mistress of the kitchen. You may now rest in the lap of wealth and luxury, but the affairs of this world are uncertain, reverses may overtake you, and necessity may compel you to pass from the parlor to the kitchen. Be ready to meet the reverses. The civil war illustrated the necessity for all this. Many whose husbands and fathers rolled in luxury before the war, at its close found themselves reduced to poverty.

And girls, you cannot be too prudent in all you say and do. Never trust a man too much. However much you may love him, however strong may be his protestations of undying affection for you, be prudent, treat him kindly and considerately, but never manifest your affection until the marriage vows are given at the altar; never let the lips of any man, save those of father or brother or some dear relative press your sweet lips until you become the wife of the man you love. Remember that one imprudent act or word may forever cast darkness upon your now spotless character. The world is too willing to condemn, but it is never

> charitable enough to forgive an imprudent woman.
>
> Modesty, refinement and religion, cultivate these virtues, and you will attract to you a man, who as your husband will prove worthy of your love, and appreciate those high and noble accomplishments.[10]

The foregoing lengthy advice covers the whole criteria for true womanhood well and is replete with language used in description of the cult of true womanhood and the woman question. Notice the use of the word "lady," along with language of what young girls should do, and what they should not. They should be modest, pure, sweet, refined, and accomplished. They should be prepared for their station in life, and they should be prudent. They should avoid being pert, nonsensical, sensational, and affectionate. These prescriptions and proscriptions were included in every newspaper, many popular magazines, and in church sermons. It is clear from the survey of the newspapers in the 1880s that Texarkana women were being told what was expected of them, and from their activities documented in the paper, it was also clear that they understood what was expected of them.

In 1900 it seemed that social stability hinged on getting people, both male and female, to settle down. "The old values of restlessness and adventure -- which had been essential to the conquest of the West -- were no longer appropriate and were, in fact, possibly dangerous." It was a time when Americans found themselves increasingly drawn to the security of the home.[11] Two dominant themes at the turn of the century were the rise of homemaking "experts" and the emergence of a child-centered society.[12] As science made industrial headway, it turned its attention to the daily work of the homemaker and

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[10] *Daily Texarkana Independent*, 26 November 1884, 2.

[11] Ehrenreich and England, *For Her Own Good*, 133.

[12] Ibid., 136, 168-69.

professed to "make her life easier" by making her duties more scientific.[13] Prior to the turn of the century the emphasis was on teaching women to manage household staffs competently and harmoniously. Editor Warren commented that young brides' biggest difficulties came when they had to turn from bossing their mothers to managing their "hired girls."[14] By 1900 society was telling women, who had become competent hired staff managers, to become instead "domestic experts" who could more efficiently do the work themselves, with the help of an extended education in home economics.[15]

At the same time society was trying to get people to settle down, society itself was changing and the makeup of the family was undergoing significant change that would affect woman's role within it. One of the changes was in infant mortality rates, which declined in the 1900s as a result of sanitation and nutrition improvements. At the same time birth rates dropped to an average of about three and one-half children per family. The result was that the amount of women's housework declined, and because of the health improvements, they could expect to see their fewer children grow to adulthood. They, therefore, began to invest tremendous emotion and effort into child-rearing.[16] President Theodore Roosevelt told women how important their new roles were as he addressed a gathering of women in 1909:

> The good mother, the wise mother -- you cannot really be a good mother if you are not a wise mother -- is more important to the community than even the

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[13] Ibid., 136.
[14] *Daily Texarkana Independent*, 10 September 1887, 4.
[15] Ehrenreich and English, *For Her Own Good*, 150-51.
[16] Ibid., 168-69.

> ablest man; her career is more worthy of honor and is more useful to the community than the career of any man, no matter how successful.[17]

Texarkana's newspapers of the 1900s were full of prescriptions for women. First, women were to improve their health. "Enjoy life, it is your duty to get well," admonished Warren. Prior to 1900 invalidism had plagued women and the medical community had contributed to it by making women feel defective because of their female organs and unique ability to bear children.[18] Second, every women should expect to marry. Warren chided, "A girl has got to have a beau if he is only in a story book.[19] Third, women should protect their virtue. He commented that woman should be "A Contented woman-- one living in the present, for the future, and without a past." Fourth, women should be even tempered. Warren defined that as "the Ideal Woman -- One who can keep house, her temper, and a servant."[20] Finally, he showed Texarkana women what their new role was:

> "Give the women the ballot and they will remove some of the temptations from the path of men, making it easier for them to live pure, strong, healthful lives, rendering them fit to continue the propagation of the race. . . .A new impetus will have come into women's lives, because they can do away with the brothel that claims their daughters and the saloon that ruins their sons.[21]

The newspaper clearly defined 1900s proscriptions, as well. First, was that women should not be frivolous: "'Necessity,' says the proverb, 'knows no law,' and all women will now be prepared to say that the law knows no necessity, for Judge Gates of the Kansas City Circuit Court, has ruled that a silk skirt is a luxury, that a husband can

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[17] Ibid., 171.
[18] Ibid., 93-4.
[19] *Daily Texarkanian*, 14 January 1906, 7.
[20] Ibid., 22 October 1906, 6.
[21] Ibid., 8 October 1905, 2.

not be made to pay for one if his wife buys it on a credit."[22] Second, women were told what they could expect if they treated their husbands disrespectfully:

> You can always tell a young husband from an old one by the way he acts when he goes after a bucket of water, says Uncle Hiram. Three months married, he swings the pump glances at the house as though some one were looking at him from the window. One year married he swings the pump handle more slowly, smiles occasionally and seems to be annoyed because the meal is late. Two years married, he looks sour and glum, kicks the cat over the coal house and looks at the house as if he would like to choke somebody. Three years married he sits on the doorstep and smokes while his wife works the pump handle.[23]

Warren visited this topic several times with the following advice for women: "A man would hardly ever mind being married if he didn't have to acquire so many good habits," and "A man may be able to take care of himself, but he isn't apt to realize it until he acquires a wife.[24] Third, women were admonished not to pick up bad habits:

> Girls, don't practice the wiggle walk. Where did it originate, and what does it mean? No one could make the preposterous claim that it is graceful. A young lady just returned from months at a distant school was seen the first time by a sensible woman, who remarked, "What a sweet-faced girl; what a pity she is deformed, or is it a result of an injury?" Practiced in the privacy of your home or gymnasium, it may be an excellent measure of physical culture, but surely no lady would perform thus on the street any more than she would arrange her toilet in public. It sets a bad example to the smaller girls, who admiring pretty Miss ___ imitates her in a wiggle that calls out maternal wrath on her back and threats of a switching if it isn't stopped. The nicest young man heard a mother thus reprimand a small miss and said, "That's right; if the girls only knew what comments and criticism that silly walk invites they would stop it." Walking out in last Sunday's sunshine I passed two dusky damsels, with high heels, pinched in waist, saddle-backed skirts and the wiggle walk in all its perfection. If you had seen them, girls, you would relegate the walk to them and use your limbs in the

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[22] Ibid., 24 December 1905, 14.

[23] Ibid., 14 January 1906, 2.

[24] Ibid., 14 January 1906, 7; 21 January 1906, 11.

easy, natural unconscious grace God intended you should. Please, dear girls, don't wiggle.[25]

Fourth, Warren used the occasion of a "damsel auction" to point out a number of problems women generated for their parents.

> There will be a sale of damsels of all ages for the benefit of the Texarkana Public Library. These spinsters will be sold separately to the highest bidder. Come one, come all, and witness the most interesting event in the history of Texarkana. Fathers wishing to settle their sons well in life this is your opportunity. Parents without grown daughters this is your chance to supply the deficiency. Girls already "raised," through school, piano practice done, and skirts let down. No trouble to you. Don't miss the pleasure of owning a grown daughter.
>
> Generous hearted men, with long purses, come and buy for your bachelor friends; think of the happiness you will bestow on some longing youth whose pocket-book is not equal to his desires. Those who do not wish to buy come and see how it is done. There are no blanks in this lottery, every damsel is guaranteed to be exactly as represented, and while some are of uncertain age, all are possessed of certain charm.[26]

Finally, Warren noted the "oddity" of some women who were pursuing their choice to remain single, an alarming new trend that troubled much of society at this time.

> Irving Park's debutantes, after many weeks of secret planning, have organized an Anti-Cupid Club. Twenty-seven maidens have entered into a compact.
>
> They have agreed not to marry or be given in marriage. All love is ____, Reference was made at the organization meeting to President Roosevelt and his views on the race suicide. One member proposed that "Teddy" be made an honorary member, but this motion was lost in a unanimous "nay."
>
> Dire things are to follow all cases of apostasy. The initiation ceremonies are of a weird nature. Backsliders will meet death in a "very peculiar way," the preamble to the by-laws declares.

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[25] Ibid., 27 January 1906, 2.

[26] Ibid., 25 January 1906, 6.

> Miss Ella Siebold, who is one of the prime movers in the new club, has decided views on questions matrimonial. She says, "Marriage is a check to independence and ambition, and it is more than deadly to strong and enduring friendships. When you are married you are a friend to no one -- you are a slave."
>
> Flirtations of all descriptions are forbidden to club members.[27]

Dr. Frances Willard presented women's rationale for making such a choice.

> I will not attempt to deny that few children are born into American homes for it is a lamentable fact, too patent to be contradicted. There are two reasons for this. One of them is that life is becoming too strenuous for the modern woman and she has not the vitality enough to make her prolific in child bearing, and the other is that men sacrifice upon the shrines of Bacchus and Eros until they are powerless to lay upon the altar of wedded love the tribute that would bless their homes.[28]

In 1920, society continued to stress "that women have -- or ought to have -- the sort of spiritual guardianship of the world -- the keys of heaven, you might say; so that through the love they give us and the love they make us give them, we find our best selves -- and -- try to do better than we could ever have done alone."[29] Anne Firor Scott noted that by 1920 women had gained opportunities resulting from increased economic independence, access to education, and professional opportunity. Nevertheless, they were held to the criteria of "ladylike" behavior.[30] Advocates admired the "New Woman" for her "healthy attractiveness, her independence, her strong-mindedness, and her zest for living," while critics saw her as egotistical, selfish, and assertive.[31]

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[27] Ibid., 5 November 1905, 10.

[28] Ibid., 8 October 1905, 2.

[29] Dorothy Schneider and Carl J. Schneider, *American Women in the Progressive Era, 1900-1920* (New York: Anchor Books, 1993), 14.

[30] Anne Firor Scott, *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 225.

[31] Schneider and Schneider, *American Women*, 17.

By 1920 prescriptive and proscriptive language had gone from the dominant newspaper columns, but was still visible in the gossip columns and advertising aimed at women. The majority of news about women was presented in a straight forward manner such as the following description of the activities of Texarkana's Young Women's Christian Association:

> The Y. W. C. A. provides reading and resting rooms, a library, and club room for young people of the city, a kitchenette, and cafeteria, the purpose of which is to give simple, wholesome food at the lowest cost of serving. Other activities of the association are the Girl Reserves, the education department, housing and employment bureaus, which have succeeded in placing many girls and women in desirable homes and positions, and classes in any subjects for which there is a demand. Last term there were dressmaking and millinery classes, and a Spanish class. Every activity of the YWCA is based on the idea of developing true religious education by interpreting it in terms of the every-day needs of the individual.[32]

However, two examples showed that prescriptive language was never far away. The first is an accounting of the activities of the Texas Federation of Women's Clubs showing 1920s suffrage activism and a prescription from T. F. W. C. for Texas women to participate in this important right.

> Details of much routine work will reach the clubs through the channel of their official organ, or the communications of their state chairman. It is up to the lay members to respond to the calls for action. Only in this way can plans, wisely considered, become of practical service. . . . .The ardent enthusiasm of Miss Lavinia Engle, who addressed the meeting on the payment of poll tax, as the surest means of being able to have the influence to bring about much needed legislation, held a strong appeal for the most conservative woman present.[33]

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[32] *Four States Press*, 4 January 1920, 3.
[33] Ibid., 11 January 1920, 6.

In the second Warren shows the reticence among the local female population to get involved in suffrage.

> It's most voting time, and consequently all folks with the real interest in their city at heart are beginning to take notice, as it were, of who's who and what's what among the candidates. Now my reason for starting this suffrage lecture is a recent interview with a prominent lawyer in which he asked what was the matter with the good women of the two cities that they were not manifesting more interest in the coming elections, which were very important as far as state, county, and city are concerned, and national, too, as there is a strong possibility that the suffrage amendment will be ratified in time for the November election. That is a question that I am going to leave you and the other "good women" to answer.
>
> Since the suffrage has been given to women, they have before them another grave responsibility, that of assisting in obtaining the best in government by casting their vote for the man who stands for the highest and best in politics. I have heard many men say, "Oh, I don't meddle much with politics, oftentimes I never even go to the polls." Perhaps that's why politics so often are not what they should be -- business man and the professional man, leaves the voting to the other man.
>
> Anyway, I have heard that Mrs. S. M. Ragland has promised to give that very clever talk on suffrage, that she gave at a recent meeting of the Lone Star Chapter at some meeting, and several prominent men are to give talks explaining the political situation, so that it will really be worth while to go and hear them.
>
> And now's the time to pay your poll tax. I understand that it is too early to get figures on the Arkansas side of the city, but that so far on the Texas side, not nearly enough women paid theirs.[34]

Prescriptive language was strong in other entries, which read, "Texarkana needs the individual effort of every woman, and she is a shirker who stays at home."[35] An advertisement advised women to keep up appearances by using brownatone" -- a hair dye for women.[36] Another advertisement said that women aged more rapidly than men

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[34] Ibid., 18 January 1920, 9.
[35] Ibid., 11 January 1920, 5.
[36] Ibid., 18 January 1920, 10.

because they lacked sufficient quantities of iron in their blood. "For want of iron a woman may look and feel haggard and all run-down -- while at 50 or 60 with good health and plenty of iron in her blood she may still be young in feeling and so full of life and attractiveness as to defy detection of her real age."[37]

Perhaps the most strongly worded prescriptive to 1920s' women was in the article by Edith E. Moriarty entitled, "Allow Girl to Choose Life Work While in School." This article told the story of Helen Christine Hoerle and her high school experience.

> When Helen Christene Hoerle arrived in high school several years ago she faced the same problem which thousands of other girls face. Neither teaching nor stenography appealed to her and so she found herself almost on the eve of graduation without any future. She never even thought of staying home. She must do something, but what? She struggled so hard to solve her problem that she determined to help other girls over the same troubles if ever she had the chance.
>
> It seems to me that my own experience at high school was the experience of many girls -- that most girls had in their inner hearts a desire to do something but didn't know how to go about it or were afraid to mention it at home for fear that they would be laughed at. Most schools were offering courses in vocational guidance yet no one had written a book at all adequate in giving a girl advice about jobs.
>
> Now almost every little girl graduating from grammar school has a decided idea of what she wants to do.. . . . .of course, I do not mean that she should be allowed to leave school before her time is up or anything like that, but simply that she should be allowed to think about the work she wants to do. Every girl should have a fair chance. We can always go back to the untrained job, but I believe in giving every girl a chance to do the sort of work she feels she can do.[38]

Review of prescriptions and proscriptions directed at women of the 1880s, 1900s, and 1920s shows that there were clearly agendas present in each time period and that women were aware of those agendas and actively tried to model their behavior to fit them.

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[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid., 1 February 1920, 13.

Adherence, though, depended on location and how strongly the local community enforced the ideals. It was expected that upper class women would conform to these ideals because that had been the traditional pattern, but as 1920 approached, many women were discarding old patterns in favor of new opportunities. Nevertheless, they were being chastised publicly on those occasions when their behavior strongly deviated from community established norms.

Prescription and proscription changed between 1880 and 1920, so that by 1920 women were not as restricted as they were in 1880. However, the "true woman" prescriptives and proscriptives did not disappear, but rather, they became an undercurrent of language. This is evident in the following chapters on education, employment, leisure time, and health care.

CHAPTER 4

EDUCATION

One measure of women's changing status during the Progressive Era was their access to education. In this area conditions were improving for American women before they entered the Progressive Era; thus, change cannot be directly attributed to progressive reform in education. Nationally, increasing access resulted from the development of high schools for girls, in itself a response to the opening of some public universities to women. These high schools came into existence between 1824 and 1845, with the goal of providing public institutions for girls that would fill the role that academies and seminaries had filled previously. The difference was that these high schools would be available to women who could not afford to go to the academies. Along with the opening of public high schools came a change in the curriculum offered to female students. Families were increasingly calling for some type of education for women that would prepare them in a practical way to add to the family income and to support themselves until they married.[1] Pro-female-education speakers advocated curricula including expanded knowledge of English, instruction in other modern languages, geography, practical arithmetic, and astronomy.[2]

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[1] Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States*, 2 vols. 1929. Reprint (New York: Octagon Books, 1974), I: 519, 524-25; Carol Lasser, ed., *Educating Men and Women Together: Coeducation in a Changing World* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 52.

[2] Woody, *A History of Women's Education*, I: 525, 527-28.

The 1800s saw the development of women's colleges. Initially, the efforts of Emma Willard in the establishment of Troy Female Seminary in 1821, Catherine Beecher in founding Hartford Female Seminary in 1828, and Mary Lyons in establishing Mount Holyoke Seminary for Women in 1837 were instrumental in showing that females could, in fact, master a challenging curriculum.[3] Beecher felt that it was imperative for higher education to be made useful to women and that previous ornamentality of their education should be eliminated.[4] Her views were apparently shared by many people, because demand for admittance to Mount Holyoke indicated that it was time for an economical alternative to costly subscription education.[5]

The opening of Oberlin College in 1834 brought about further opportunities for women in higher education. This college offered coeducation for women and men through the leadership of Congregationalists and Presbyterians.[6] Women studied English, history, moral philosophy, some sciences, and mathematics. However, although women were included in this college, their curriculum was modified to exclude Latin, Greek, and

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[3] Elizabeth L. Ihle, "Historical Perspectives on Women's Advancement in Higher Educational Administration," (paper presented at American Education Research Association Meeting, 30 April 1991, Chicago), 1; John Mack Faragher and Florence Howe, eds., *Women and Higher Education in American History: Essays from the Mount Holyoke College Sesquicentennial Symposia* (New York: Norton, 1988), 33, 70; Willystine Goodsell, ed., *Pioneers of Women's Education in the United States: Emma Willard, Catherine Beecher, and Mary Lyon* (New York: AMS Press, 1970), 27; Woody, *A History of Women's Education*, I: 343, 357.

[4] Ibid., 327.

[5] Ibid., 361-62; Goodsell, *Pioneers of Women's Education*, 279.

[6] Faragher and Howe, *Women and Higher Education*, 107; Lori D. Ginzberg, "Women in an Evangelical Community: Oberlin 1835-1850," *Ohio History* 89 (Winter 1980): 70.

Hebrew and to include a less demanding literary course.[7] Because Oberlin was religiously affiliated, it advocated that women's education ultimately prepare them for a life of service to home, family, and community.[8]

The increasing demand for teachers, which developed as education passed from an elite privilege to a public entitlement, led to greater educational opportunities for women. It had become clear that, if women were to attain higher education in order to teach in their communities, the quality of their own educations had to be improved beginning at an early age. Common schools needed teachers; seminaries provided some, but could not keep up with the demand. Normal departments were established in schools to train teachers, but this also did not meet the demand. Eventually this led to the development of publicly supported high schools for girls, which broadened access to include a larger portion of society's women.[9]

Just before the Civil War, female colleges were established that granted women the A. B. degree after a four-year curriculum. Among this group of institutions were Oxford Female College, founded in 1852; Illinois Conference Female College, founded in 1854; Ingham University, founded in 1857; Mary Sharp College, founded in 1850; Elmira

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[7] Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 21; Lasser, *Educating Men and Women Together*, 82; Carol Hymowitz and Michaele Weissman, *A History of Women in America* (Toronto: Bantam Books, 1978), 98; Lasser, *Educating Men and Women Together*, 83.

[8] Ginzberg, "Women in an Evangelical Community," 87.

[9] Woody, *A History of Women's Education*, I: 529, 531.

College, founded in 1855; and Vassar College, founded in 1861.[10] As more institutions opened to women, colleges began to concentrate on offering an education to women that was more comparable to that of men's.[11] By 1862 passage of the Morrill Land Grant Act sparked the rapid growth of state universities that, after the war, responded to the demand for the enrollment of women.[12]

By 1870 the extent to which women were taking advantage of access to higher education was evident. The official estimate of women students in higher education was 11,000, or one woman for every four men. The number of women attaining degrees was smaller, however, with one woman for every seven men earning a degree. Most of the women were attending institutions that did not grant bachelor's degrees: 5,000 attended normal schools, 3,000 attended private seminaries and academies, and 3,000 attended collegiate departments of institutions granting A. B. degrees. Of the 3,000 attending A. B. granting institutions, 2,200 were attending women's colleges. In 1870 there were forty private coeducational schools, with a total of 600 female students, and there were eight state universities with 200 female students.[13]

In the Progressive Era, women's access to higher education steadily improved. From a base number of 11,000 women attending institutions of higher education in 1870, the number increased to 40,000 in 1880; 56,000 in 1890; 85,000 in 1900; 140,000 in 1910;

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[10] Mabel Newcomer, *A Century of Higher Education for American Women* (Washington: Zenger, 1975), 11-12, 14; Woody, *A History of Women's Education*, I: 108-9; Newcomer, *A Century of Higher Education*, 11-12.

[11] Ibid., 363; Faragher and Howe, *Women in Higher Education*, 110.

[12] Newcomer, *A Century of Higher Education*, 13; Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, 53; Ihle, "Historical Perspectives on Women's Advancement," 2.

[13] Newcomer, *A Century of Higher Education*, 19.

and 283,000 in 1920. Women as a proportion of all college students amounted to 21 percent in 1870 and 47 percent in 1920.[14]

TABLE 1
Women Attending Higher Education Institutions by Decade

Decade	Number of Women Attending
1870	11,000
1880	40,000
1890	56,000
1900	85,000
1910	140,000
1920	283,000

Public school systems were widely established in the United States by 1884, causing significant educational opportunities to open for women. At that time, the total school population of the United States was estimated to be 16,000,000 students. Of those, 10,000,000 were enrolled in public schools. The public school system caused a great demand for more and better-trained teachers, employing some 290,000 nationally in 1884 alone.[15]

Regionally, Texas did not become a state until 1845, and education before that was generally a haphazard affair. Under the Constitution of the Republic of Texas, adopted

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[14] Newcomer, *A Century of Higher Education*, 19.
[15] *Daily Texarkana Independent*, 28 November 1884, 1.

March 17, 1836, the Republic was charged with providing a general type of education. In January 1839, Congress's Committee on Education deplored the neglected state of education in the Republic and put forward an education bill that would set aside three leagues (13,284 acres) in each county to establish a primary school or academy. It also set aside fifty leagues to endow two colleges or universities.[16]

Home schooling was the earliest means of educating girls, as well as boys, in the Republic and its success is illustrated by the fact that illiteracy in 1850 was only 12.2 percent for white males over twenty years of age and only 20.2 percent for females over twenty years of age.[17] Later, field schools were established in which itinerant teachers were employed by a community.

When Texas was admitted to the Union, it was necessary for a new constitution to be written. The Texas Constitution of 1845 called for a "suitable provision for the support and maintenance of public schools." The document continued, "The legislature shall, as early as practicable, establish free schools throughout the state and shall furnish means for their support by taxation of property."[18] It went on to say that "it shall be the duty of the legislature to set apart not less than one-tenth of the annual revenue of the State, derivable from taxation, as a perpetual fund; which shall be appropriated to the support of the free public schools."[19] According to Frederick Eby, an educational historian of the 1920s, the public school and the free school were not the same thing. The

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[16] Frederick Eby, *The Development of Education in Texas* (Norwood, MA: Norwood Press, 1925), 89, 90.

[17] Ibid., 93.

[18] Ibid., 104.

[19] Ibid.

state would assist in promoting public schools throughout the state, but the majority of individual students would still be paying tuition as they had under the academy and subscription school systems. The "free" public school provision was a way for the state to help pay the tuition of indigent and orphaned children. In fact, there was only one school system, but the method of payment differed between the indigent class and the class that could afford to send their children to school. Among all classes of society there was still great resistance to the loss of parental control over their childrens' education that state education systems would bring.[20] Females, however, were not excluded from the school system.

After the Civil War, a new constitution had to be written for the state of Texas in order for it to be readmitted to the Union. This Constitution of 1866 reflected the same sentiments on education among the population as the education clause of the Constitution of 1845. The population of Texas had risen from 605,215 to 818,579 between 1860 and 1870, despite losses from the war. Texarkana did not exist at this time, but the population of Bowie County declined from 5,052 to 4,684 between 1860 and 1870. The population of school age females was 434 in 1860, a number that included only white women, and 787 in 1870. This increase in the female population probably resulted from slave emancipation and the inclusion of both genders of blacks in the free population. However, due to the size of the state, the population was still very thin in some areas.[21] The law of 1866 provided for the establishment of school districts, the conversion of

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[20] Ibid., 107-108.

[21] Ibid., 149; "Census Data," 12 January 1999, available at http://fisher.lib.Virginia.EDU/cgi-local/censusbin/census/cen.pl.

private schools to public ones, and the democratic selection of teachers. County courts were given the latitude to vote a special tax to provide for the education of indigent white children. The education of black children would be provided through special taxes collected from blacks. This constitution was nullified by the federal government as Texas underwent Reconstruction.[22]

Under Reconstruction, a new constitution was written in 1869. This document called for a highly centralized education system, including a uniform system of public free schools that would educate all children, female as well as male, between the ages of six and eighteen. It established an office of superintendent of public instruction and mandated that the school districts be laid out in all counties. These school districts would be managed by local directors or school boards. School attendance was mandatory, and the school term was set at four months. Widespread resistance to the radical reconstruction government that mandated this plan resulted in general noncompliance with its education policies. A new law was written in 1871 that established an even more centralized education system. State Superintendent Jacob C. DeGress reported in 1871: "The public free schools opened on the 4th ultimo (Sept.) for the first time in the history of Texas." At that time the scholastic population of the state was 229,568. By December 1871, there were 1,324 schools in operation, with 63,504 students enrolled. For a short time, as much as 56 percent of the scholastic population were enrolled in school, but by 1873-74, the figure had fallen to 38 percent.[23]

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[22] Ibid., 156.
[23] Ibid., 161.

Grading of schools established under the Reconstruction government showed the curriculum available for male and female students in Texas. Schools were graded into first, second, and third class. Third class included a curriculum of orthography, reading, penmanship, geography, and primary arithmetic. Second class schools' curriculum included orthography, reading, penmanship, higher geography, mental and practical arithmetic, elementary English grammar, and the history of the United States. First class schools' curriculum included orthography, reading, penmanship, higher arithmetic, English grammar, English composition, modern history, physical geography, Constitution of the United States, and any branches of a higher grade that individual pupils may be competent to study. Needlework was required for girls, no matter what class the school.[24]

Clearly, there was a significant rise in female access to education in the United States during the Reconstruction Era.[25] However, there were too few students in eastern Bowie County to take advantage of the public free school system set up under the Reconstruction government, but students did have access to private academies and seminaries located nearby, and some local newspapers reported that students were being sent north or east to established schools.[26] Sometimes, children were sent to live with relatives in more settled parts of the country to complete their educations.

In 1876 Texas adopted a new constitution. During the constitutional convention, debate on the education question raged over a number of issues: many delegates felt that the state-supported education system was antagonistic to the will of God; that is,

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[24] Ibid., 162.

[25] "Census Data," 12 January 1999, available at http://fisher.lib.Virginia.EDU/cgi-local/censusbin/census/cen.pl.

[26] *Daily Texarkana Independent*, 29 May 1885; 8 June 1885, 4.

parents, not the government of Texas, should be in control of the education of their children. Others believed that man should not be taxed to provide education for another man's children. This statement expressed the feelings of many parents, "Away with free schools, let every man educate his own child."[27]

During the tenure of Governor O. M. Roberts (1879-1883) public sentiment in Texas switched from antagonism toward free public education to its acceptance. Roberts advocated a division of schools so that there would be "common schools" for the millions, "academies" for the thousands, and "colleges" for the hundreds.[28]

The establishment of schools in Texarkana, Texas, followed a somewhat different pattern than that typical of the state in general. In the year of Texarkana's founding (1873), settlers relied on private schools taught by teachers from outside the area. By 1874 the Roman Catholic Church began plans to open a school for all the children of the community. This school was established in September 1874 under the leadership of Reverend Father Bufford with Miss Maggie Wilson, a graduate of St. Vincent Academy in New York, as teacher. While the church was readying the school building itself, the students met in the dining room of Colonel R. W. Rodgers's home. Employment turnover seemed rapid at this school, because it had had five teachers by the 1877-1878 school term.[29]

After the parochial school had been established, others began to offer schools as well. The Reverend Charles A. Goldberg of the Presbyterian church at Third and Maple

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[27] Eby, *The Development of Education in Texas*, 169.

[28] Ibid., 172.

[29] Barbara Overton Chandler and Ed Howe, eds., *The History of Texarkana, Bowie and Miller Counties, Texas-Arkansas* (Shreveport: J. Ed Howe, 1938), 159, 60.

Streets opened a school on a lot donated by Thomas Moores. Goldberg enlisted his daughter Mattie to assist him.[30] This school was called the Texarkana Academy and offered a curriculum consisting of English, algebra, Latin, German, or French. Tuition was from $2.50 to $5.00 per month, half of which was due in advance.[31] By 1876 Goldberg had joined forces with the Reverend J. F. Shaw and J. M. Renfro to establish a school called the Texarkana High School. In December of 1876, W. G. Cook and J. D. Cook, his brother, opened the Cook Brothers' Academy. This school enlisted the help of Mrs. Zella Gaither of Little Rock as teacher. The Cook Brothers' Academy was short-lived, ending in 1877. W. G. Cook was then instrumental in gaining public schools for Texarkana, J. D. Cook became the associate editor of the *Texarkana Democrat*; and Zella Gaither eventually opened her own school, which existed for about twenty years. Other early private schools included Captain Roseborough's school, taught by Anna Derrick and Anna Fowlkes. Mattie Dudley opened a school on State Line. Mary Young and Ruth Moores had a school near State Street and Sixth Street. Miss Gelena Hayes taught in a log-cabin school on the James Trigg place at State and Eleventh streets. Jennie Hayes had a school at Tenth and State Streets. And finally, there was a Patillo school on Spruce Street.[32]

None of the early advertisements for private schools specifically excluded girls from attendance. However, economic conditions of the parents in Texarkana probably prevented many girls from attending early academies. There was still some evidence that

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[30] Ibid., 160.

[31] *Gate City News*, 2 January 1875, Archives, Texarkana Museum Systems, Texarkana, Texas.

[32] Chandler and Howe, *The History of Texarkana*, 161.

if a choice had to be made, boys attended school and girls did not. The first school specifically for girls was Mrs. Hogane's Select School for Girls, established in August 1878, with attention given to mathematics and literary exercises.[33] A second school for girls was announced in the *Gate City News* of September 22, 1878. Anna Derrick took out an advertisement announcing that the second session of her school for girls and young ladies would begin on September 2, 1878. She had enlisted the help of Anna Fowlkes as her assistant. Derrick must have had a difficult time filling her space with girls, however, because she noted in her advertisement that she would take boys under ten years of age for the present.[34]

In 1879 St. Agnes Academy was established for girls in Texarkana. This school was associated with the Catholic Church and seemed to be an extension of Father Bufford's earlier efforts. St. Agnes Academy was under the direction of Reverend A. Barbin, with Sister M. Justine of the convent at Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, as the first Superior. In this first year of operation, the church built a brick building to house the school and convent. By 1884 the school was regularly advertising in the *Daily Texarkana Independent*. Here girls could learn housekeeping, plain sewing, and ornamental needlework in sessions of five months. "Neatness, order and diligence are not only encouraged, but firmly yet gently enforced."[35]

In spite of the numerous private schools that were available, by 1878 Texarkana's citizens were interested in the public free school concept fostered by the school law of

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[33] *Daily Texarkana Independent*, 18 August 1884, 5.
[34] *Gate City News*, 22 September 1878.
[35] *Daily Texarkana Independent*, 18 August 1884, 5.

1876.[36] The ability to form "communities" of interested parents without the rigid lines of school districts appealed to early Texarkana settlers. The first record of such a public school is a commission issued to Colonel R. W. Rodgers by James Hubbard, Bowie County judge, on September 28, 1878. This commission named Rodgers Trustee of Texarkana, No. 1 School, Community No. 14, of Bowie County, Texas.[37]

In 1880 female access to education was disclosed by United States Census data. Within 250 randomly selected households in Texarkana, there were a total of 304 females over the age of 16. Coincidentally, those women had a total of 304 children between the ages of five and sixteen, and of those school age children, 47.3 percent had attended school within the last year. There were 99 girls between the ages of eight and sixteen among the 304 children, and of those 99, 69 percent were attending school (68). Literacy rates shown in this census were inconclusive for Texarkana's women because the enumerator was not consistent in marking data in these categories. However, of the data marked, there was an indication that about 20 percent of the women could not read or write.[38]

Within the decade following the 1880 census, educational opportunities for Texarkana's girls improved. Newspapers in 1884 announced a new school to be opened

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[36] *Gate City News*, 22 September 1878; Eby, *The Development of Education in Texas*, 172.

[37] Chandler and Howe, *The History of Texarkana*, 161.

[38] Tenth Census of the United States, 1880, Schedule I (Population), National Archives, Washington, D. C. The random sample was generated by computer from the total number of households in each census. Once the number of households had been determined, the computer designated 250 numbers randomly from the total number and those numbers were taken back to the census to focus on the individual household represented by each number. The same process was used for the 1880, 1900, and 1920 censuses.

by Professor G. A. Hayes that incorporated the concepts of both "graded" and "normal" schools. Graded schools were those established with a progressive-level system of criteria to be met by the students before they could advance to the next level. Normal schools were defined as those preparing students to become teachers. Hayes's school offered "experienced" teachers, an assortment of teaching equipment, and a large library. The curriculum included music, writing, elementary drawing, and calisthenics. He specifically emphasized the training he could offer teachers in his advertisement. Tuition was two to three dollars for the common school, three to four for the high school, and four to five dollars for collegiate courses. Hayes's school in 1884 laid the foundation for graded public schools in Texarkana, but was still a private school, open to women.[39]

High schools began to proliferate in 1884, as well. Texarkana High school, previously mentioned, advertised in 1884 that it could prepare students for either business or college. T. J. Patillo was the principal of this school. College Hill High School, under Principal W. H. Butcher, offered "the best mental training and the most practical results." Both of these offered board at ten and fifteen dollars per month to enlist students from a wide area around Texarkana and neither excluded female students.[40]

Although the public school concept was beginning to gain ground in Texarkana, private schools also flourished. In 1884, Dr. W. F. Thurm advertised his English-German School for Both Sexes. Pupils here would learn all the English branches as well as the German language; and parents could pay extra to have children trained in French and Latin. Two school providers published their goals. Thurm stated that his objective was,

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[39] *Daily Texarkana Independent*, 25 August 1884, 4.
[40] Ibid., 18 August 1884, 1, 5.

"the preparation of pupils for practical life or for college"; and Mrs. E. R. Gaither stressed attention to the minds and manners of her pupils.[41]

During the 1880s the editor of the *Daily Texarkana Independent* championed the cause of good schools for both sexes in Texarkana. Frequently, he noted the importance of education to the development of the community, to the drawing in of immigrants, and to the reduction of the work of the grand juries.[42] E. A. Warren, editor, was truly a champion of the free education cause, using his newspaper to voice his opinions. A lengthy editorial in the September 6, 1884, issue of the *Daily Texarkana Independent* admonished readers that there were more than enough children of school age in Texarkana to support a public school and encouraged parents to support it. He also noted that this would be one way to educate, not only those who could afford it, but also those who could not. Warren commented that there were six hundred children of school age on the Arkansas side of Texarkana alone, with four hundred of those being white.[43] Warren's enthusiasm got the black people to hold a meeting so that they, too, could claim a share of the public school fund and open a free school for their children. Warren used his business to promote free schools, printing three thousand circulars at the direction of the school board to be provided to every household, extolling the advantages of free schools for Texarkana.[44] However, there was continuing resistance among some residents of the area to the idea of public schools. They saw this type of school taking control of the education of their children away from them, and, they saw teachers as being too

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[41] Ibid., 19 August 1884, 6; 22 August 1884, 4.
[42] Ibid., 23 August 1884, 2; 6 September 1884, 1.
[43] Ibid., 4.
[44] Ibid., 12 September 1884, 4.

independent and too concerned with drawing a paycheck.[45] Warren calmly and patiently educated parents concerning the true nature of public schools and their benefit to Texarkana. These "free" schools were not truly free, however; patrons were solicited for subscriptions to support the school in addition to gaining some funds from the state school fund. Warren tried to shame citizens into contributing by publishing lists of contributors.[46] He also frequently compared school conditions in Texarkana with those in Little Rock, Malvern, and other nearby towns to show citizens that they were behind the times.[47] Warren did not stop with advocacy of public free education; he also addressed the quality of teachers. "Cheap teachers have retarded the public school interests . . . more than everything else combined."[48] Soon, the school board was hiring qualified teachers from wherever they could find them.[49] Finally, Warren showed that enrollment justified the concept, noting that cost per student judged by early enrollment figures would be $1.00 per month, much lower than the $1.50 to $4.00 paid in subscription schools. The East side free school opened on September 29, 1884, registering 150 students the first week and having 80 subscribers.[50] The West side free school opened on November 3, 1884, with 110 pupils in attendance, after a lengthy public conflict beginning in December 1883.[51]

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[45] Ibid., 15 September 1884, 4.
[46] Ibid., 19 September 1884, 4.
[47] Ibid., 22 September 1884, 4.
[48] Ibid., 26 September 1884, 2.
[49] Ibid., 4; 29 September 1884, 2.
[50] Ibid., 26 September 1884, 4; 29 September 1884, 2; 6 October 1884, 4; 24 October 1884, 4.
[51] Ibid., 3 November 1884, 4; 4 October 1884, 4.

The West Texarkana Public School was led by W. F. Thurm, Principal, with Mrs. Hogane and Miss Lelia Walker as assistant teachers. The board of directors was made up of Mayor A. L. Ghio, Ex-Officio President; F. M. Henry, J. F. Smith, J. T. Roseborough, W. Behan, and L. C. DeMorse. Pupils in this school were divided into three grades, taught in three separate rooms with each grade composed of two or more subgrades. Students learned German, Latin, and other prescribed subjects, and this school offered "gradual, healthy development" rather than an overloaded curriculum (probably a comment in reference to the East side curriculum).[52]

The local editor expressed the town's educational expectations for women when he wrote, "The wife and daughters of Minister Pendleton speak French and German fluently. They will represent the best type of American women . . . ."[53]

After fire destroyed the East side public school in 1885, efforts were begun on both sides of the state line to construct brick school houses that would not be so prone to destruction by fire. The West side school board voted to purchase new lands on which to build a public free schoolhouse and authorized advertisements for propositions on such land.[54] Eventually, they bought six lots from Joe Marx near the residence of Will Whitaker for use as a public school.[55]

In 1884 Professor Hayes initiated a discussion of the curriculum of public schools. He noted that a "proper" course for both males and females would include reading, writing, spelling, language, arithmetic, geography, and history of the United States.

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[52] Ibid., 30 January 1885, 1.
[53] Ibid., 20 April 1885, 2.
[54] Ibid., 4 May 1885, 4.
[55] Ibid., 8 June 1885, 4.

Proficiency in these subjects was required for promotion. In addition to these subjects, Hayes advocated courses in physical science, music, ethics (including biography, memory culture, and habits of life), and physical development.[56] Hayes next described the "grades." Grade 1 was the first six months of school, in which the student would begin reading by word, phonics, and letter methods; drawing and writing -- using drawing cards and imitating the teacher; spelling phonetically and by letter; language -- learning to speak correctly through reading lessons, writing compositions, and memorizing quotations; learning numbers to one hundred by tens and ones, addition, subtraction, multiplication, division to twelve, and being able to count forward and backward by ones, twos, threes, fours, and sixes.[57] In geography, the first six months would include drawing maps of the schoolroom and school grounds; and learning of the cardinal points, shapes of Arkansas and Texas and location of rivers, railroads, and major products of the states. Botany was included in practical science, and in ethics, students would be subjected to stories of moral, exemplary citizens, both nationally and locally. Much attention was given to deportment during the first six months by forcing students to address each other as "Miss" or "Master" and by encouraging the use of correct manners in sitting, standing, and walking.[58] Mastery of the elements of Grade 1 was difficult to accomplish in six months.

Grade 2 was the second six months of school, and it encompassed many new activities. In reading, students finished *McGuffey's Revised Reader, 1st*, and mastered reading comprehension and oral reading. This area also included spelling lessons from

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[56] Ibid., 11 November 1884, 3.
[57] Ibid., 13 November 1884, 3.
[58] Ibid., 14 November 1884, 3.

Henkle's Speller and the use of new words in sentences. In writing, drawing and spelling, students completed prescribed lessons from *Swinton's Word Exercises Blank No. 1* and *White's Primary Drawing Book No. 1*. Mastery of estimating size by sight, drawing dimensions, and the ability to distinguish three shades of blue, yellow, and red was required. Language and numbers were continuations of the work begun in the first six-month period with the addition of Roman numerals. Geography concentrated on the states of Arkansas and Texas in detail. Botany continued from the first grade, as did ethics.[59]

Grade 3 was the third term of six months. Students continued to complete the various prescribed books: *McGuffey's Revised Speller, Ray's Revised Arithmetic, Swinton's Word Exercises Blanks, Whites Primary Drawing Books,* and *Reed and Kellogg's Graded Grammar Books* in sequence mastering new colors, drawing exercises, arithmetic problems and compositions.[60]

Professor Hayes listed ten grades in his discussion of graded education. By completion of the final grade, students had mastered elocution, dramatic reading, business forms, zoology, geography of the world, hygiene, biology, the atmosphere, U. S. history, and eclectic history. They had completed the list of prescribed texts authorized by the school board on August 29, 1884, and gained an impressive list of skills. In his discussion, there was no prohibition against the inclusion of females. To the contrary, he sometimes referred to girls specifically.[61]

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[59] Ibid., 14 November 1884, 3.

[60] Ibid., 15 November 1884, 3.

[61] Ibid., 17 November 1884, 3; 18 November 1884, 3; 20 November 1884, 3; 21 November 1884, 3.

Enrollment in Texarkana's schools included females as indicated in the City Superintendent's Reports of Public School Funds, which began with the 1887-1888 school year. The first report showed that Texarkana had two white schools and one colored school (which included one high school for whites only). Within these schools there was space for 650 children. The Tax Assessor's Abstract Report of Scholastic Education for 1888 noted that there were 677 children in Texarkana between the ages of eight and sixteen (see Table 2). Included in that number were 190 white females and 156 colored females. The City Superintendent's report documented a total of 472 of the 677 actually enrolled in Texarkana's schools with 57 in attendance who were not school age; however, none of these reports gave the figure for actual female attendance in school.[62]

TABLE 2
Texarkana School Attendance

	1888	1890	1894
Total School Age Population	677	975	1,039
Total Females of School Age	346	575	498
% of School Age Attending School	--	49	51
% of School Age Females Attending	--	46	63
% White School Age Females Attending	--	50	70
% Colored School Age Females Attending	--	40	54

[62] "City Superintendent's Reports of Public School Funds," 1887-1888, Box 4-22-88, Archives, Texas State Library, Austin, Texas; "Tax Assessor's Abstract Report of Scholastic Education," 1887-1888, Box 4-22-88, Archives, Texas State Library, Austin, Texas.

By the 1889-1890 school year, there were 975 children within the eight-to-sixteen school age range. Of those 975, 350 were white females and 225 were black females. Only 480 of the total 975 eligible children actually enrolled in school that year (49 percent). Of those 480 students, 175 white females and 90 black females enrolled. Therefore, 50 percent of the eligible white females were actually enrolled in school and 40 percent of the eligible black females were enrolled. By 1894 there were 1,039 children within school age of both races, and a total of 532 of those 1,039 had actually enrolled in school (51 percent). Of those 532, there were 186 white females (64 percent of the white enrollment) and 135 black females (56 percent of the black enrollment) enrolled.[63] These reports show that among both white and black females, school attendance was rising between 1888 and 1894, and that the majority of students of both races were female.

Interesting statistics on United States population began to emerge in 1900. By the turn of the century 40 percent of the U. S. population was urban, located in towns and cities of 2,500 or more; whereas prior to that time the population was overwhelmingly rural.[64] Increasingly, lower occupational levels were counted among high school enrollments, showing that growing numbers of "intellectually less competent youth" were staying in school longer than they had previously.[65] And, the cost of a pupil's schooling had risen to $20.21 in 1900 from less than $10.00 in 1880.[66]

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[63] "City Superintendent's Annual Report of Public School Funds," 1889-1890, Box 4-22-88, Archives, Texas State Library, Austin, Texas; "City Superintendent's Annual Report of Pubic School Funds," 1893-1894, Box 4-22-88, Archives, Texas State Library, Austin, Texas.

[64] Stuart G. Noble, *A History of American Education* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1954), 371.

[65] Ibid., 401.

[66] Ibid., 398.

By 1900, statistics showed great changes in general population and in school attendance. Population statistics for Texas showed significant increases from 1880 to 1900. The state's population grew from 1,591,749 in 1880 to 3,048,710 in 1900, and Bowie County's population rose from 10,965 to 26,676.[67] Texarkana's population was not given separately from the Bowie County statistics in the 1880 census, nor was there an existing Texarkana city directory for that year to provide a reliable population figure for the city; however, in 1900, Texarkana had a population of 5,256.[68]

Census statistics on the school-age population indicate the percentage of children actually attending school in 1900. The total U. S. population of school age, that is, between the ages of five and twenty, was 26,099,788 in 1900. Of those people 22,479,211 were white and 3,500,194 were black. Texas statistics showed a total school-age population of 1,215,634, with 955,906 of those being white and 259,491 being black.[69]

United States school attendance statistics showed that only a little more than half of all school-age children (13,367,147) were attending school. Of those attending school, 6,668,823 were male and 6,698,324 were female, an almost equal gender balance.[70] Total Texas attendance statistics showed that 515,544 were attending school in 1900 and that the racial makeup of that number were 423,870 white and 91,674 blacks.[71] As was the

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[67] "Census Data," 12 January 1999, available at http://fisher.lib.Virginia.EDU/cqi-local/censusbin/census/cen.pl, 12 February 1999; Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, Schedule I (Population), National Archives, Washington, D. C.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Ibid.

case nationwide, male-female ratios in each group were nearly 50/50.[72] In Texarkana the total school age population was 1,745. It was 47 percent male and 53 percent female; 60 percent white and 40 percent black.[73] Texarkana School District records showed a total of 1,126 students enrolled during the 1900 school year, which was 65 percent of the total available within the age range. Of that number 46 percent (795) were white, 19 percent (331) were black, 48 percent (537) were male, and 52 percent (589) were female.[74] Interestingly, the proportion of Texarkana females of school age and the proportion of Texarkana females attending school were nearly the same, thus, these women clearly had access to education.

TABLE 3
School Attendance Figures
U. S., Texas, Texarkana
1900

	U. S.	Texas	Texarkana
Total School Attendance	13,367,147	515,544	1,126
Total Female Attendance	6,698,324	257,772	589
% of Total Attendance Female	50	50	52

In 1900 there were a total of 396 women included in the random sample of 250 households in my survey. Of those women 127 had school-age children and 81 percent of those children were attending school. There were 93 females attending school out of a

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[72] Ibid.

[73] Ibid.

[74] W. Owens, Annual Report of Superintendent, City of Texarkana, Texas, Box 4-22-88, Archives, Texas State Library, Austin, Texas.

total of 104 females of school age (89 percent). Therefore, between 1880 and 1920, the proportion of females attending school had risen from 69 percent to 89 percent. Additionally, literacy rates showed that 80 percent of Texarkana's women could read and write.[75]

Between 1900 and 1920, female access to education, including higher education, steadily improved and broadened. Women who attended college between 1865 and 1890, had to prove their worthiness, dedication, and seriousness. The next generation, those women educated between 1890 and 1920, developed lifestyles that clearly showed a change from those of the earlier generation. They were interested in recreational activities, campus social events, and community social activism. As women gained increasing access to work outside the home, there were calls for a reconsideration of the direction of women's education. Between 1890 and 1920, there was a 200 percent increase in the U. S. in the number of women engaged in manufacturing, mechanical, and clerical jobs. The result was a division of thinking about the educational needs of women. One group believed women should be educated vocationally for less intellectually demanding jobs, while others thought women should be trained for occupations that required a higher degree of knowledge.[76]

Theories and debates abounded on the proper methods of education in general during the Progressive Era. Some authorities advocated vocational education, some focused on progressive education with an emphasis on the individual student's potential

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[75] Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, Schedule I (Population).

[76] Lynn D. Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 4-5.

and practical skills, and some believed the older "elitist" model of education should be continued.[77] As new trends in educational thought began to surface in 1900, some began to call them "Progressive education," while others called them "extremist education." Texts reviewed for this study did not show specific exclusion of females from the education process in any form. The new theories advocated that pupils be allowed to chart their own courses, choosing those studies that interested them.[78] At the same time, school curricula were becoming increasingly standardized, resulting from the efforts of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools (1895), the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Southern States (1895), the College Entrance Examination Board (1900), and the New England Entrance Certificate Board (1902) to standardize college admission criteria.[79]

At the turn of the century, John Dewey's practical educational philosophy prevailed. Dewey became the "voice" of Progressive education throughout the nation, a trend that was caused by three factors: the spirit of reform and radicalism that began with Francis Parker's educational reforms in Quincy, Massachusetts, a new emphasis on building student's self-realization through self-guided activities in methods, such as the Montessori school, and the widespread scientific study of children's natures and learning patterns.[80] The freshness of Dewey's educational ideas prompted one author to comment

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[77] Judith Sealander, " 'Forcing Them to be Free': Antioch College and Progressive Education in the 1920s," *History of Higher Education Annual* 8 (1988): 59-60.

[78] Stuart G. Noble, *A History of American Education* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1954), 404.

[79] Ibid., 408.

[80] Frederick Eby, *The Development of Modern Education in Theory, Organization, and Practice* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1934, 1952), 629.

that Dewey was the "Moses who would eventually lead them toward the pedagogic promised land."[81] However, Dewey's educational ideas encompassed much more than an adequate education for America's children. He believed, "Education is the fundamental method of social progress and reform."[82] Teachers were to be engaged not just in the education of boys and girls, but in the formation of "proper social life."[83] Dewey was perhaps an educational visionary in that he correctly saw that socialization roles previously handled by American families were no longer being performed in that sphere, and, "like it or not, the school must take them on."[84] Industrialization was the source of the radical social change that had occurred in America, according to Dewey.[85] "The 'key' to what was progressive about progressive education was that Dewey's embryonic community was to improve the larger society by making it more 'worthy,' 'lovely,' and 'harmonious'."[86]

Charles W. Eliot, an educational theorist of the 1900s noted, "elementary schools had to take on the job of sorting people out for their probable destinies."[87] To begin this monumental task, schools began efforts as early as 1904 to measure students', both boys and girls, intellectual abilities scientifically.[88] By the end of the first decade of the new

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[81] Lawrence A. Cremin. *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957* (New York: Vintage Books, 1964), 100.

[82] Ibid.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Ibid., 117.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Ibid., 118.

[87] Henry J. Perkinson, *Two Hundred Years of American Educational Thought* (New York: David McKay, 1976), 159.

[88] Eby, *The Development of Modern Education*, 642-43.

century, educational plans were evolving to replace the old "8-4" system. The new plans were referred to as "6-3-3" and "6-3-5" plans. The 6-3-3 plan was the most common, calling for the first six school years to concentrate on literary and citizenship skills, giving students the tools they would need to master higher education. The last two years of elementary school and the first year of high school became the intermediate school or junior high which was taught by departmental plan, grouping students into disciplines with more advanced instruction in each division. The last three years were the years of formal high school training. If the 6-3-3 plan was coupled with the idea that the first two years of college work were closely related to the previous three years of high school work in the 6-3-3 plan, the resulting education was the 6-3-5 plan.[89] However, in each of these plans students were being sorted for future life roles by educators and their modern school systems.

Increasing emphasis on standardization and excellence in higher education led to a corresponding emphasis on developing high schools and junior colleges in the first two decades of the 1900s. High school attendance in the United States had grown from 304,894 in public and private institutions in 1890 to 2,374,153 in 1920. The corresponding number of graduates from high school had increased from 29,900 in public and private institutions in 1890 to 255,000 in 1900.[90] Moreover, the number of junior colleges had grown from eight in the United States in 1900 to seventy-four in 1922.[91]

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[89] Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States: A Study and Interpretation of American Educational History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1919), 463.

[90] Eby, *The Development of Modern Education*, 600.

[91] Ibid., 664.

By 1918 every state in the United States had a compulsory school attendance law on the books. This resulted in growth of public high schools and a greater demand for female teachers. In 1890 there were 3,000 public high schools with an enrollment of 5 million.[92] Educational growth was just beginning, however, for by the third decade of the 1900s there would be an 86.2 percent increase in the enrollment in higher education facilities.[93]

The first two decades of educational growth in twentieth century Texas showed a different pattern than national trends. It is true that new educational progress began in cities with the designation of State Education Superintendent Kendall that the state board of education had the authority to invest Texas's Permanent School fund in building bonds under the same terms provided for the purchase of county and city bonds. This ruling, which would affect educational access for girls as well as boys, became law in 1901 and was the chief cause of tremendous growth in independent school districts throughout the state. The value of school buildings alone jumped from $152,687 in the 1899-1900 school year to $504,123 in the 1903-1904 school year.[94] The number of independent school districts in the state rose from 258 in 1899-1900 to 381 in 1903-1904.[95] Texas's educational problem was not urban schools, however, but rural ones. In urban districts the state was spending $8.35 to educate each child while in rural districts the amount was only $4.97, a far cry from the national average of $20.01. Teacher salaries also reflected

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[92] Noble, *A History of American Education*, 400-401.
[93] Ibid., 415.
[94] Eby, *The Development of Education in Texas*, 215.
[95] Ibid., 216.

rural/urban problems. The average salary of urban teachers was $458.50, while that of rural teachers was $226.84.[96]

However, the educational system in Texas faced many problems. Texas's educational ranking among the United States was dismal. The state ranked thirty-seventh in the amount spent per capita of population for education ($1.63); forty-second in the length of school year (101.19 days); and thirty-eighth in the percent of scholastic population actually enrolled in school (66.74 percent).[97] Knowledgeable citizens decided the problem was a lack of understanding about the importance of education among the general Texas population. As a result, the Conference on Education was called to meet in Austin, Texas, in February 1907. This group was charged to bring educational problems to the population's awareness.[98] By 1912 the duties of the Conference had been taken over by the Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Associations.[99]

In the first decade of 1900 the Texas Constitution was amended four times as citizens voted to change the financial structure supporting the state's schools. The first change allowed use of school funds derived from taxation to purchase equipment in common school districts. Previously these monies could only be used to build or maintain buildings. The second change abolished the "2/3rds rule." This rule had provided that two-thirds vote was needed of qualified tax-paying voters to increase educational taxes in the state. Now a simple majority sufficed. The third change

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[96] Ibid.
[97] Ibid., 219.
[98] Ibid., 220-21.
[99] Ibid., 222.

increased the taxation limit from .20 per $100 valuation to .50 per $100 in common school districts. This provision allowed rural districts to improve their educational facilities.[100]

Another problem for Texas education was absenteeism in rural areas. By the 1920s there were 50,000 children in rural districts in the state, and nearly 50 percent, including both males and females, were absent on any given schoolday. Lack of rural high schools and the prevalence of farm tenancy in Texas contributed to the absentee problem.[101]

Texas education became embroiled in curricula changes reflecting national trends in the first two decades of the 1900s. In 1901 U. S. history, Texas history, and civil government became required subjects in elementary schools throughout the state. In 1907 agriculture was added to the curricula of all public schools. The First World War caused further emphasis to be placed on American and Texas history, dictating the amount of time to be spent on each. Schoolchildren also contributed to the war effort through the Thrift Campaign, War Stamp Sales, Liberty Bond campaigns, and other activities.[102]

By the 1920s, Texas had too many rural schools for efficient operation and the state system began to emphasize efforts to consolidate schools. Between 1910 and 1914 there were 148 consolidations and 155 schools were fully abandoned.[103] In 1918-1919, State Education Superintendent, Annie Webb Blanton, noted that there had been 491 consolidations and in 1922 the total was 757.[104]

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[100] Ibid.
[101] Ibid., 224.
[102] Ibid., 228.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Ibid., 229.

A number of factors caused Texas's education system to improve. Texas did not get its compulsory school attendance law until 1915, but once it was passed it caused increased enrollments. In 1915, students between the ages of eight and fourteen were required to be in school at least sixty days. Before the end of the 1920s the number of required attendance days had been first increased to eighty, and then to one-hundred days per term.[105] Eby called this the "greatest step of progress since the amendment of the constitution in 1884."[106] It resulted in an 87.4 percent attendance in the 1918-1919 school term and a 93.4 attendance in the 1921-1922 term.[107]

The kindergarten movement was an educational improvement that filtered into Texas at the end of the 1800s. The first kindergarten was founded in El Paso in 1889. By 1901 the movement had spread to Dallas and by 1923-24 the state had a total of 122 in operation with an enrollment of 5,935. The movement was important to the development of Texas's educational system in that it provided early instruction for girls and boys destined for the state's public schools. It was important for women because it gave girls the opportunity to enter the educational system at the same time and on the same level as boys. It was the Congress of Mothers and the Parent-Teacher Associations of the state that gave the kindergarten movement its momentum. The efforts of the Association's members resulted in a law change in 1917 requiring education boards to establish a kindergarten when twenty-five of the patrons of the individual school so petitioned.[108] Texarkana got its first kindergarten in the early 1900s as a result of Zella Whitmarsh

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[105] Ibid., 230.
[106] Ibid., 231.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Ibid., 231-32.

Holman's efforts.[109] The influence of these organizations was evident in the existence of 1200 local branches of the Congress by the early 1920s with a combined membership of 50,000.[110] Goals of this group were the improvement of school buildings, equipment, sidewalks, sanitation, libraries, and music facilities.[111]

Political developments further strengthened educational growth in Texas. In 1911 the State Department of Education was instructed to classify all the state's high schools. In 1913 a schoolhouse building law was passed and by 1915 the compulsory attendance law had passed.[112]

A number of groups placed increasing demands on Texas's education system. Parents in Texas demanded that the state's education system provide a practical education, one that would equip boys and girls to solve immediate problems and apply what they learned in practical ways. This led directly to an emphasis on manual education in the state's schools, but the cost of equipment for the trades severely limited offerings in many districts.[113] Parents of female students also wanted practical educational offerings for their daughters. Beginning in 1903 many schools offered domestic arts, such as cooking and sewing. By 1909-1910, the University of Texas accepted domestic science for admission credit toward a university degree. By 1912 the university itself had established a department to teach all branches of home economics.[114] Vocational subjects offered by the state's schools had become plentiful by the 1920s. These subjects

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[109] Chandler and Howe, *History of Texarkana*, 339.
[110] Ibid., 236.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Ibid., 237.
[113] Ibid., 153.
[114] Ibid., 254.

included telegraphy, automobile mechanics, salesmanship, first aid, scouting, printing, mechanical drawing, economics, and public speaking.[115]

The junior high movement began in Texas with the establishment of a school including the 7th and 8th grades in Houston in 1912. This trend continued to spread across the state until, by mid-1920s junior highs had become fairly common.[116]

The African-American population of Texas placed heavy demands on its education system. African-American education in Texas began in 1884 with the formation of the Colored Teachers' Association in Austin, Texas. It was this group that spearheaded efforts to provide quality education for blacks, including black women, in the state. I. C. Anderson and Edward L. Blackshear of Prairie View Normal were among the early leaders in this movement.[117] Texas governor, O. M. Roberts let it be known that he supported the emerging black educational movement in the state, and the issue became part of the Democratic political agenda.[118] "The democrats of Texas have agreed the negro shall enjoy equal rights before the law, and cost what it may, they will, whether the party's majority is 165,000 or 5,000, accord the negro whatever the contract calls for."[119] Most emphasis in early negro education was toward vocational training, but black leaders felt this was "an effort by whites to keep blacks in positions of industrial peonage."[120] By 1925 the state boasted of many fine black educational institutions including Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College, Bishop College, Wiley University, Mary Allen

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[115] Ibid., 255.
[116] Ibid., 256.
[117] Ibid., 268.
[118] Ibid., 269.
[119] Ibid.
[120] Ibid., 271.

Seminary for Girls, Texas College, Paul Quinn College, and Samuel Huston College. The total number of black college students in these institutions in 1914-1915 was 129. By 1921 the number enrolled had increased to more than 600.[121]

East Texas's ties to plantation economy in the mid- to late-1800s caused this area of the state to have a number of black colleges. Throughout this area the population was between 50 and 75 percent black. Wiley College was established in Marshall, Texas, in 1873, and chartered in 1882. It was founded through the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.[122] King Industrial Home for Girls, a branch of Wiley College, provided black girls with instruction in sewing, dressmaking, millinery, and domestic science. Between 1873 and 1925, 15,000 black students attended Wiley College.[123] The American Baptist Home Mission Society established Bishop College in Marshall, Texas, in 1881. It had an excellent library and more than twenty qualified teachers who offered three basic college degree courses: classical, scientific, and education. In the 1921-1922 school term, the school had 287 students with 88 taking regular degree work.[124] Like the pattern established in white higher education, a number of educational funds were established for black students. The Slater Fund was established and between 1915 and 1925 it had spent $96,790 to aid black students. The General Education Board Fund had $50 million dollars targeted for both black and white students; and the Jeanes

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[121] Ibid., 272.
[122] Ibid., 275.
[123] Ibid., 276.
[124] Ibid., 277.

Fund, established in 1925 by Miss Anna T. Jeanes of Philadelphia, had $1 million to improve negro education in the rural population.[125]

By the end of the Progressive Era (1920) statistics showed improvement in female access to education in Texas. The state's total population had grown from 3,048,710 in 1900 to 4,663, 228 in 1920 during the same period.[126] Texas had a total school population of 1,460,000 of whom 65 percent were attending school.[127] Additionally, within the school age population, 64 percent of the eligible males were attending school, while 65.6 percent of the eligible females were. The proportion of females attending school in 1920 was 4 percent higher than it was in 1910.[128]

Statistics for 1920 also showed dramatic improvement in women's access to education in Texarkana. The town's population had more than doubled from 5,256 in 1900 to 11,480 in 1920.[129] There were a total of 326 women over the age of 16 in the 250 household random sample for 1920, and they had 177 school-age children. Of those 177 children, 94 percent attended school within the year. Of the 177, 38 percent were female and 85 percent of those females were attending school. Therefore, female access to education in Texarkana had fallen slightly from 89 percent in 1900 to 85 percent in 1920.

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[125] Ibid., 278.

[126] Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, Schedule I (Population); Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Schedule II (Population), National Archives, Washington, D. C.

[127] Ibid.

[128] Ibid.

[129] Twelfth Census of the United States, Schedule I (Population); Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Schedule II (Population), National Archives, Washington, D. C.;

Literacy rates for the same 326 women disclosed that these women had a 97.5 percent literacy level.[130]

Table 4 shows how female access to education in Texarkana improved throughout the forty-year period of this study. From the earliest year of this study (1880) to the last (1920) there is steady improvement noted in every category. It is clear from the sample that the number of school-age children was steadily declining from 304 to 177. The total number attending school peaked in 1900 and stabilized in 1920. The proportion of those attending had increased dramatically from 1880 to 1900, and decreased slightly to 85 percent in 1920.

TABLE 4
School Attendance - Texarkana
Children of Women in Random Sample
U. S. Census - 1920

	1880	1900	1920
Total No. Women	304	396	326
Women with School Age Children	161	127	94
Total School Age Children	304	243	177
Total Attending School	144	198	167
% of School Age Attending	47	81	94
Total Females School Age	99	104	68
% Female Attending School	69	89	85

[130] Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Schedule I (Population), National Archives, Washington, D. C.

All resources used in this study have shown that Texarkana women enjoyed expanding access to education throughout the forty-year period, a trend that reflects both national and statewide patterns. The improved access was available for both black and white females, though slower in developing for the black population. Expanding access to education, in turn, caused these women to experience changed status from that of 1880.

CHAPTER 5

EMPLOYMENT

Women's participation in the workforce was limited prior to the late 1800s except in a few occupations where women from the lower classes traditionally found jobs. The expansion of female employment into other occupational areas and the inclusion of women from higher social classes was instrumental in changing women's status during the time period of this study. This chapter outlines employment patterns in the early nineteenth century and documents women's employment statistics in the United States, Texas, and Texarkana, for the three highlighted years of the time period: 1880, 1900, and 1920.

The establishment of early nineteenth century female employment patterns is important in setting the stage for the changes to come. In the early nineteenth century a pattern of discrimination against women working outside the home existed. According to the "Cult of True Womanhood," women were supposed to be "the light of the home," the moral voice of society, and the best friend to man.[1] Society, when it defined women's lives through public sources such as magazines, poetry, sermons, and novels, told women that they should exhibit piety, submissiveness, purity, and domesticity. Women were to be kept close to home, fully occupied with domestic chores to the exclusion of "selfish" personal goals. But, by the early 1830s communities were changing, and society needed women to leave the home and provide "public service" to it through work in religious

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[1] Steven Mintz and Susan Kellogg, *Domestic Revolutions: A Social History of American Family Life* (New York: The Free Press, 1988), 55.

revivals, in slums, and with abolition groups. Society thus began to control women with one hand and beckon them with the other to the extent that women believed that they had options they did not have.[2]

In the mid-nineteenth century, women began to question their confinement and read stories about or participated in national events designed to raise public consciousness of inequality. In 1840, a number of American women, including Elizabeth Cady Stanton, traveled with abolition groups to the London Anti-Slavery Convention. These women had been active in America's abolition movement and were respected among abolitionists nationally. However, once at the London convention, they were relegated to invisible positions in the balcony where they were not allowed to participate directly in the convention. Stanton later wrote about the ladies' anger over this slight.

> Our chief object in visiting England at this time was to attend the World's Anti-slavery Convention, to meet June 12, 1840, in Freemasons' Hall, London. Delegates from all the anti-slavery societies of civilized nations were invited, yet, when they arrived, those representing associations of women were rejected. Though women were members of the National Anti-slavery Society, accustomed to speak and vote in all its conventions, and to take an equally active part with men in the whole anti-slavery struggle, and were there no delegates from associations of men and women, as well as those distinctively of their own sex, yet all alike were rejected because they were women. Women, according to English prejudices at that time, were excluded by Scriptural texts from sharing equal dignity and authority with men in all reform associations; hence it was to English minds preeminently unfitting that women should be admitted as equal members to a World's Convention. The question was hotly debated through an entire day. My husband made a very eloquent speech in favor of admitting the women delegates.[3]

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[2] Ibid., 56.

[3] Virginia Bernhard and Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *The Birth of American Feminism: The Seneca Falls Women's Convention of 1848* (New York: Brandywine Press, 1995), 69-70.

The Seneca Falls Convention of 1848 resulted from the injustice experienced by the ladies in London. Here, they produced the "Declaration of Sentiments," which said, in part, "The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her."[4]

As quickly as women's opinions were publicized, their search for equal rights became a target for derision and humor. The idea that women could fill public roles seemed ludicrous. "A friend of ours goes so far as to say that the one thing above all which convinces him of the inferiority of the female mind generally to the male, is the submission which women show to every foolish fashion which is dictated to them, and that helplessness which they profess under the most torturing and tyrannical rules."[5] But, even while poking fun at these outspoken women, many journalists recognized an element of truth in their demands. Frances Dana Gage, an Ohio feminist and frequent contributor to the popular press in the 1850s wrote:

> The idea that a woman cannot go from home for a week to attend a convention without neglecting duties is to me very strange indeed. Can she leave home for a week for any cause without being liable to the same charge?. . . .If she settles her account with husband, children, and friends at home, violates no law of the land, outrages no principle of right, who has the right to say she may not carry out her own convictions and inclinations?[6]

The debate over women's proper role stalled during the Civil War as the nation turned its attention to the war and women concentrated on keeping home and family

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[4] Ibid., 86.
[5] Ibid., 126.
[6] Ibid., 35.

together during stressful times. Occasional employment opened to women during the war primarily in the areas of nursing and sewing. The invention of the sewing machine in 1846 allowed women to be seen as "skilled" workers, and in 1865, a group of Cincinnati sewing women asked President Lincoln to set aside governmental sewing work to women.[7] After the Civil War women cited their war sacrifices as justification for governmental aid in finding work and housing.[8] Census records show that women were moving away from the confinement of the home between 1865 and 1875. Women began to work in factories, for the federal government, and as teachers. There were even efforts to unionize them by the Knights of Labor, and by 1886, females constituted 10 percent of the Knights' membership.[9]

In the 1870s newspapers and magazines carried prescriptive stories for women that gave them reason to hope that they could be employed outside the home. The *Dallas Herald,* for example, carried stories of Sarah Cockrell who was an entrepreneur in the expanding Dallas economy. She secured a charter from the state legislature to build an iron toll bridge across the Trinity River that opened in 1872. She also purchased an interest in a Dallas flour mill that gave her family increased wealth.[10] Moreover, wives often partnered with husbands in various ventures. One of those women was Lucy Latimer who helped her husband edit and publish the *Dallas Herald.*[11] However,

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[7] Alice Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 79-80.

[8] Ibid., 80-81.

[9] Ibid., 86.

[10] Elizabeth York Enstam, "The Frontier Woman as City Worker: Women's Occupations in Dallas, Texas, 1856-1880" *East Texas Historical Journal* 18 (Spring 1980):12-28.

[11] Ibid., 13.

admonitions against the insecurity of the teaching profession were given as well. Teachers regularly moved from school to school until public schools were well established and even teachers with many years experience followed that pattern.[12] In 1880, free public schools in Dallas ran for five months and white teachers were paid $75, $40, and $35 per month while colored teachers received $60.[13] In Dallas, women entered dressmaking and millinery first, having been taught sewing by their mothers. Fancy sewing was offered in a number of schools throughout the nation as a means of training young women to earn a living.[14] However, by 1880 nearly 30 percent of Dallas women were working outside their homes in occupations that were related to domestic roles such as cooks, laundresses, and teachers.[15]

By the 1880s, America's Victorian women were eager to find "meaningful" work, but the work they chose had to have a "service orientation" at its core, or it would not be socially accepted.[16] Social prescriptions for these women dictated that they fulfill family obligations, brave family opposition, and resist their parents' efforts to root out ambition in order to fulfill their own dreams. Women of this time period showed how difficult it was to change social standards as they strove to find personal fulfillment and contribute to community improvement on the one hand, while often retreating into invalidism on the other.[17] Those women who wanted to work were faced with the "Cult of Invalidism," a

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[12] Ibid., 14-15.

[13] Ibid., 17.

[14] Ibid., 18.

[15] Ibid., 26.

[16] Dina M. Copelman, "Masculine Faculty, Women's Temperament: Victorian Women's Quest for Work and Personal Fulfillment" *Feminist Studies* 13 (Spring 1987): 185.

[17] Ibid., 186-87.

characteristic of the late nineteenth century that promoted the idea that women were particularly vulnerable to health problems prompted by menstruation, pregnancy, and menopause that rendered them physically and mentally inferior, or at least unstable.[18] Women had heard these limitations for so long they sometimes believed them.

However, by 1880 census statistics show that women were entering the work force in many occupational categories (see Table 5). At that time America's population over ten years of age was 36,761,607, and of that number 49 percent (18,025,627) were female.[19] Census statistics were further refined to indicate only those Americans over the age of ten who were gainfully employed. There were a total of 17,392,099 in that category, and of that number, 15 percent were women (2,647,157).[20] Thus, in 1880 women constituted nearly half of the total population over the age of ten, but less than one-quarter of these were gainfully employed (see Table 5).

Gainfully employed women were present in a number of occupational fields (see Table 6). The total number of Americans engaged in agriculture was given as 7,670,493 with women constituting 8 percent of that number (594,510).[21] This occupational area included women working as farmers, planters, laborers, dairy workers, and gardeners.[22] The number engaged in professional and personal service was 4,074,238 with women forming 33 percent (1,361,295). Occupations included in this category were actors,

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[18] Dorothy Schneider and Carl J. Schneider, *American Women in the Progressive Era, 1900-1920* (New York: Doubleday, 1993: 10-11.

[19] Tenth Census of the United States, Schedule I (Population).

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Twelfth Census of the United States, Schedule I (Population) .

TABLE 5
United States
Population Over Ten Years Of Age
U. S. Census 1880

	1880	
Total	36,761,607	
Total (Female) Population	18,025,627	(49%)
Total (Gainfully Employed)	17,392,099	(47%)
Total (Gainfully Employed Female)	2,647,157	(15%)

engineers, journalists, lawyers, physicians, teachers, barbers, housekeepers, nurses, servants, and laundresses. Of the 1,810,256 Americans engaged in trade and transportation, women constituted 3 percent (59,364). Within this category were agents, bankers, bookkeepers, clerks, stenographers, and telephone and telegraph operators. Of those 3,837,112 engaged in manufacturing, mechanical, and mining, women formed 16 percent (631,988). Jobs in this category included builders, carpenters, painters, seamstresses, and milliners.[23] Nationally, the occupational categories with greatest female participation were primarily in jobs that were extensions of women's accepted roles.

The 1880 Census also showed women's employment participation in the state of Texas. Women constituted 47 percent (495,268) of the total number of Texans over the age of ten (see Table 7). However, as a proportion of the total number of gainfully employed Texans (522,133), women were only 1 percent in 1880 (58,943).[24]

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[23] Ibid.

[24] Tenth Census of the United States, 1880, Schedule 1 (Population).

TABLE 6
United States
Female Participation in Various Industries
1880

	Total Employed	Percent Female
Agriculture	7,670,493	8
Professional/Personal Service	4,074,238	33
Trade and Transportation	1,810,256	3
Mechanical, Manufacturing and Mining	3,837,112	16

TABLE 7
Texas
Population Over Ten Years Of Age
U. S. Census 1880

	1880	
Total Population	1,064,196	
Total Female	495,268	(47%)
Total (Gainfully Employed)	522,133	(49%)
Total Gainfully Employed Female	58,943	(12%)

In Texas, as in the United States, women were present in a number of occupational categories (see Table 8). Eight percent of those engaged in agriculture (359,317) were women (29,192). Of the 97,561 engaged in professional and personal service, 28 percent (27,383) were women; of the 34,909 engaged in trade and transportation, 1 percent were women (260); and of the 30,346 engaged in manufacturing,

mechanical, and mining, 7 percent were women (2,108). Comparison of the Texas figures with the United States figures shows that the proportion of women in each employment category is similar in both areas. However, in the area of trade and transportation women nationally formed 3 percent of the total employed, while in Texas they formed only 1 percent of the employed. In the area of manufacturing, mechanical, and mining, nationally women were 16 percent of the total employed in that area, while in Texas they formed only 7 percent of same.[25]

TABLE 8
Texas
Female Participation in Various Industries
1880

	Total Employed	Percentage of Females
Agriculture	359,317	8
Professional/Personal Service	97,561	28
Trade and Transportation	34,909	1
Mechanical, Manufacturing and Mining	30,346	7

This census further breaks down Texas women's involvement in each broad employment category in a manner that discloses other interesting facts. Of the 29,192 Texas women employed in agriculture, and the largest sub-group (16 percent or 4,562) listed their occupation as farmer or planter. The next largest category listed their occupation as female agricultural laborers (74 or .3 percent). Within the category of

[25] Twelfth Census of the United States, Schedule I (Population).

professional and personal services, the majority gave their occupation as domestic servants (14,533 or 53 percent). The next largest category was laborers (unspecified type, 5,358 or 20 percent). Also within professional and personal services, there were two female lawyers, fifteen female physicians and surgeons, and 1,624 teachers and scientific persons. In the category of trade and transportation, the majority of females gave their occupation as store clerks (75 or 29 percent). The next largest occupation was hucksters and peddlers (46 or 18 percent). One interesting finding showed that 32 percent (82) were employed as "traders or dealers" in various commodities, such as tobacco, medicines, dry goods, iron and tin, newspapers, and sewing machines. In the category of manufacturing, mechanical, and mining occupations, the majority so employed (1,958) worked as milliners, dressmakers, and/or seamstresses. The next largest occupation was small by comparison -- sewing machine operators with 19 individuals (.9 percent). Other statistics in this category showed that women were beginning to gain employment in bookbinding, leather goods, wagon works, cigar factories, cotton mills, printing works, and woolen mills. Moreover, census statistics disclosed that only 12 percent of Texarkana women over 10 were gainfully employed.[26]

Specific census statistics for Texarkana did not disclose reliable numbers for comparison with national and regional figures on employment in 1880, but county statistics were helpful. Bowie County's population in 1880 was 10,721, and women were 48 percent of that total (5,148).[27] Employment figures showed only two women

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[26] Tenth Census of the United States, 1880. Schedule I (Population).
[27] Ibid.

employed in manufacturing and no women in iron and steel manufacturing.[28] A local historian noted that there were seven women employed in non-domestic occupations in Bowie County in 1882, and the total number of men and women working in the county was 178 in 1882.[29] Therefore, women's employment outside the home at the beginning of the present study was negligible. However, by 1884 evidence appeared showing that the number of working women was growing.

The local newspaper was a good source in determining how prevalent women's employment outside the home was and how the community felt about that. In August of 1884, the editor, E. A. Warren, noted that Texarkana was booming. Miss Lizzie O'Donnell had a thriving millinery business and was making regular trips to New York City to purchase her stock. A Mrs. Orr bought out Miss Nellie Douglas's millinery shop and Miss Irene Wells advertised that she would bring back a "magnificent stock of millinery goods" from St. Louis.[30] A number of local women opened boarding houses for Texarkana's escalating immigrant population, and the newspaper's editor noted that Texarkana's boarding houses were doing a "great" business.[31] Mrs. N.W. Murphy bought Dr. Byars' residence to remodel into a boarding house at the same time that Miss Simpson

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[28] "Census Data," 12 January 1999, available at http://fisher.lib.Virginia.EDU/cgi-local/censusbin/census/cen.pl.

[29] Nancy Watts Jennings and Mrs. Elizabeth Edwards Varner, comps., *Bowie County Historical Handbook* (Texarkana, TX: Bowie County Historical Committee Bi-Centennial Project, 1976), 28-29.

[30] *Daily Texarkana Independent*, 24 October 1884, 4; 10 November 1884, 4.

[31] Ibid., 7 November 1884, 4.

opened one on Clinton Street.[32] Furnished rooms at Mrs. Pitcher's Rooming House ran $35 in advance and the newspaper noted that Mrs. Powell had opened an "excellent private boarding house" at the residence of Pete Ramseur.[33] One newspaper article noted that women were having trouble entering the peddlers' field because licenses and taxes were too expensive.[34]

In 1884 Warren said, "It would be well if our merchants would give clerkships to females. There are quite a number that desire employment."[35] The ladies responded by complimenting him on his editorials.[36] It also seemed that Warren selected information to be printed for his newspaper with an eye toward women's employment. He noted in September that the average weekly income for working girls in Boston was $5.17.[37] In November he called attention to the fact that women doctors in London were called "Lady Medicals".[38] In December he wrote that England had 847 female blacksmiths and added, "women are forging to the front!"[39] Closer to home he commented that O'Reily and O'Dwyer, a local clothing store, had a lady clerk. "I would like to see more ladies working," he added.[40] One Texarkana woman, Mrs. Mattie L. Britt, responded by applying for an appointment to be Texarkana's postmistress, a position that paid $1,650

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[32] Ibid., 25 August 1884, 4; 30 August 1884, 4.
[33] Ibid., 22 September 1884, 2; 29 September 1884, 2.
[34] Ibid., 13 October 1884, 4.
[35] Ibid., 3 November 1884, 4.
[36] Ibid., 7 November 1884, 4.
[37] Ibid., 22 September 1844, 1.
[38] Ibid., 21 November 1884, 2.
[39] Ibid., 22 December 1884, 2.
[40] Ibid., 26 December 1884, 4.

yearly.[41] She collected three-hundred signatures in her support and presented them to the proper authorities.[42] However, Mrs. Britt, who was a seamstress working for Mrs. Lutz's millinery store at the time of her application lost the appointment.[43]

At the beginning of 1885, Texarkana experienced an economic downturn and Warren chronicled it in his newspaper, the *Daily Texarkana Independent*.[44] He first asked local people to trade with each other, rather than going to Shreveport, Little Rock, or Dallas.[45] In January he chided collectors for putting local people out of business over uncollected debts.[46] However, Warren did not let up on his women's employment theme in spite of the tight employment conditions.

Warren continued to drum up support for women working with articles on women employed as streetcar conductors in Chile, sixty-four female applicants for the position of State Librarian in Tennessee, and a lady engineer in Cincinnati.[47] He commented that in Iowa three women had been elected to positions of County Recorder.[48] Warren exhibited women's creativity in noting that the U.S. Patent Office had issued 1,935 Letters of Patent to women through 1886.[49] In May of 1887, he produced a virtual assault for women's employment with articles noting women's employment on the staffs of more

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[41] Ibid., 15 March 1885, 4.
[42] Ibid., 2 February 1885, 4.
[43] Ibid., 14 February 1885, 4.
[44] Ibid., 19 August 1885, 5.
[45] Ibid., 2 January 1885, 4.
[46] Ibid., 5 January 1885, 4.
[47] Ibid., 10 July 1885, 2; 24 January 1887, 2; 5 February 1887, 1.
[48] Ibid., 28 March 1887, 2.
[49] Ibid., 6 May 1887, 2.

than two-hundred newspapers throughout the United States; the Russian Czar's comment that women make the most efficient detectives; and the fact that more than one-thousand chambermaids were employed in New York City hotels.[50]

Warren's motivation for supporting female employment was unclear. He brought his family to Texarkana from Prescott, Arkansas, in the early 1880s and immediately opened his newspaper. This was a time when the city had a number of newspapers that seemed to represent various political factions. Warren told Texarkana readers that he intended to present community news without the politics. In the early years of his newspaper business, he wrote several articles about how slow people were in paying their subscriptions to his paper, pleading with and then berating subscribers to get their bills paid.[51] He even offered to take payment in firewood at one point.[52] Perhaps he was conscious of how helpful it would have been to have another source of income in his own home; nevertheless, his own wife did not work outside the home.

The national picture of women's employment in 1900 showed that more women were entering the workforce. Census statistics from the 1900 Census showed that the population of the United States had reached 76,303,387 with 49 percent (37,244,145) being female (see Table 9).[53] The total number of females over the age of ten was 28,295,796, and of that number 19 percent were gainfully employed, up from 15 percent in 1880.[54]

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[50] Ibid., 13 May 1887, 1; 23 May 1887, 1; 23 May 1887, 1.
[51] Ibid., 31 October 1884, 4; 1 December 1884, 4.
[52] Ibid., 28 March 1885, 1.
[53] Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, Schedule I (Population).
[54] Ibid.

TABLE 9
United States
Population Over Ten Years Of Age
U. S. Census 1900

	1900	
Total Population	76,303,387	
Total Female	37,244,145	(49%)
Total Gainfully Employed	28,995,287	(38%)
Total Gainfully Employed Female	7,076,388	(19%)

National employment statistics in 1900 showed an overall increase in women's employment in every category (see Table 10). A total of 5,319,609 women over the age of 10 were gainfully employed in 1900. Of that number 18 percent were employed in agriculture, 8 percent in professional services, 39 percent in domestic and personal services, 9 percent in trade and transportation, and 25 percent in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits. In this census, the category previously titled "Professional and Personal Service" was divided into "Professional Service" and "Domestic and Personal Service." If these two categories are recombined there is a remarkable increase -- from 33 percent in 1880 to 47 percent in 1900. This increase should be kept in perspective, however, because new occupations were added in each new category; even so, there is clear evidence here of expanding female employment.[55]

The 1900 census shows increasing women's employment in Texas, as well. Total population of Texas in 1900 was 3,048,710 with 48 percent being female (1,469,810) (see

[55] Ibid.

TABLE 10
United States
Female Participation in Various Industries
1900

	Total Employed	Percentage Female
Agriculture	957,529	18
Professional Service	425,568	8
Domestic and Personal	2,074,647	39
Trade and Transportation	478,764	9
Mechanical, Manufacturing and Mining	1,329,902	25

Table 11).[56] The total number of females over 10 years of age in Texas was 1,034,014 and of that number, 14 percent were gainfully employed, up from 11 percent in 1880.[57]

TABLE 11
Texas's Population Over Ten Years Of Age
U. S. Census 1900

	1900	
Total Population	3,048,710	
Total Female	1,469,810	(48%)
Total Gainfully Employed	1,036,561	(34%)
Total Gainfully Employed Female	205,773	(14%)

[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid.

When separate employment categories are examined, expansion of women's employment in Texas is evident (see Table 12). Of the 140,625 females gainfully employed in the state, 42 percent were employed in agriculture, 8 percent in professional services, 39 percent in domestic and personal services, 4 percent in trade and transportation, and 7 percent in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits.[58] However, Texas women's expansion differed from that of women in the United States. United States statistics for the same categories showed 18 percent in agriculture, 8 percent in professional services, 39 percent in domestic and personal services, 9 percent in trade and transportation, and 25 percent in mechanical, manufacturing, and mining.

TABLE 12
Texas
Female Participation in Various Industries
1900

	Total Employed	Percentage Female
Agriculture	59,063	42
Professional Service	11,250	8
Domestic and Personal	54,844	39
Trade and Transportation	5,625	4
Mechanical, Manufacturing and Mining	9,844	7

[58] Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, Schedule II (Population).

Total population of Texarkana in 1900 was 5,256 with 52 percent being female (2,711).[59] Census figures did not disclose the number of women in Texarkana over the age of ten who were gainfully employed, but the city directory showed a total of 581 women gainfully employed in the city. Thirty-eight percent of that number were white and 62 percent were black. Working women were concentrated in domestic and personal services (71 percent of the total) with blacks accounting for 86 percent of that category. Twenty-two percent, all white females, were employed in trade and transportation.[60]

TABLE 13
Texarkana
Texarkana Population Over Ten Years of Age
U. S. Census 1900

	1900	
Total Population	5,256	
Total Female	2,733	(52%)
Total Gainfully Employed	--	(--%)
Total Gainfully Employed Female	574	(21%)

Highlighting one employment field discloses Texarkana women's changing status in 1900. Employment statistics were available for Texarkana teachers in the 1900-1901 school year. There were a total of twenty teachers employed that year, and of that number 85 percent (17) were female. Of the female teachers employed, fifteen were

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[59] Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, Schedule II (Population).

[60] Texarkana Directory Company, *Texarkana City Directory 1901* (Texarkana, TX: Texarkana City Directory Company, 1901), 53-348.

single women and two were married. Yearly salaries for single female teachers ran between $209.00 and $560.00 depending on the years of experience. Married women received lower salaries than single women with their range between $150.00 and $320.00 yearly.[61] Additionally, the three male teachers' salaries were not notably higher than those of female teachers with comparable teaching levels.

TABLE 14
Texarkana
Female Participation in Various Industries
1900

	Total Employed	Percentage Female
Agriculture	2	.3
Professional Service	23	4
Domestic and Personal	413	71
Trade and Transportation	128	22
Mechanical, Manufacturing and Mining	0	0

By 1920 change in women's employment status was evident. The total population of the United States in 1920 was 105,710,620, and of that number 49 percent

[61] "Treasurer's Annual Statement of School Funds - Teachers Pay," September 1900 to August 1901, Box 4-11-88, Archives, Texas State Library, Austin, Texas.

(51,810,189) were female (see Table 15).[62] Thirty-nine percent (41,614,248) of the population over ten years of age was gainfully employed.[63] Moreover, 21 percent (8,549,511) of the females over the age of ten were engaged in gainful occupations.[64] These statistics show modest increases in both the proportion of gainfully employed and the gainfully employed females over the 1900 statistics.

TABLE 15
United States
Population Over Ten Years Of Age
U. S. Census 1920

	1920	
Total Population	105,710,620	
Total Female	5,179,820	(49%)
Total Gainfully Employed	4,122,714	(39%)
Total Gainfully Employed Female	1,087,762	(21%)

Further census breakdown showed the number of women employed in the various census categories for the United States (see Table 16). The largest employment category for women was domestic and personal service with 25 percent of the total number of women over the age of 10 who were working. Within this category the largest employment areas were servants, housekeepers, and boarding house keepers. The second

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[62] Department of Commerce, Fourteenth Census of the United States, Volume II (Population), National Archives, Washington, D. C.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Ibid.

largest employment category was manufacturing and mechanical industries with 23 percent. Within this category the largest employment areas were dressmakers and seamstresses, clothing factories, and cotton mills. The third largest employment category was clerical, a new category in this census, with 17 percent of the gainfully employed women. Within this category the largest employment areas were stenographers and typists, clerks (not in stores), and bookkeepers. The fourth largest employment category was agriculture with 13 percent of the gainfully employed women. Within this category the largest employment area was farm laborers working on their home farms. The fifth largest employment category was professional service with 12 percent of the gainfully employed women. Within this category there were two dominant employment areas: teachers, and trained nurses. The sixth largest employment category was trade with 8 percent of the gainfully employed women. Within this category the dominant occupational areas were saleswomen, clerks in stores, and retail dealers. The seventh largest employment category was transportation with 2 percent of the gainfully employed women. Within this category the dominant occupational areas were telephone, and telegraph operators. The employment categories of public service and extraction of minerals fell eighth and ninth respectively. An interesting statistic from the public service area disclosed that within the United States there were 11,208 female postmasters in 1920.[65] Compared with 1900 U. S. statistics for various occupational categories, significant growth was evident in clerical and professional services areas, while declines were evident in agriculture and domestic and personal services.

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[65] Ibid.

TABLE 16
United States
Female Participation in Various Industries
1920

	Total Employed	Percent Female
Agriculture	1,111,436	13
Professional Service	1,025,941	12
Domestic and Personal	2,137,378	25
Trade	683,961	8
Transportation	170,990	2
Mechanical, Manufacturing and Mining	1,966,388	23
Clerical	1,453,417	17

In Texas women were flocking into the work force by 1920. Total population of the state was 4,663,228, and of that number 48 percent (2,254,006) were female (see Table 17).[66] The number of people over ten years of age gainfully employed in Texas was 1,719,023 (36.9 percent), and females constituted 18 percent (303,843) of that number.[67]

Individual employment categories further defined women's changing status in Texas (see Table 18). Of those women who worked, the largest groups were still employed in domestic and personal service. Within that group, the two jobs with the largest number of women were servants and laundresses. The next largest numbers were

[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid.

TABLE 17
Texas's Population Over Ten Years Of Age
U. S. Census 1920

	1920	
Total Population	4,663,228	
Total Female	2,238,349	(48%)
Total Gainfully Employed	1,725,394	(37%)
Total Gainfully Employed Female	839,381	(18%)

employed in agricultural, forestry, and animal husbandry. Of that group, the two jobs with the largest number of women were farm laborers working on their own farm and farm laborers working out. The third largest category were employed in professional services with the largest group being teachers. The fourth largest category were employed in clerical occupations with the largest group being stenographers and typists. The next largest groups here were bookkeepers and cashiers, and clerks. The fifth largest category were employed in trade with the largest group being saleswomen in stores. The sixth largest category were employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries with the largest group being dressmakers and seamstresses. The categories of transportation and public service fell distant to the previously mentioned categories, but one interesting statistic was the proportion of telephone operators in the transportation category (80 percent).[68]

[68] Ibid.

TABLE 18
Texas
Female Participation in Various Industries
1920

	Total Employed	Percent Females
Agriculture, forestry Animal Husbandry	99,978	33
Professional Service	35,905	12
Domestic and Personal	86,796	29
Trade	21,486	7
Transportation	7,993	3
Mechanical, Manufacturing and Mining	20,712	7
Clerical	29,882	9

Occupational data for Texarkana also showed changing employment status for women. The city's total population in 1920 was 11,480.[69] There were no statistics for the number of females in Texarkana but using the statistics from 1880 and 1900 (48 percent and 52 percent respectively), we can use an average of 50 percent to estimate that Texarkana's population included approximately 5,740 women. Of these women, the city directory showed 32 percent (1,843) gainfully employed.[70]

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[69] Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Schedule II (Population), National Archives, Washington, D. C.

[70] R. L. Polk, *Texarkana City Directory, 1921-22* (Dallas: R. L. Polk and Company, 1922), 61-437.

TABLE 19
Texarkana's Population Over Ten Years Of Age
U. S. Census 1920

	1920	
Total Population	11,480	
Total Female	5,740	(50%)
Total Gainfully Employed	--	(--%)
Total Gainfully Employed Female	1,836	(32%)

Attention to individual occupational areas disclosed significant change. The largest category of employed Texarkana women was in the domestic and personal service category with 47 percent of the total employed. Within this category the dominant jobs were cook, laundress, and domestic. These figures would seem to indicate that Texarkana's upper classes had plentiful household help. The second largest employment category was professional services with 13 percent of the total employed. Within this category the highest occupations were teachers and nurses. The third largest employment category was trade with 13 percent of the total employed. Within this category most were clerks and about a quarter were salesladies. The fourth largest employment category was clerical with 12 percent of the total employed. Within this category most were stenographers. The fifth largest employment category was manufacturing and mechanical industries with 7 percent of the total employed. Within this category, the highest employment was telephone operator. The categories of transportation and public service were distant to the previously mentioned categories. At the end of the Progressive Era,

Texarkana had two female physicians, one lawyer, one Deputy Circuit Clerk, one Bowie County Treasurer, and one undertaker.[71]

TABLE 20
Texarkana
Female Participation in Various Industries
1920

	Total Employed	Percent Female
Agriculture, forestry Animal Husbandry	4	.2
Professional Service	874	47
Domestic and Personal	242	13
Trade	238	13
Transportation	47	3
Mechanical, Manufacturing and Mining	138	7
Clerical	229	12

At the close of the twentieth century, Texarkana women remembered women's employment in their mothers' generation and in their own. Hazel and Ann Kennedy commented that their mother and her friends, who were young adults between 1885 and 1895, were all "church women" who did not work outside the home. They were housewives and homemakers.[72] Velora Harrell noted that there were a number of

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[71] Ibid.

[72] Anna Kennedy and Hazel Kennedy, Interview, 26 November 1993, Oral History Collection, Willis Library, University of North Texas, Denton, Texas.

influential female teachers. One was Bertha White who walked everywhere she went, frequently visiting the hospital and students' homes in the course of her rounds.[73] In 1918 Ann Gooch's mother, Louise Marcus Humphrey, worked for the local newspaper as a "gopher" and writer, living at the Young Women's Christian Association when she first started work after high school. Gooch said her father, also an employee of the newspaper, found her mother entirely too attractive and distracting, so he married her to keep her home.[74]

In their own time (1920s) the employment situation had shifted so that women's employment had lost its novelty. Hazel Kennedy said, "I never got a beau, so I could grade." That was the beginning of a forty-one year career as a first and second grade teacher. Her first job was handed to her without her seeking it. Her sister, Anna Kennedy related a similar story saying, "the job just fell into my lap." A man in her hometown asked her father if she might be interested in going to work for him as a secretary. She ended up spending the next forty-two years with the Four-States Grocery Company. When the Kennedy sisters first became employed, they remembered that there were women owning ladies dress shops in Texarkana such as Mrs. Nana McCoy and Cora Simms Johnson. Mrs. Nash ran the local business college, and Mrs. Hack took over the management of her husband's jewelry store after he died.[75] Dora Velora Harrell remembered going to work at the J.J. Newbury Store in 1918 as a young woman and

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[73] VeLora Harrell, Interview, 12 March 1994, Oral History Collection, Willis Library, University of North Texas, Denton, Texas.

[74] Anne Gooch, Interview, 7 December 1993, Oral History Collection, Willis Library, University of North Texas, Denton, Texas.

[75] Kennedy, Interview, 26 November 1993.

noted that there were a number of women who worked there.[76] Edith Brown Smith went to work as a linotypist when she came to Texarkana in 1917 and commented that she was surprised at how easily she had gotten the job. She remembered the thrill of her first paycheck as well.[77] Zelle Moore and her sister, Marguerite Magee, had different memories of women's employment. They noted that their mother's acquaintances did not work for money, but rather volunteered to perform public service for the community. It became a family tradition that they carried on in their own generation.[78]

The Texarkana City Directory of 1922 disclosed three areas where women were being actively recruited and trained to fill local vacancies: teaching, nursing, and office work. There were a total of 178 teachers in Texarkana in 1922, up from 10 in 1900, and of that number 124 were white and 54 were black. These women taught at all levels of Texarkana's school system: twenty-one at the high school, six at the junior high, seventeen at Central School, eight at Rose Hill, and seven at Highland Park. Most faculties were segregated, but College Hill School had a mixture of white and black teachers. Salary statistics were unavailable for this group, but marital status was evident. There were fifteen married white teachers, and none of the black teachers was designated as being married.[79]

Nursing became an important area of women's employment in Texarkana by 1920 with the establishment of three large hospitals in the city: Texarkana Hospital, Michael

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[76] Harrell, Interview, 12 March 1994.

[77] Edith Brown Smith, Interview, 20 March 1994, Oral History Collection, Willis Library, University of North Texas, Denton, Texas.

[78] Zelle Moore and Marguerite Magee, Interview, 10 March 1994, Oral History Collection, Willis Library, University of North Texas, Denton, Texas.

[79] Polk, *Texarkana City Directory, 1921-1922*, 61-437.

Meagher Hospital, and the Cotton Belt Railroad Hospital. By 1920, two of these three hospitals had established nursing schools to provide the nurses they needed because they were experiencing a shortage in qualified nurses. A total of twenty-two nursing students were preparing for employment by attending either Texarkana Hospital School of Nursing or Michael Meagher School of Nursing.[80]

Evidence of Texarkana's involvement in training women for work outside the home was also present in the establishment of two business colleges in town: Texarkana Business College and Wadley Business College. The former had a total of thirty-six female students in 1922 and the latter had fifty-one.[81]

Table 21 summarizes significant statistics relating to changing women's occupational status over the forty-year period of this study. First, between 1880 and 1920, the population of the United States tripled, while that of Texas and Texarkana quadrupled. Second, the female portion of the total population remained relatively constant with 49 percent in the United States, 48 percent in Texas, and 51 percent in Texarkana. The city had apparently overcome any problems with the availability of females it may have experienced in its "frontier" period and actually had more women than men by 1920. This may have caused the city's women to look for fulfilling work outside the home if marriageable men were somewhat scarce. Third, the portion of the total population that was gainfully employed actually declined both nationally and for the state of Texas between 1900 and 1920. However, fourth, the portion of women going to

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[80] Ibid.; Marie Jones, "History of Wadley Hospital," Archives, Wadley Regional Medical Center, Texarkana, Texas.

[81] Polk, *Texarkana City Directory, 1921-1922*, 61-437.

work was rising steadily with a gain from 15 to 21 percent nationally, 12 to 18 percent in Texas, and 11 to 32 percent in Texarkana. This last figure is very significant when examined more closely. By the 1920s, the majority of Texarkana's women were still lower class women working in domestic and personal service jobs, but there was a growing section of stenographers, telephone operators, teachers, and clerks.[82] Table 22 more fully explores the growing occupations.

Table 22 discloses significant information about women's changing employment status. Beginning with the category of Professional and Personal Services the following information is clear. Employment reached its highest in this category in 1920. United States statistics showed 33 percent employed in 1880, Texas statistics showed 28 percent in 1880, and Texarkana statistics showed no information in 1880. Once the field was divided into "Professional Services" and "Domestic and Personal Services" there were separate statistics given. In 1900 Professional Services showed 8 percent in U. S., 8 percent in Texas, and 4 percent in Texarkana. By 1920, statistics showed 47 percent in U. S., 47 percent in Texas, and 13 percent in Texarkana. From these figures it was clear that between 1900 and 1920 statistics for professional services were rising, however, Texarkana's numbers were way behind. After the category split, statistics for domestic services showed that U.S. and Texas numbers rose, while Texarkana's declined. However, Texarkana had a disproportionate percentage of women working in domestic positions in 1900.

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[82] Polk, *Texarkana City Directory, 1921-1922*, 61-437.

TABLE 21
Comparison of U. S., Texas, and Texarkana
Population Over Ten Years of Age
1880, 1900, 1920

	1880	1900	1920
U.S.			
Total Population	36,761,607	76,303,387	105,710,620
Total Female	49%	49%	49%
Total Gainfully Employed	47%	--	39%
Total Gainfully Employed Female	15%	19%	21%
Texas			
Total Population	1,064,196	3,048,710	4,663,228
Total Female	47%	48%	48%
Total Gainfully Employed	49%	--	37%
Total Gainfully Employed Female	12%	14%	18%
Texarkana			
Total Population	(2,852)	5,256	11,480
Total Female	--	52%	50%
Total Gainfully Employed	(178)	--	--
Total Gainfully Employed Female	--	11%	32%

In the occupational category of Mechanical, Manufacturing, and Mining, the United States pattern rose from 16 to 25 percent between 1880 and 1900, and then fell to 15 percent in 1920. Texas remained steady at 7 percent for 1880 and 1900, but went up

to 8 percent in 1920. Texarkana made a significant rise from zero percent in 1900 to 7 percent in 1920. This gain was in the employment of telephone operators (47).

In the occupational category of Agriculture, the U. S. figures rose from 8 percent in 1880 to 18 percent in 1900, and then fell to 10 percent in 1920. The Texas figures show the rural nature of the state with employment at 8 percent in 1880, rising to 42 percent in 1900, and declining to 13 percent in 1920. Texarkana figures show the growing urbanization of its area beginning with .3 percent in 1900 and falling to .2 percent in 1920. By the latter period, the city had lost its acreage to suburbs and roadways.

In the occupational category of Trade and Transportation there was a significant rise in both national and Texas figures between 1880 and 1920: U. S. from 3 percent to 9 percent and Texas from .7 percent to 10 percent. However, in Texarkana the figures showed significant decline from 22 percent in 1900 to 13 percent in 1920. A number of women went to work in 1900 as clerks and saleswomen, but by the 1920s there were proportionally fewer working in these areas.

Clerical, the new employment category in the 1920 census, showed significant growth . Clerical positions had previously been included in trade and transportation and professional and personal services categories. Growth in the clerical occupations was large enough by 1920 to prompt the government to change the way it classified them, a fact that in and of itself, is important. The 1920 statistics showed the U.S. with 46 percent, Texas with 37 percent, and Texarkana with 12 percent.

Clearly, by 1920 Texarkana's women had made notable changes in their employment status. The breadth of occupations in which local women were employed

TABLE 22
Comparison of U. S., Texas, and Texarkana
Percent Female Employed in Various Industries
1880, 1900, 1920[83]

	1880	1900	1920
U.S.			
Agriculture	8	18	10
Professional/Personal Services	33	--	--
Professional Services		8	47
Domestic and Personal Services		39	64
Mechanical, Manufacturing, Mining	16	25	15
Trade and Transportation	3	9	13
Clerical	N/A	N/A	46
Texas			
Agriculture	8	42	13
Professional/Personal Services	28	--	--
Professional Services		8	47
Domestic and Personal Services		39	64
Mechanical, Manufacturing, Mining	7	7	8
Trade and Transportation	1	4	10
Clerical	N/A	N/A	37
Texarkana			
Agriculture	--	.3	--
Professional/Personal Services	--	--	--
Professional Services	--	4	13
Domestic and Personal Services	--	71	47
Mechanical, Manufacturing, Mining	--	0	7
Trade and Transportation	--	22	13
Clerical	N/A	N/A	12

[83] Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, Schedule I (Population): Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Schedule II (Population).

was remarkable: from dietitian, to corsetiere, to waitress, and cook. The city had its share of lower class working women as well as upper class working women, and it was no longer unusual to find women working outside the home. One indicator of local acceptance was the lack of newspaper articles on working women by 1920. Texarkana's statistics lagged behind those of the United States and Texas; however, it was clear that a trend toward gainful employment was underway. In the area of professional services the proportion of women working had tripled and in clerical it had risen modestly. Declines were noted in domestic and personal services and in trade and transportation. However, what was clear was that Texarkana's women were increasingly going out to work.

CHAPTER 6

LEISURE TIME

The degree of women's participation in community affairs provided clear indicators of changing status during the forty years of the present study. Three broad areas of participation emerged: amount and use of leisure time, involvement in club work, and volunteerism. For the purposes of this study leisure time was defined as activities beyond women's normal day-to-day chores; club work included church-related and self-improvement activities, and volunteerism included activities for the betterment of the community. These are the broad components of women's lives beyond the home, but they were seen as an extension of their domestic duties throughout the forty-year period. However, one limitation must be applied to this chapter in general, and, that is that these three areas primarily involved only women of the middle and upper classes who had the luxury of domestic help and wealth, which allowed them to participate in many of the featured activities.

Ray Ginger, in *Age of Excess: The United States From 1877 to 1914*, noted three major changes in the perception of leisure time during this era. First, was that leisure became sharply split from productive activities. Previously, American society had preached the value of work and the foolishness of wasting time in non-productive pursuits. Second, new leisure-time activities excluded men, or rather, included men to a lesser degree. Men were still encouraged to work hard, make a decent living, and above all, be productive members of society. Their achieved community standing and that of

their family depended on their adherence to this model.[1] Third, the federal government had a part in providing leisure time activities for its citizens. Here, Ginger cited the establishment of national parks such as Yellowstone and Yosemite as destinations for leisure time activities.[2] Ginger's first and second points are relevant to the present study, and he also pointed out the importance of increasing urbanization to the growth of leisure time in America.[3] These activities proliferated in the cities, not in rural areas.

In the 1880s, American women had a number of choices when it came to the use of their leisure time. Some choices were aimed at life's simple pleasures while others were aimed at self-improvement. Among the simple pleasures were watching horse and bicycle races, and exhibitions of wrestling or boxing. The entire family enjoyed Sunday picnics in newly established urban parks.[4]

Self-improvement activities included a number of interesting options in the 1880s. One was the Chautauqua movement begun in 1874 in New York, which quickly became a national phenomenon. The idea behind Chautauqua was initially religion-based. Dr. John Heyl Vincent simply wanted some means of securing good Sunday school teachers, and he came up with the idea of short-term courses for laypersons, including women. These were originally two-day courses held in camp-meeting sites in the eastern United States; however, they eventually stretched into two-week terms, and the number of people taking part grew dramatically. Joseph E. Gould, author of *The Chautauqua Movement,*

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[1] Ray Ginger, *Age of Excess: The United States From 1877 to 1914* (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, Inc., 1975), 352-353.

[2] Ibid., 354-55.

[3] Ibid., 343.

[4] Ibid., 349, 348.

noted that, "In an incredibly short period of time, nearly every community of any size in the United States had at least one person following the Chautauqua reading program as a member of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle (C. L. S. C.)"[5] This self-help organization produced lecture-study groups, correspondence courses, and reading circles and filled a need for cultural entertainment during a time when people were seeking education, musical enjoyment, and self-fulfillment.[6] Traveling lecturers went all over the United States speaking to large audiences, which, in turn, promoted the development of local organizations with the same purposes.[7] Chautauqua's emphasis on literature and education would spark the development of women's literary clubs throughout the nation in the 1900s.

A survey of Texarkana's newspapers disclosed that locally most of women's leisure time activities in the 1880s were simple pleasures, rather than self-improvement activities. Visiting friends and relatives seemed to be one of the most popular pastimes, and the newspapers disclosed a number of interesting facts relating to this activity. Texarkana's women traveled widely. Probably because of the centrality of the railroad to the city's economy, women were aware of this means of travel and used it extensively. Normal distances traveled varied from Texarkana to Hope, Arkansas, a distance of thirty miles, and from Texarkana to Little Rock, Arkansas, a distance of 145 miles.[8] However, when the St. Louis Exposition opened, the Texas and St. Louis Railroad offered cheap

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[5] Joseph E. Gould, *The Chautauqua Movement* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1961), 9.

[6] Ibid., viii.

[7] Ibid., ix.

[8] *Daily Texarkana Independent*, 6 September 1884, 4; 18 September 1884, 4.

fares to all who wanted to go, and Texarkana women and their families took advantage of the offer.[9] The country as a whole, seemed to be caught up in traveling. The local paper documented "excursion trains" coming through town headed for southern Texas, Dallas, and the New Orleans Exposition. It also told Texarkana citizens how to become part of these traveling groups.[10] Additionally, the newspapers disclosed that it was customary for many local women to go to another city for extended visits. The paper notified friends and acquaintances that certain women had gone for the summer and would return in the fall just before school started. Most went north to escape the heat.[11] Husbands left in town were called "grass widowers" and often met to commiserate on their bachelor days and problems.[12] In September editor Warren commented, "grass widowers have commenced to get ready to receive their wives on their return from the summer trip to cooler climes."[13] In April of the next year, his own wife went away for an extended period and here is what he said, "Our 'old lady' will leave Thursday for a two-weeks visit to her kinfolk in Ouachita and Union Counties. Won't we have a good time in her absence!"[14]

Dancing was a favored leisure time activity in Texarkana in the 1880s. The local paper chronicled the range of dances and sponsoring groups adequately. A "Grand Ball" was given by the Cleveland and Hendricks Club at the local skating rink in honor of the

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[9] Ibid., 26 September 1884, 4.
[10] Ibid., 4 October 1884, 4; 12 December 1884, 4; 21 February 1887, 4.
[11] Ibid., 22 September 1884, 4: 29 September 1884, 2.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid., 22 September 1884, 4.
[14] Ibid., 20 April 1885, 4.

election of Democratic candidates in 1884, and a flag from the New Orleans Centennial was to be presented to the "most popular young lady" at this ball.[15] The Knights of Pythias sponsored a ball in December to which all the youth were invited and the following March the ladies of the Eastern Star hosted a ball in the New Benefield Hotel.[16] There were "Greater" and "Lesser" balls provided for Texarkana residents which indicated the required dress and the level of Texarkana's society that was invited. Greater balls included a "Grand Masked Ball" where carriages called for the ladies, while lesser ones were more informal and could be held in larger homes of prominent local couples.[17]

Parties, often called sociables, were popular pastimes for Texarkana residents.[18] When that term was used the parties were given in private homes with attendees being family friends or relatives. Some parties were given to honor a specific individual who was visiting, or going away.[19] People were creative in their party plans producing a "Candy Stew," a "Mikado Tea," an "Ice Cream and Strawberry Festival," and a "Crazy Tea."[20]

In the 1880s roller skating was the rage in Texarkana. When Episcopal Park was built, the city fathers probably never envisioned it as a skating center; however, the idea caught on quickly.[21] Newspaper advertisements bragged of one-hundred pairs of brand-

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[15] Ibid., 10 November 1884, 4.

[16] Ibid., 1 December 1884, 4; 25 March 1887, 4.

[17] Ibid., 3 January 1887, 4; 27 May 1887, 4.

[18] Ibid., 14 January 1887, 1; 4 February 1887, 1.

[19] Ibid., 29 September 1884, 4.

[20] Ibid., 17 January 1887, 4; 4 February 1887, 4; 21 March 1887, 4; 20 May 1887, 1.

[21] Ibid., 12 September 1884, 4.

new skates and "the prettiest girls in town."[22] Black leaders opened their own skating rink at Ivy's Hall when it appeared that the white community was having too good a time, or, perhaps because they excluded the black community from participation.[23] At any rate, both rinks were very popular and well attended. Women's participation in this activity must have been significant because rink owners instituted a Ladies' matinee on Saturday afternoons as early as April 1885.[24]

Texarkana's Opera House provided numerous opportunities for leisure time fun. The newspaper documented the wide variety of offerings in the 1880s. In September of 1884 Newton Beers and a Miss Manzio were featured.[25] In October, the features included Lilly Clay's Female Show, Bella Moore in "In a Mountain Pink," and "Bankers Daughter."[26] In 1887 offerings had broadened to include Patti Rosa's troup and Bartley Campbell's play, "White Slave Company."[27] In March 1887 the management of the opera house provided women and children with matinee performances, an indication of the demand for activities to fill women's leisure time.[28] Eventually, local women were featured at the opera house. In March Miss Mabel Morgan, an elocutionist, and Miss Nannie Purdom, a whistler, presented a program; and in May Miss Ray Marx, Miss Anne Goldbey, and Mrs. Mayer presented an "Harmonic Concert."[29] Other pleasurable leisure time activities mentioned in the local newspaper included promenading, buggy

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[22] Ibid., 19 September 1884, 4; 4 October 1884, 4.
[23] Ibid., 24 October 1884, 4.
[24] Ibid., 10 April 1885, 4.
[25] Ibid., 22 September 1884, 4.
[26] Ibid., 10 October 1884, 4; 17 October 1884, 3; 12 December 1884, 4.
[27] Ibid., 14 January 1887, 1; 31 January 1887, 4.
[28] Ibid., 18 March 1887, 4.
[29] Ibid., 21 March 1887, 1; 23 May 1887, 1.

riding, and attending baseball games. Favored sites for promenading were the east side water works, Stegall's new flower gardens, and new housing additions in the suburbs.[30] This seemed to be a young peoples' outing, and the paper said there were lots of participants in good weather.[31] Buggy riding was certainly for the wealthier portion of society, but the editor commented that it was "freely indulged in" and was "all the go."[32] Texarkana apparently had a good baseball team in the 1880s, called the Gate City Club. It traveled to many nearby towns, and cheap railroad rates allowed the women to go and cheer for the local team. The newspaper noted that the local club had defeated the Hope team with a large group of ladies present and went on to say that the ladies "cheered loudly," something that was somewhat out of character to the usual demure picture portrayed of women in this era.[33]

Though limited, a number of self-improvement activities were available to Texarkana women in the 1880s. They could attend temperance lectures offered by a Miss DeVilling, a national lecturer who came to the city a number of times and was described as "distinguished," and "very entertaining."[34] Her speeches must have been somewhat effective because a Ladies' Christian Temperance Union was founded in Texarkana in December of 1884.[35] A variety of lessons were offered to Texarkana women in the 1880s. Professor Mook opened a dancing school in September of 1884 and before long had enlisted enough couples to offer regular dances to practice what they

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[30] Ibid., 17 January 1887, 4; 20 May 1887, 4.
[31] Ibid., 8 December 1884, 4.
[32] Ibid., 17 January 1887, 4; 10 January 1884, 4.
[33] Ibid., 21 March 1887, 4; 23 May 1887, 4.
[34] Ibid., 18 August 1884, 1; 23 May 1887, 4.
[35] Ibid., 5 December 1884, 1.

learned.[36] Vocal lessons were offered by the Harmonic Society under the direction of D. J. Evans, a respected local musician, and soon students, mostly women, were featured in local concerts.[37] Along more traditional lines, sewing lessons in embroidery, Kensington, Arrasene, Ribbon work, and Mexican lace and drawn-thread work were offered by Mrs. Cyrena Adams.[38]

Evidence of club membership in Texarkana in the 1880s was minimal. What few clubs existed were more along the lines of pleasure than community improvement. The Texarkana Dance Club was organized after Professor Mook's dancing lessons became popular and his students put on a number of local dances. One interesting note relating to this club was the fact that names mentioned in the newspaper in connection with it were all single women.[39] The Texarkana Skating Club resulted from the opening of the roller-skating rink at Episcopal park in 1884 and soon had twenty-five members who met weekly.[40] The Home Dramatic Club was organized locally after a number of well-known acts played at Ghio's Opera House, but members did use their talents here to benefit local firemen at one point.[41]

Volunteerism seemed to be virtually non-existent in Texarkana in the 1880s. That is, there were no settlement houses, though there were certainly squalid living conditions near the railroad tracks; there were no factory reform movements, though Texarkana had

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[36] Ibid., 19 September 1884, 4; 26 September 1884, 4; 10 October 1884, 4.
[37] Ibid., 28 February 1887, 1.
[38] Ibid., 28 January 1887, 1.
[39] Ibid., 24 January 1887, 4.
[40] Ibid., 5 December 1884, 4.
[41] Ibid., 31 October 1884, 4; 17 January 1887, 1.

its share of factories and poor working conditions; and there was no education reform. In fact Texarkana was still trying to get consistent education in place. However, since women's volunteerism began nationally in the churches, it is important to note that local women were actively involved in their churches at this time.[42] Texarkana had a number of prominent churches, including Sacred Heart Catholic Church, which was established in 1871, St. James Episcopal Church formed in 1875, and the First Baptist Church organized in 1877.[43] By 1885 a total of ten churches served Texarkana and the newspaper noted that large congregations were in attendance every Sunday.[44] Women's missionary groups within these churches were the first evidence of volunteerism among Texarkana's women. The First Baptist Church formed a Ladies Aid and Missionary Society in 1884 and the other churches soon followed with similar organizations.[45]

One of the most prominent national organizations was the Women's Christian Temperance Union, organized in 1874. This group tackled alcohol-related problems and focused their efforts on trying to close saloons. They felt that this action was necessary to force men to tend to their homes and families, rather than squandering their paychecks at the local bar.[46] Margaret Wilson, author of *The American Woman in Transition: The Urban Influence, 1870-1920*, noted, "Many women who never would have dreamed of

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[42] Margaret Gibbons Wilson, *The American Woman in Transition: The Urban Influence, 1870-1920* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979), 91.

[43] Staff, *Texarkana Gazette*, 20 March 1988, 11F; John Tennison, *Texarkana Gazette*, 20 March 1988, 11F; Staff, *Texarkana Gazette*, 20 March 1988, 11F.

[44] *Daily Texarkana Independent*, 22 September 1884, 4.

[45] Barbara Overton Chandler and Ed Howe, *History of Texarkana, Bowie and Miller Counties, Texas-Arkansas* (Shreveport, LA: J. Ed Howe, 1939), 153.

[46] Carol Hymowitz and Michaele Weissman, *A History of Women in America* (New York: Bantam Book, 1978), 187-88.

working for anything so 'radical' as women's suffrage felt perfectly comfortable joining one of the many Woman's Christian Temperance Union chapters, or one of the thousands of women's clubs that mushroomed in cities and towns in the decades following the Civil War."[47] However, Texarkana's economy depended, in part, on a rather large "entertainment" district called Swampoodle, and it was slow to root out demon rum. When it did try to get control of the district, the effort was led by men, not women. W.B. Weeks, a local newspaperman, wrote, "The first effort to drive intoxicating liquors out of Texarkana, Texas, and Bowie County was made in the summer of 1887, being part of a 'Statewide Movement' held that year."[48] Weeks found out firsthand that angering the liquor interests in the city carried a high price. He had printed some vehement anti-liquor statements as editorials, and he remembered, "I was mobbed once by 'Saloon Sympathizers' who beat my face to jelly with metal knucks and other instruments."[49] This was certainly no place for Texarkana's respectable women.

E. A. Warren, a local newspaper editor, preached volunteerism, but to the whole community at large. He wanted city sidewalks repaired, adequate removal of wastes, clean cemeteries, and supervision of children.[50] In fact, editor Warren said,

> The *Independent* has no objection to balls, parties, and theaters occasionally, but we don't believe in giving them too much attention. There are other matters of more importance to be noticed in these columns, such as schools, factories, gas

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[47] Wilson, *The American Woman in Transition*, 94.

[48] W. B. Weeks, "Early Recollections of W. B. Weeks," Pioneer History Collection, Archives, Texarkana Museum Systems, Texarkana, Texas.

[49] Ibid.

[50] *Daily Texarkana Independent*, 11 April 1887, 1; 28 February 1887, 3; 17 January 1887, 4.

> works, street railways and enterprises that will add to the material growth and prosperity of Texarkana.[51]

He tweaked women's noses by calling attention to the fact that in Fayetteville, Arkansas, the ladies had instigated the erection of a brick wall around the Confederate Cemetery to keep it clean. "Heaven bless the women!" he said. "They are always first in all noble deeds."[52] By 1900, the main difference between women's use of leisure time nationally and in Texarkana was that Texarkana's women were not forming local chapters of "radical" organizations and were, in fact, carrying on the emphasis on fun that was evident in 1880. It was apparent that the amount of their leisure time had grown, but their use of it remained fairly limited.

In 1900 American women began to benefit from a number of life changes. In the late nineteenth century the birth rate had fallen to about three children per family and women could expect to live past the age of fifty. By 1910, women could expect to have five years less caring for children than they had prior to the turn of the century. Ideas about women being asexual were falling away, and women were asking for and receiving information on how to limit the size of their families.[53] Suffragists began to demand that "Woman must have the courage to assert the right to her own body."[54] Fewer children meant greater leisure time for women overall, and it was that factor that prompted the growth of women's participation outside the home sphere.[55]

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[51] Ibid., 14 February 1887, 4.

[52] Ibid., 4 April 1887, 2.

[53] Nancy Woloch, *Women and the American Experience: A Concise History* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1996), 170-71.

[54] Ibid., 172.

[55] Ibid., 170-71.

By 1900 America had a large group of college-educated women who had experienced the camaraderie and support of college life and sought to continue it through their local clubs.[56] This was because their college education led them nowhere in a career sense and they needed to fill the vacuum left in the absence of individual challenge they enjoyed at college.[57]

Activist women's organizations emerged nationally at the turn of the century. By 1900 the W. C. T. U. had become the largest women's organization, claiming 176,000 members and chapters in every state, and in 1911, it boasted of 245,000 members.[58] Its leadership was termed "aggressive" under Frances Willard, but Willard recognized that women's power resulted from their unity of purpose and believed that strong leadership was the key to maintaining that unity.[59] In 1890 another national organization, the National American Woman Suffrage Association, resulted from a merger of the National Woman Suffrage Association and the American Woman Suffrage Association and became a strong advocate for changes in women's political participation. The National Anti-Women's Suffrage Association emerged as the National American Woman Suffrage Association gained strength to become its main opponent, soon having membership larger than that of the earlier organization.[60] It became evident that among the nation's women, some wanted change and others did not. However, southern women, initially absent from

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[56] Ibid., 177.

[57] Ibid., 178.

[58] Glenda Riley, *Inventing the American Woman: A Perspective on Women's History, 1865 to the Present*, 2 vols. (Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1986), II: 39-40; Woloch, *Women and the American Experience*, 185.

[59] Riley, *Inventing the American Woman*, 39-40.

[60] Ibid., 40-41.

the suffrage fray, began to move into the movement visibly between 1900 and 1910.[61] What was important about the rise of the women's clubs was that they "enabled thousands of conventional middle-class women to learn from others, share female values, and work toward common goals.[62] This was true of activist organizations as well.

Beginning in 1900, women's clubs nationally began to shift their agendas from acquiring culture to addressing the nation's problems. By this time members recognized that when they belonged to clubs with both male and female members, men took charge and women were deprived of "invaluable organizational and administrative experience." They also agreed with journalist and feminist Rheta Childe Dorr who argued that "woman's place is in the home, but 'Home is the Community' and 'The City full of people is the Family,' and 'The Public School is the real Nursery.' "[63] The literary clubs had previously followed *The Mentor*'s urging to "Learn One Thing Every Day."[64] The idea was that "society had no ailment, spiritual or moral, that could not be relieved by a good strong dose of culture, administered in a book capsule."[65] However, by 1900 the clubs' agendas had shifted, and women were pushing their way into the public sphere to address society's problems. Initially, their intrusion was gradual and welcomed, but soon they were "demanding better heat, light, ventilation, drinking water, drainage, seats, desks, fresh paint," and dozens of other improvements.[66] At the turn of the century, women's

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[61] Ibid., 43.

[62] Woloch, *Woman and the American Experience*, 184.

[63] Wilson, *The American Woman in Transition*, 103, 102.

[64] Dorothy Schneider and Carl J. Schneider, *American Women in the Progressive Era, 1900-1920* (New York: Anchor Books, 1993), 95.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid., 96-97.

club membership had reached "critical mass," and they had become a "potentially powerful lobby."[67] The General Federation of Women's Clubs' national president said in 1904, "We are abandoning the study of Dante's *Inferno* and beginning to 'proceed in earnest to contemplate our own social order.'" However, there were critics all around like Edward Bok, editor of the *Ladies' Home Journal* who said that he could tolerate the clubwoman "provided she joins merely one [club] and does not place its interests, in importance, before the higher duties of the home."[68] Nevertheless, it was too late to turn back, and nearly all women's clubs experienced tremendous growth and expansion of their agendas.

Although Warren's newspaper chronicled lectures, meetings, and legislation pertaining to the national debate on women's issues such as prohibition, birth control, and suffrage, locally it concentrated on more "normal" activities. In the early 1900s Texarkana's city newspapers documented changing leisure time activities. Visiting remained a popular pastime for the ladies, and they were traveling all over the country from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to Dallas, Texas, and from Memphis, Tennessee, to Corpus Christi, Texas.[69] By 1900 Texarkana was the hub of nine railroad companies, and women's access to relatively cheap transportation was almost taken for granted. Being so widely traveled surely brought them into contact with national women's clubs and militant organizations; however, Texarkana's women did not develop an activist agenda at home.

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[67] Ibid., 98.
[68] Ibid., 102.
[69] *Daily Texarkanian*, 15 October 1905, 1; 29 October 1905, 5.

Dancing remained a popular activity in Texarkana with a number of new varieties being offered. The young men of the city got together monthly and sponsored a dance at Foreman Hall to which all ladies were invited (of course, use of the term "lady" left some of Texarkana's women out of the invitation).[70] Groups sponsoring local dances included the Elk's Lodge, the United Daughters of the Confederacy, and St. Edwards Catholic Church.[71] Both formal and informal dances were plentiful, and local individuals also continued to sponsor dances.[72]

Hosting parties became one of the city's main occupations and nearly everyone and every group in town was involved. The Presbyterian church ladies gave a Halloween party, and other groups presented "phantom parties" in honor of the holiday.[73] Wedding showers proliferated with "kitchen showers," "towel and scarf showers," and "handkerchief showers."[74] Card parties were widespread with six-handed Euchre and Whist being the dominant games played.[75] These parties usually featured a salad lunch and prizes for the winner, which included hand-painted china and cut glass bells.[76] It was evident that children were imitating their elders when the following announcement was made, "Miss Lucy Arnold entertained her school friends with games of "Old Maid."[77] Other types of parties offered were "Taffy pulls," "Box Suppers," and "teas."[78]

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[70] Ibid., 15 October 1905, 3.
[71] Ibid., 25 February 1906, 1; 18 February 1906, 8; 24 December 1905, 12.
[72] Ibid., 7 January 1906, 7; 18 February 1906, 8.
[73] Ibid., 28 October 1905, 4; 29 October 1905, 8.
[74] Ibid., 9.
[75] Ibid., 7 January 1906, 4; 19 November 1905, 4.
[76] Ibid., 3 December 1905, 3; 14 January 1906, 6.
[77] Ibid., 5 November 1905, 4.
[78] Ibid., 4 February 1906, 5; 10 December 1905, 4; 11 February 1906, 5.

Clearly from the number of entries detailing "parties" Texarkana had ample leisure time to spend. And, its upper class citizens truly enjoyed a good time.

Roller skating had grown as well. The local newspaper noted that it was necessary to expand the size of the skating rink because of the demand. Description of the proposed new facility noted that it would be 75 feet by 150 feet and would be located inside a central building. The cost of the new facility was estimated at $50,000.[79]
The "season" at the Opera House remained a strong contributor to leisure time fun. One show in particular seemed to garner extended press coverage. "Peacock Girls in Woodland" was an expensively costumed offering in which the ladies' dresses were made of feathers, jet, steel, glue and foil and were extremely heavy, causing the dancers to walk deliberately and "regally."[80] Cost of tickets to this type of offering ran from 75 cents to $1.75, while a lesser offering, Emily Gale in "As Told in the Hills," had tickets priced from 25 cents to 75 cents.[81] Plays, comic operas, musicals, orations, and vocalists completed the offerings in the 1905-06 season and Texarkana's women were privileged to see many notable performers such as Grace Orr Myers and Julia Gray.[82]

Other pleasurable leisure time activities included moving picture shows and an "Irish Musical". Movies were brand-new technology in Texarkana, and local citizens were fascinated with the offerings.[83] Ladies and children were invited to a special matinee movie performance on Christmas afternoon at the local theater, and a large crowd turned

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[79] Ibid., 11 March 1906, 1.
[80] Ibid., 12 November 1905, 7.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid., 31 December 1905, 10.
[83] Ibid., 24 December 1905, 12.

out. There was a men's mass singing held at the Opera House in January 1906, which resulted from exposure to national musical companies and vocal lessons offered locally.[84] This too, was well attended by the ladies. The "Irish Musical" was given by Mrs. A.B. Ross and featured Irish music in honor of St. Patrick's Day in March 1906.[85] Buggy-riding, promenading, and baseball game attendance no longer received mention in the paper. Perhaps they had become commonplace and no longer newsworthy.

Self-improvement activities seemed more limited in the early 1900s than they had been in the 1880s. The local newspaper noted religious meetings such as the Texarkana Association of Baptists, which met in October of 1905; the Methodist Conference held in Pittsburgh, Texas, in December 1905; and Christian Science lectures offered at the Rialto Building in downtown Texarkana.[86] Lectures offered here included, "Prohibition After Death," and "Is the Universe, Including Man, Evolved by Atomic Force."[87] Lessons offered had been narrowed to two: Miss Arthur taught china-painting at her studio at 503 Olive, and J. Leo Schoen offered dancing lessons at the Harmony Club Hall.[88]

Nationally, the women's club movement had grown so dramatically by the 1890s that there were efforts to form a national association. The group was called the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and its purpose was "the reform of social conditions within [members'] own communities, the opening of jobs and careers for women, and the achievement of woman suffrage."[89] Members of federated clubs "made it clear that

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[84] Ibid., 7 January 1906, 5.
[85] Ibid., 11 March 1906, 7.
[86] Ibid., 8 October 1905, 8; 3 December 1905, 3; 15 October 1905, 8.
[87] Ibid.; 10 December 1905, 7.
[88] Ibid., 22 October 1905, 5; 10 December 1905, 11.
[89] Riley, *Inventing the American Woman*, 43-44.

women's proper place was no longer limited to the home."[90] Membership figures for this group over the forty years of the present study are instrumental in showing the expansion of women's role outside the home. In 1900, the G. F. W. C. had 160,000 members and by 1910 there were more than one million.[91] However, even this comparison does not do justice to the number of women's clubs that existed nationally. In Massachusetts alone, the clubs belonging to the G. F. W. C. comprised only 5 percent of the total number of women's clubs in the state.[92] Additionally, there was a parallel association of black women's clubs called the National Association of Colored Women formed in 1896, which claimed 50,000 members by World War I. However, the two national groups did not work together to attain joint goals for women.[93]

In Texarkana, the main area of leisure time growth also occurred in the formation of clubs. The city was virtually running over with clubs of all sorts in the early 1900s; however, the largest proportion were card clubs, which played a number of versions of bridge, rather than clubs concerned with civic betterment. Women belonged to the High Five Club, the Victoria Whist Club, and the Thursday Afternoon Whist Club. These clubs appeared to meet weekly and were always hosted in a member's home where the hostess provided a light lunch and prizes for the winners. In fact, one card club called itself the "Handkerchief Club" because its prizes were fancy, embroidered handkerchiefs.[94] Numbers of women present ranged from four to sixteen, and it appeared that there were

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[90] Ibid., 44.
[91] Wilson, *The American Woman in Transition*, 100.
[92] Ibid., 101.
[93] Riley, *Inventing the American Woman*, 45.
[94] *Daily Texarkanian*, 3 December 1905, 3.

card clubs meeting every day of the week except Sunday. The Lotus Club was an evening card club composed of couples which met once a month in a home and shared dinner before their card games.[95] One exception was the Woman's Auxiliary of the Fifty-thousand Club who got together to plan a card tournament -- the proceeds of which would go to the bettering of Texarkana.[96] Additionally, Texarkana had three dancing clubs, up from one in 1880s, and the members of these clubs were serious about their love of dancing.[97]

Some of Texarkana's clubs were interested in civic betterment. The Ancient Order of Hibernians formed to represent the Irish population in Texarkana, offering seasonal programs of singing, dancing, and eating to highlight the Irish culture -- these were usually hosted by St. Edwards Catholic Church.[98] The Woman's Library Association formed in the early 1900s and by 1905 had been bequeathed a small triangle of land between Seventh and State Line. They planned to use the property to build a public library for Texarkana.[99] The Wednesday Music Club had originally been organized as the Deltheric Club in the late 1880s. By 1900, they were regularly organizing musical events to better Texarkana's cultural climate and were carrying on instruction among their members to spread musical culture to Texarkana's citizens.[100] Only the Wednesday Music Club and a Shakespeare Club founded by the local high school sought federation membership, but,

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[95] Ibid., 27 January 1906, 6; 3 December 1905, 3.
[96] Ibid., 18 February 1906, 1.
[97] Ibid., 15 October 1905, 3.
[98] Ibid., 11 March 1906, 7.
[99] Ibid., 19 November 1905, 4.
[100] Ibid., 22 October 1905, 5; 5 November 1905, 4; 10 December 1905, 5.

once admitted, they were not active members. However, these clubs were exceptions and the majority of Texarkana's clubs were not interested in civic reform or women's rights.

Two local histories documented the progression of club organization in Texarkana with precision. Barbara Overton Chandler and Ed Howe, in *History of Texarkana and Bowie and Miller Counties, Texas-Arkansas*, noted that the first civic-minded club organized was the United Charities of Texarkana whose first president was Mrs. Sophia Carmichael. This organization formed in 1902 with eight women, each representing a local church. Their goal was to establish a charity hospital in Texarkana. By 1910, the membership had grown to more than fifty members, and they had built the Sophia Carmichael Home -- a charity hospital.[101] The Texarkana Chapter of the Daughters of the Confederacy was also established in 1902 under the leadership of Mrs. Jane Gaines. It had sixty-four charter members and was successful in raising $9,250 for the erection of a Confederate Memorial in Texarkana.[102] In 1909 the Lone Star Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution began with twenty-three charter members.[103] Border Chapter No. 211 of the Order of the Eastern Star was organized in 1914 with J. Linebarger as Worthy Matron and in 1915, Texarkana's Rebekah Lodge No. 34 was founded with eleven women.[104] In 1916, a second chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution was organized with thirty charter members, and their first goal was making "comfort kits"

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[101] Chandler and Howe, *A History of Texarkana*, 178-79.
[102] Ibid., 192-93.
[103] Ibid., 190-91.
[104] Ibid., 183-84.

for soldiers stationed along Texas's border with Mexico.[105] Texarkana club women seemed to want to follow their own agendas, rather than those of the national organizations.

By 1920 great changes were evident in the United States as a whole and specifically in women's broadening activities. The population had grown from about 76 million in 1900 to 105 million in 1920, a gain of 40 percent. The country's economic growth had been phenomenal with national income rising from $36.5 billion in 1900 to $60.4 billion in 1920. And, the number of women in the workforce had grown from 5.3 million to 8.5 million.[106] The final push for woman's suffrage was waged in 1920, and it had been a long, bitter fight that involved virtually the whole country. Nancy Woloch noted in *Women and the American Experience*, "Women's demand for enfranchisement had been raised from marginality to preeminence."[107] Abigail Duniway, an outspoken suffragist commented, "the women's club movement provided a 'safety valve.' It legitimized organized activity for more conservative women who were not politicized enough to support suffrage and often provided suffragists."[108]

What was truly amazing in light of the extent to which the nation was involved with the women's suffrage issue in the 1920s was the lack of interest present in Texarkana. Marguerite Magee remembered that her mother, Zella Coffey Whitmarsh Holman, a woman known locally for her volunteerism, had not been personally active politically, but rather, had supported her father in his political views. She voted when

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[105] Ibid., 191-92.

[106] Arnold S. Rice, *American Civilization Since 1900* (New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1983), 5; Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, Schedule II (Population), National Archives, Washington, D. C.

[107] Woloch, *Women and the American Experience*, 210.

[108] Ibid., 215.

suffrage passed but did not describe it to her children in terms that would indicate that having the vote was important to her.[109] Hazel Kennedy remarked that getting the vote "didn't make any impression" on her family.[110] Anne Cleveland agreed, saying, "I never heard voting discussed by my mother in terms of acquiring suffrage, but I know she always voted, and she always voted the same as her husband."[111] Historian Nancy F. Cott commented that "women's voting participation varied greatly from place to place, group to group, issue to issue."[112] Texarkana must have been on the low end of the spectrum.

The first truly civic reform-minded local women's groups did not emerge until around 1917 when the Texarkana chapter of the American Red Cross was organized under the leadership of Judge Levy and Mrs. A. J. Kizer.[113] This group proved important in Texarkana's contribution to World War I by handling canteen service at Union Station as troops passed through the city on their way to far-flung destinations. In 1918 a local branch of the Young Women's Christian Association was founded by Miss Mildred Corbett. This organization had a phenomenal 354 charter members and was partially responsible for the successful efforts to provide Texarkana with a public library. One year after it began, the Y. W. C. A. was providing cafeteria service in the downtown area

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[109] Zelle Moore and Marguerite Magee, Interview, 10 March 1994, Oral History Collection, Willis Library, University of North Texas, Denton, Texas.

[110] Hazel Kennedy and Anna Kennedy, Interview, 26 November 1993, Oral History Collection, Willis Library, University of North Texas, Denton, Texas.

[111] Anne Cleveland, Interview, 18 March 1994, Oral History Collection, Willis Library, University of North Texas, Denton, Texas.

[112] Woloch, *Women and the American Experience*, 236.

[113] Chandler and Howe, *The History of Texarkana*, 189-90.

and had set up a Traveler's Aid station at Union Station. Another important effort of this group was the provision of a public restroom in the downtown area.[114] It was important to note, however, that the formation of Texarkana's Y. W. C. A. came fifty-two years after the national group was established in America. [115]

In 1920, the Current Topics Club began its work as a literary improvement group. It had a circulating library of books purchased by the membership, which was limited to twenty-four members.[116] Anne Cleveland, daughter of one of Texarkana's pioneer families, remembered her mother's involvement in the club. "Prospective members were elected by charter members and it was a very select group of Texarkana women."[117] Each member was required to present one program per year, and the schedule of programs was established by a committee of the club's members. Cleveland remembered that some of the members were college graduates and some had high school educations, but that all members were intelligent women able to discuss literature, current events, and other timely topics. However, the club, by rule, did not discuss politics or religion. Club meetings were held in the afternoon between 2:00 and 5:00 when there were few domestic demands on the members' time, and Cleveland noted that all members had household servants, which allowed them to participate in this club. She cited two books as examples

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[114] Ibid., 188-90.
[115] Wilson, *The American Woman in Transition*, 99.
[116] Chandler and Howe, *The History of Texarkana*, 186-87.
[117] Cleveland, Interview, 18 March 1994.

of the literature this club discussed: *Corridors of Power* by C. P. Sloan, and a book on Thomas a Becket.[118]

Texarkana women's clubs proliferated shortly after 1920 but received less publicity in the local newspapers. The editor focused on "news" stories rather than society information and thus there was not as much detail, even though there were more clubs and leisure activities. Dances were not mentioned; however, it is known that by the 1920s Texarkana had begun to have high school dances and cotillions. [119]

Because of the number of parties going on during the 1920s, few of them were detailed in the paper. Those covered included a number of card parties which featured the games of Bunco and Rook. These gatherings had grown in size to include twenty-five to thirty-six women.[120]

Other entertainments offered for women included picture shows, high school class plays, and fireworks displays. The Texarkana Historical Museum has a large collection of posters for movies of this period with interesting titles like "Somebody's Sweetheart," "The Lottery Man," and "Sadie Love."[121] High School plays featured a one-act farce along with a one-act morality play and the 1920 offering was called "A Rumpus on Mount Olympus."[122] The fireworks display was a U. S. Army traveling exhibition featuring the explosion of wartime armaments in an effort to get local men to enlist.[123] However, few

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[118] Ibid.

[119] Wilbur Smith, Interview, 20 March 1994, Author's private library, Texarkana, Texas.

[120] *Four States Press*, 4 January 1920, 5; 25 January 1920, 5.

[121] Ibid., 4 January 1920, 3.

[122] Ibid., 18 January 1920, 5.

[123] Ibid., 1 February 1920, 4.

women wanted their men to enlist so soon after the end of World War I and the enlistment effort failed. Visits to Spring Lake Park by way of the streetcar was another popular pastime. The park featured sailing, bicycle races, picnicking, and dances.[124] Cleveland noted that some families rode the streetcars as a form of leisure activity in this time period.[125]

Women's involvement in clubs was another matter in the 1920s. There was broad participation in clubs of all types throughout the city, and it was not until this time that local clubs began to affiliate with national and state organizations in large numbers. In 1921 the Texarkana Woman's Club became active and joined the Federation of Women's Clubs. The Business and Professional Women's Club of the Y. W. C. A. formed the same year with its goal to make members "fit" to ensure real leadership in thinking on economic problems. This group became affiliated both nationally and internationally and served Texarkana for a number of years.[126] The Texarkana Choral Club was formed in 1921 as well, with a goal of providing two concerts to Texarkana citizens yearly.[127] The club listing was duplicated in Maude Davis Blankenship's "A History of Texarkana: My Texarkana." Both histories noted that garden clubs did not occur until the 1930s in Texarkana.

Overall, Texarkana women did not display the energy for reform and women's issues their sisters in the United States did. There were no concrete limiting aspects in the community or in their own lives, and yet they did not follow the broader patterns of

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[124] Smith, Interview, 20 March 1994.
[125] Cleveland, Interview, 18 March 1994.
[126] Chandler and Howe, *The History of Texarkana*, 184-85.
[127] Ibid., 186-87.

the Progressive Era club movement. In reading the various local histories used in this chapter and in the interviews conducted with descendants of Texarkana women of this time, it was clear that the Progressive Era women did not feel they were limited in their abilities to do whatever they wanted to do. Another reason these women did not display national patterns was that Texarkana was a small town with a number of "pioneer" families present and adherence to community mores meant more to them than following national trends.

CHAPTER 7

HEALTH CARE

Women's access to health care changed dramatically over the forty years of this study. Health care was an important part of change women experienced in their community status and that change, in turn, led to numerous improvements in other areas of women's lives, such as quality and length of life, physical stamina, and accomplishments. These changes were far reaching in both time and content and were the basis of the health care system women enjoy today. To understand the degree of change women experienced, society's views of women in the 1880s must be explored first in terms of general views of the female gender and, second, in terms of women's knowledge of sex, childbirth, and "female" health problems.

From earliest times women relied on other women for health care advice and physical help. Numerous personal accounts show that when illness struck their homes, women turned to their mothers, aunts, and grandmothers for help. If close relatives were not available, they turned to female neighbors or older women in the community who had been through many of the problems they were experiencing. As young women married, they were given various self-help books that spelled out what would be required of them as wives and mothers. One such book was Mrs. Isabella Beeton's *The Book of Household Management* first published in 1861. This compendium included sanitary, medical, and legal information and a complete section on the duties of the sick-nurse. This section advised:

> All women are likely, at some period of their lives, to be called on to perform the duties of a sick-nurse, and should prepare themselves as much as possible, by observation and reading, for the occasion when they may be required to perform the office. The main requirements are good temper, compassion for suffering, sympathy with sufferers, which most women worthy of the name possess, neat-handedness, quiet manners, love of order, and cleanliness.[1]

Women were to practice their innate virtue of purity and extend that to patient care. Beeton encouraged women to follow Florence Nightingale's advice and "purify" the air of the patient's room to the level of the external air of the home. They were also encouraged to resist their feminine urge to "chatter" because absolute quiet was needed for patients to get well.[2]

Services of a monthly nurse were required among the upper classes when young mothers had their first children.[3] The nurse was hired a few days before the mother's confinement was expected, and it was her job to get the birthing area ready. She would need two pairs of sheets, scissors, needle and thread, and bed clothing for both mother and baby. All articles of the birthing area had to be aired thoroughly so that everything was "fresh." After the baby's birth, the room was to be kept in semi-darkness for a week to ten days and nurses were admonished to beware of household draughts. It also fell within this nurse's duties to instruct the new mother on breast feeding and to help when breast engorgement became a problem, emptying them by suction.[4]

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[1] Mrs. Isabella Beeton, *The Book of Household Management* (London: S. O. Beeton, 1861, 1968), 1017.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., 1020.

[4] Ibid., 1021.

Beeton went on to describe home remedies for the treatment of many common childhood problems. Colic, fevers, and minor digestive disturbances were given a set therapy, as were teething and convulsions.[5] Chicken pox, scarlet fever, and mumps were also detailed in her valuable guide.[6] In each instance Beeton endeavored to explain the causes of the illnesses and then to describe logically the best treatment.

In a chapter entitled, "The Doctor," Beeton described the medical supplies every home should have on hand in order to treat emergencies before the medical professional arrived to take over. The list included:

> Antimonial Wine, Antimonial Powder, Blister Compound, Blue Pill, Calomel, Carbonate of Potash, Compound Iron Pills, Compound Extract of Colocynth, Compound Tincture of Camphor, Epsom Salts, Goulard's Extract, Jalap in Powder, Linseed Oil, Myrhh and Aloes Pills, Nitre, Oil of Turpentine, Opium, powdered and Laudanum, Sal Ammoniac, Senna Leaves, Soap Liniment, Opodeldoc, Sweet Spirits of Nitre, Turner's Cerate, to which should be added Common Adhesive Plaster, Isinglas Plaster, Lint, A pair of small Scales with Weights, An ounce and a drachm Measure-glass, A Lancet, A Probe, A pair of Forceps, and some curved Needles.[7]

Further contained in this section were instructions on how to make various types of poultices, how to bleed patients, and how to treat bites and stings.[8] Treatment of sprains, dislocations, and broken bones followed.[9] The definition of various degrees of burns and their treatment and a discussion of poisons and their anti-poison treatments concluded the chapter.[10]

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[5] Ibid., 1035, 1044-45.
[6] Ibid., 1051-60.
[7] Ibid., 1061.
[8] Ibid., 1063, 1067-69.
[9] Ibid., 1068-71.
[10] Ibid., 1072-89.

Although young women of this time had valuable health guidebooks such as Beeton's, they were ignorant of many aspects of their own lives, especially the role of sex in their lives. The cult required that they be kept so in order to keep them pure, and so as not to awaken the lust of "Eve" genetically carried by every woman. Society required women to be obedient and subservient to their husbands, and it was considered improper for women to "enjoy" intercourse, for only loose women did that. Thus the constant theme in most women's diaries of the time that discussed sex was the romantic view of being married. There was a total lack of knowledge about intercourse and pregnancy. This is illustrated in the diary kept by Martha Farnsworth, a pioneer housewife on the Kansas plains in the early 1880s. Her diary disclosed her feelings as her wedding day approached, "We will be married September 4th and while I think I'm very happy, there is a constant kind of dread or presentiment, that, 'all will not be well' and I shall be unhappy. . . ."[11] One month after the wedding Farnsworth wrote, "This is the stubborn temper, I felt afraid of before marrying him. Oh! I've been so unhappy today."[12] Other women found married life comfortable and enjoyed their domestic roles. Charlotte Perkins Gilman said of her wedding night, " He meets me joyfully; we promise to be true to each other; and he puts on the ring and the crown. Then he lifts the crown, loosens the snood, unfastens the girdle, and then -- and then. O my God! I thank thee for this heavenly happiness!"[13]

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[11] Marlene Springer and Haskell Springer, eds., *Plains Woman: The Diary of Martha Farnsworth, 1882-1922* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 60.

[12] Ibid., 62.

[13] Carol Ruth Berkin and Mary Beth Norton, *Women of America in History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1979), 160.

Pregnancy followed, and women learned new lessons. Their bodies changed from svelte young ones to clumsy ones over which they had little control. Some women resented the lack of control over pregnancy their own ignorance gave them. In 1896 Mary Kincaid of Palmyra, Wisconsin, wrote, "I got two months before me yet that if I count right I just dread the time coming . . .O Mamie, I wish there was no such thing as having babies."[14] Women began to learn how to prevent pregnancy in this time period, too. Letters exchanged between Rose Williams and Lettie Mosher in 1885 show that some women knew about the "Pessaire or female preventative," which was a vaginal diaphragm of sorts. Rose was told she could acquire one by going to the druggist and asking for a "pisser."[15] Other forms of birth control known in the time period were abstinence, *coitus interruptus*, and abortion. Texarkana's earliest newspapers carried advertisements for concoctions that would eliminate early pregnancies for women:

> SAVE YOUR LIFE AND HEALTH!
> Death, or what is worse, is the result of continual suppression of the menstrual flow. Save your life and restore your health by using Bradfield's Female Regulator.[16]

The thinking behind this product was that women's continual state of pregnancy hindered their natural bodily functions and that, therefore, they must restore their body's rhythms. The Bradfield Female Regulator Company also marketed a second product called

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[14] Lillian Schlissel, *Women's Diaries of the Westward Journey* (New York: Schocken Books, 1992), 109.

[15] Ibid.

[16] *Daily Texarkana Independent*, 20 March 1885, 4.

"Mother's Friend" which "no woman can be induced to go through the ordeal of confinement without."[17]

Many of women's health care needs revolved around their menstrual cycles, pregnancy, and childbirth. Therefore, the level of access they had to sophisticated care in these areas indicated the level of importance and control society placed over these functions. Beginning in the 1880s these factors changed in remarkable ways. In the 1880s control of these functions remained within the family and its kinship network with the inclusion of a midwife or occasional doctor. By 1920, the "scientific community" had staked its claim and was removing control from the family into a paternalistic, scientifically controlled environment. Robbie E. Davis-Floyd, author of *Birth as an American Rite of Passage* termed this an "oppositional paradigm." As society placed increasing value on technology, it challenged traditional methods and controls of basic social elements like the birth process.[18]

It was not that healthcare was totally unavailable for women before 1880, but more that it was in a primitive state and many women trusted familiar female friends and relatives more than medical practitioners. Prior to the 1880s American doctors received limited training, often as apprentices to other doctors. In 1879, there were seventy-six recognized medical schools in the United States, and by 1899, there were 126.[19] Between 1878 and 1887, the medical colleges of the United States graduated physicians at

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[17] Ibid., 10 January 1887, 4.

[18] Robbie E. Davis-Floyd, *Birth as an American Rite of Passage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 46-47.

[19] W. David Baird, *Medical Education in Arkansas, 1879-1978* (Memphis: Memphis State University Press, 1979), 33.

the rate of 4,000 per year.[20] These physicians began practice in many small towns like Texarkana without benefit of clinic or hospital, even though they had been trained in those conditions. They made do in primitive settings, and some commented that they had performed surgery on many kitchen tables with only rudimentary equipment.[21]

Women's access to trained healthcare in the 1880s depended on their location and the degree of urbanization present there. In rural areas like most of Texas, and Texarkana in particular, there were no grand facilities in which to practice medicine, and there would not be until the turn of the century. On the other hand, even though Texarkana was a small town in 1880 with a total population of less than two-thousand, it did have well-qualified medical professionals on hand. As early as 1875, the year after Texarkana was founded, there were a number of doctors serving its citizens. Two doctors classed as physicians and surgeons were James McMahon, M. D., and E. T. Dale, M. D., both of whom had offices on Broad Street. V. T. Hannan was an obstetrician who treated diseases of women and children, charging ten dollars per visit plus mileage. Hannan graduated from the University of New York in 1860 and had offices on Maple Street. C. S. Hurd, M. D. was Texarkana's dentist who lived in Jefferson, Texas, but made weekly trips to Texarkana to treat patients.[22] Nine other doctors were present in Texarkana according to local histories.[23] Dr. Herbert Wren, author of an unpublished history of

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[20] *Daily Texarkana Independent*, 21 February 1887, 1.

[21] Mary Collom Fore, Interview, 16 July 1997, Author's private library, Texarkana, Texas.

[22] W. A. McCartney, 1875 McCartney Scrapbook, Archive, Texarkana Museum Systems, Texarkana, Texas.

[23] Nancy Watts Jennings and Mary Lou Stuart, comps., *Texarkana Centennial Historical Program, 1873-1973* (Texarkana, TX: Texarkana Historical Society, 1973), 28.

Texarkana's early medical community, noted that the first county medical society was founded in Bowie County, Texas, in 1882 and that Dr. Alfred B. DeLoach was its first president. Physicians included in this organization were Dr. H. R. Webster, Dr. Resa W. Reed, Dr. V. T. Hannan, Dr. John W. Talbot, Dr. D. S. Williams, and Dr. James McMahon. Wren credited Dr. Webster as being the organizational force behind the medical society.[24] However, talk of building a city hospital began as early as 1885 in Texarkana. E.A. Warren, editor of the *Daily Texarkana Independent*, noted that San Antonio was to get a $50,000 hospital paid for by both city and county funds.[25] In 1887, his suggestion had sparked local citizens to follow through with a money-raising plan:

> From this date until April 1st in order to assist in raising money to build a charitable hospital at this place all who pay ten cents for a guess at the number of beans in the jar at Lemly's Drug Store will stand a chance of getting a box of the celebrated Monopole cigars. The one guessing nearest to number receiving it, and all the money coming in from the guessing will be donated to the hospital fund.[26]

The newspaper reported that Dr. Hawkins had agreed to provide city hospital cost estimates to be published.[27] Perhaps the cost was prohibitive because a hospital was not built for Texarkana at this time.

The general state of health care in Texarkana was chronicled in the local newspaper. It is obvious from these entries that health care for both genders was very primitive in the 1880s. "Measles, mumps, pic-nics, and fishing parties are the orders of

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[24] Herbert Wren, M. D., "Early History of Medicine in Texarkana," Vertical File, "Texarkana History," Texarkana Public Library, Texarkana, Texas.

[25] *Daily Texarkana Independent*, 29 May 1885, 3.

[26] Ibid., 25 February 1887, 1.

[27] Ibid., 14 January 1887, 1.

the day now," according to a story published in 1887.[28] Articles and announcements disclosed that Texarkana had its share of roseola, scarlet fever, diphtheria, yellow fever, consumption, and malaria.[29] Residents were warned about keeping their property in the best order to prevent the spread of diseases:

> The sickly season is approaching and our citizens should look well to their premises and see that everything that could possibly germinate disease is removed; a little work now might save money, pain, and hot burning fevers; look well to your premises. -- Ex.

The local editor added:

> We observe notices like this in most every paper we pick up, and it contains much good sense. Filth will generate disease and unless cleanliness is observed we may look for sickness. Texarkana has no local cause for disease, and is justly classed a most healthy place, but garbage and filth thrown indiscriminately around will drive health away. The city councils have ordered the removal of all garbage and filth, free of cost, if put in boxes and barrels, and every citizen should embrace this favor, in fact, if they do not, they will be forced to clean up at their own expense, for the authorities are resolved that the city shall be kept clean during the summer.[30]

Yet, the newspaper was full of sickness and death notices even into 1887.[31] Some of the heart wrenching notices were for children's deaths:

> We tender our sympathy to Mr. and Mrs. J. B. Kizer upon the death of their infant son, Willie, which occurred last night. 'Tis indeed sad when we have to give up the little ones, but when we reflect that by going so young, they will miss all the cares, trials, and troubles of this life, we should be reconciled to the will of

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[28] Ibid., 22 April 1887, 1.
[29] Ibid., 8 June 1885, 2; 13 July 1885, 2; 26 June 1885, 2; 21 March 1887, 4.
[30] Ibid., 20 July 1885, 4.
[31] Ibid., 22 April 1887, 1.

> God. The funeral will take place at the family residence at 4 o'clock and will be conducted by Rev. J. G. Wiggins.[32]

Warren tried to console local residents by printing statistics showing that the birth rate still outran the death rate. "It has been computed that the death rate of the globe is 67 a minute, 97,900 a day, and 35,689,835 a year; and the birth rate is 70 a minute, 100,800 a day, and 36,792,000 a year."[33]

Overall, women's health care situation in Texarkana during the 1880s mirrored that of women throughout the nation in like cities. In *Letters By Lamplight: A Woman's View of Everyday Life in South Texas, 1873-1883*, Lois E. Myers wrote, "One motivation for the Wellington's move was to get safely out of the environs of San Antonio, which was in the midst of a smallpox epidemic."[34] Dorothy Schneider and Carl J. Schneider commented:

> "Nothing more clearly delineates the differences between American life then and now than the health of the populace. Tuberculosis, dysentery, smallpox, typhoid fever, influenza, pneumonia, and diphtheria killed off people long before they came to an age to worry about heart attacks, cancer, and Alzheimer's. The average woman's life expectancy was just a little over 48 years. Sickness and accidents struck people at every turn of their lives. These afflicted the poor, of course, even more than the middle class and the rich -- and the poor constituted the bulk of the population.[35]

At the end of the nineteenth century America still faced many health care problems, however, most of the American people were aware that diseases were spread

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[32] Ibid., 24 June 1887, 4.

[33] Ibid., 11 July 1887, 1.

[34] Lois E. Myers, *Letters By Lamplight: A Woman's View of Everyday Live in South Texas, 1873-1883* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 1991), 166.

[35] Dorothy Schneider and Carl J. Schneider, *American Women in the Progressive Era, 1900-1920* (New York: Anchor Books, 1993), 7-8.

by contact with germs. In fact, this new knowledge seemed to spark a panic and produced books and magazine articles entitled, "Books Spread Contagion," "Contagion by Telephone," "Infection and Postage Stamps," "Disease from Public Laundries," and "Menace of the Barber Shop."[36] Public concerns prompted Progressive Era reforms in building sewers, improving housing, and testing the milk supply.[37] In Texarkana there was a call for a city sewage system to replace outhouses, which were producing a powerful stench in the downtown area.[38] Popular magazines advertised pills and potions for wrinkles, ruptures, bed-wetting, and tuberculosis. There was even an eight-tone hearing aid on the market.[39]

When women did consult doctors at the turn of the century, they were unsure of the care they would receive. Women's knowledge of birth control methods was primitive, antibiotics were not yet available, and treatments for many serious ailments were still experimental. Dorothy and Carl J. Schneider, in *American Women in the Progressive Era, 1900-1920*, estimated that in 1910, 90 percent of the practicing physicians in America had no college education and most had attended substandard medical schools. "Many harmed more than they helped."[40] An example of the primitive state of women's health care was the following:

> Doctors commonly believed that during menstruation the flow of blood diverted energy from the brain, rendering women idiotic. They talked a lot about chlorosis, which they identified as a form of anemia common in adolescent girls: Girls so afflicted, they said, had trouble breathing, experienced heart palpitations, and

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[36] Ibid., 80.
[37] Ibid.
[38] *Daily Texarkana Independent*, 18 August 1884, 5.
[39] Schneider and Schneider, *American Women*, 80.
[40] Ibid., 9.

> showed a distaste for meat, which was supposed to increase the menstrual flow and arouse the passions. Some doctors used chlorosis as a reason to advise against study for young women; others thought that marriage would cure it; and still others linked it to attractiveness and high fertility.[41]

At the same time, women in larger, urban areas began experiencing new trends in medical technology and specialization. The Progressive Era was in full swing in these areas and women's lives were targeted for reform.

> Qualified doctors, not midwives, were to birth babies. Child development experts were to tell mothers how to nurture them, and home economists to teach mothers how to cook for them. Specially trained and licensed teachers were to educate them. Scientists were to save them from bacteria and neuroses. And trained social workers were to extricate them from other troubles. When the babies grew up and went to work in factories, machines and engineering of the assembly line would simplify their work, and efficiency experts would show them how to do it faster. Oh brave new world![42]

Even the most natural of woman's functions, the breast feeding of her infant, became an area for reform. Doctors advised women that bottle-feeding was "more scientific, more modern, even more American."[43] They encouraged the use of an artificial, chemically-balanced fluid to meet all the needs of the growing infant. Poor women were, of course, left out of the scientific improvement because they could not afford the bottles and specially prepared formulas.[44]

The building of hospitals and sanitariums became a popular trend of the first decade of the 1900s. However, Americans still considered hospitals as "places of last resort." The primitive state of diagnosis, surgery, and care available at many early

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[41] Ibid., 10.
[42] Ibid., 13.
[43] Ibid., 38.
[44] Ibid.

hospitals had earned them a negative reputation, and a number of these institutions were sanitariums where tuberculosis patients went to die. Most people preferred to be treated in their own homes by a local physician who came to them, rather than going somewhere to be treated. Sometimes, the doctor's own home became a makeshift hospital with his wife serving at chief nurse and cook.[45]

Over one-thousand new hospitals were built or opened between 1899 and 1900.[46] Illustrating the widespread trend were a number of hospitals started at the turn of the century, including Fairview General Hospital of Cleveland, Ohio; The Graduate Hospital of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Saint Mary's Hospital of Rochester, Minnesota; St. John's Hospital of Fort Smith, Arkansas; and Texarkana Hospital and Sanitarium in Texarkana, Texas.[47] There were a number of common elements among these hospitals and their origins. In each case, the city in which they were located had grown rapidly at the turn of the century and the population demanded that proper health care facilities be provided. In each case, first efforts began in a Victorian home purchased or rented for the purpose.

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[45] Fore , Interview, 16 July 1997.

[46] Morris Vogel, "Managing Medicine: Creating a Profession of Hospital Administrators in the United States," in *The Hospital in History*, Lindsay Granshaw and Roy Porter, eds. (New York: Routledge, 1989), 245.

[47] George Condon, *The Centennial History of Fairview General Hospital* (Cleveland, OH: Health Cleveland, 1992), vi; Paul Nemir, Jr., M. D., Stephen E. Doyle, R. N., and Jack M. Kmets, M. Ed., *Centennial of the Graduate Hospital* (Philadelphia, PA: The Graduate Hospital, 1989), 4-5; *A Century of Caring: Saint Mary's Hospital of Rochester, Minnesota, 1889-1989* (Rochester: Saint Mary's Hospital, 1989), 4; Ellen Sue Blakey, *Sparks Regional Medical Center: 100 Years of Service* (Fort Smith, AR: Lion & Thomas, Lts., 1987), 14.

And, in each case, the number of patients that could be treated in the facility was small, between 10 and 25 beds.[48]

The first hospital in Texarkana was established in 1900 in the old Jo Marx home in the 500 block of Pine Street by Drs. Thomas Fleming Kittrell, Spencer A. Collom, Sr., George Coleman Abell, and Robert Howell Taylor Mann. By 1908, this facility had grown to include Doctors C. A. Smith, W. K. Reed, E. L. Beck, Preston Hunt, Theron Earl Fuller, and Nettie Kline, Texarkana's first female doctor, specializing in pathology and anesthesiology.[49] Kline was an interesting female figure in early Texarkana. She led a privileged life as the daughter of Jo Marx , president of the local bank whose home became the first hospital in Texarkana. Kline became a doctor as a result of a dare. At a social function she overheard several local doctors complaining about how difficult their jobs were, and she said that their work did not look so difficult to her. They responded that she should try it -- and she did. After her medical training in Dallas, Texas, she set up her practice in Texarkana and became a well respected member of the medical community.[50]

The establishment of Texarkana Hospital was followed by the opening of three others in quick succession. In 1902, the Dale Sanitarium was established by Dr. John R. Dale and Dr. Jay Lightfoot at Third and Vine Streets in Texarkana. This facility was a small-scale hospital rather than a Tuberculosis sanitarium. The Cotton Belt Railroad Hospital was established in 1904 in Texarkana, moving from Tyler, Texas, where it was

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[48] Ibid.

[49] Wren, "Early History of Medicine."

[50] Ibid.; Marie Jones, "Early History of Wadley Hospital," undated, Archive, Wadley Regional Medical Center, Texarkana, Texas.

first built in 1888. Chief Surgeon was Dr. C. A. Smith, Sr. In 1908 Dr. George Abell withdrew from his association with Pine Street Hospital and opened his own hospital where he was assisted by Dr. J. K. Smith. In 1910, a bequest from the Michael Meagher estate prompted the opening of the Michael Meagher Memorial Hospital, which was affiliated with the Sisters of Charity of the Incarnate Word. Meagher was an Irish Catholic railroad man who left $80,000 to establish a hospital in his name. The hospital actually opened in 1916 with Dr. Jay Lightfoot, Dr. R. L. Grant, and Dr. J. K. Smith as the leading physicians.[51]

Texarkana even had its own medical college at the turn of the century. The Gate City Medical College was established in 1902. This facility started out as the Medical Department of Sulphur Rock College in northern Arkansas, established in 1898. When enrollment declined there it was moved to Texarkana because of the city's access to several railroad lines. The college graduated its first class in 1903, but it closed by 1908.[52]

Clearly, by 1910 there were an adequate number of physicians and medical facilities to care for Texarkana's 4,797 women.[53] The local newspapers were still chronicling illnesses and deaths in 1905, but more and more the notice was followed with references to patients being in the hospital or sanitarium. For example, a 1905 notice read: "Mrs. Ellen Kelley, wife of Dr. Warren Kelley died at the Dale Sanitarium Saturday

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[51] Wren, "Early History of Medicine."

[52] Ibid.

[53] Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Schedule II (Population), National Archives, Washington, D. C.

morning at 5 o'clock.[54] Another notice read, "The many friends of Mrs. Zella Hargrove Gaither will be pleased to learn that she has so far recovered from her recent illness as to be able to leave the hospital and return to her rooms at Mrs. Barnes' residence."[55] If a survey of the newspapers is a good indicator of trends, then Texarkana women seemed to be split on their use of hospitals when they were ill. Many of the death notices included references to local hospitals, while illnesses such as measles, mumps, and influenza were treated at home.

Texarkana Hospital admission records still exist in the medical records archives of Wadley Regional Medical Center in Texarkana, Texas. The first extant hospital admission records are those of 1914 (see Table 23). They disclose that 149 women were admitted out of a total of 330 admissions for the six-month period from July to December (45 percent).[56] The most common medical procedure for women was curettage, scraping of the uterine cavity (35 of 149 female admissions or 23 percent). Dr. E. L. Beck performed the majority of these procedures (20) with Dr. Preston Hunt and Dr. T.F. Kittrell performing four each. Beck must have been the doctor most often consulted by Texarkana women who sought out a doctor because he performed fifty-four procedures whereas the next closest doctor only performed half as many. Appendectomies followed with 21 percent of the female admissions, and Dr. Beck performed the majority of these procedures as well. Tonsillectomies were third with 10 percent of admissions. In this six-month period, only three women chose to have their babies at the hospital. Other

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[54] *Daily Texarkana Independent*, 2 November 1905, 1.

[55] Ibid., 17 December 1905, 1.

[56] Admission Records, 1914, Archive, Wadley Regional Medical Center, Texarkana, Texas.

interesting findings in the admission records included the presence of syphilis in town and the treatment of eleven women with Salvarsan, a patented preparation containing arsenic used only for the treatment of this sexually transmitted disease.[57] There were a total of forty-two cases of syphilis treated with Salvarsan including one woman, Zoe LeRoy, a local madam in Texarkana's Swampoodle District, who also had two amputations caused by tertiary stage syphilis. Dr. Preston Hunt administered the majority of Salvarsan treatments at Texarkana Hospital.[58]

TABLE 23
Female Hospital Admissions
Texarkana Hospital
July through December, 1914

Total No. Women in Population	4,797	
Total of hospital admissions	330	
Total of Female Admissions	149	
% of Female Admissions to Total Admissions	49	
Most common procedures for women:		
curettage	23%	(35)
appendectomy	21%	(31)
tonsillectomy	10%	(15)
Salvarsan	7%	(11)

[57] Robert E. Rothenberg, M. D., F. A. C. S., *The New American Medical Dictionary and Health Manual* (New York: Penguin Books, 1988), 283.

[58] Admission Records, 1914.

Another indicator of women's access to health care is found in the number of days they were hospitalized for various medical procedures. In 1914, the average hospitalization for tonsillectomies was two days; for curettage it was nine days; and for appendectomies it was twenty-five days. Amputations, whether it was a limb or a breast, required between twenty-five and thirty days hospitalization, and combination operations such as those that linked appendectomy, suspension, and curettage required the same.[59]

By the 1920s, women's health care networks were clearly beginning to shift towards the technocratic model over the female kinship model. More and more women were having their babies in hospitals, and an increasing number of obstetricians were being turned out by the country's medical schools, becoming the "experts" on female health of this and following decades. Women in rural areas continued to cling to female family members for help during childbirth or illness because of the distance they lived from the growing medical centers and the cost of professional care, but those who lived within a short radius of the hospital chose to be treated there. As women's health care became more confined within the patriarchal medical community of the urban areas, women lost the knowledge that had carried them through many ordeals in the past. They forgot how to mix poultices, how to treat bites and stings, and how to have babies on their own. The "New Woman" of the Progressive Era was in place. She was so in charge of areas of employment, education, and mate selection, and yet, so complacent in health care areas.

The health care situation in Texarkana reflected national trends with great precision. By 1920, the city had grown to 11,480 and the number of females was

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[59] Ibid.

estimated at 5,740.[60] The city's women could choose Michael Meagher Hospital or Texarkana Hospital for their health care needs, and there were a number of clinics and physicians available. The following description of the Texarkana Hospital in 1917 shows the state-of-the-art facility Texarkana enjoyed.

> The broad steps at the front lead up to a delightfully cool and commodious gallery, giving entrance to the main hallway off of which opens the general reception room equipped with comfortable furniture as a resting place for relatives and friends of inmates of the institution. . . . The general arrangement of the three floors is very similar, and they are connected by a centrally located stairway and an electrically operated elevator for the use of the patients. . . .On each floor there is a special diet kitchen, fully equipped with gas stove, cabinet, ice box, water, and serving table. . .On the first floor, opening off the main hall, is located one of the best laboratories in the South, with all appliances necessary for the work of the pathologist and bacteriologist. Across the hall are the X-ray rooms, equipped with the largest Victor machine, the cost of which was $2,250 at the factory . . . .On the second floor. . .are situated two of the three operating rooms. . .while the room is well lighted with windows, it is fitted with shades which shut out all natural light, the work in the room generally being carried on under reflected artificial light, furnished by an electric dome in the ceiling. Installed here is a powerful searchlight. . . .The inter-communicating telephone system connecting all parts of the hospital is entirely automatic and renders a service designed to minimize steps and increase efficiency. . . .The hospital has capacity for about sixty patients, there being thirty private rooms, eight two-bed wards and four four-bed wards.[61]

By 1920 Texarkana benefited from the services of forty physicians who had been well-trained in many of the best medical schools in the country before coming to

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[60] Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Schedule II (Population), National Archives, Washington, D. C.; R. L. Polk, *Texarkana City Directory 1921-1922* (Dallas: R. L. Polk & Company, 1922), 61-437.

[61] Jones, "History of Wadley Hospital."

Texarkana to set up their practices. While not officially called "clinics," there were a number of loose associations of doctors functioning. Drs. E.L. Beck, T.E. Fuller, E.A. Hawley, Preston Hunt, B.C. Middleton, W.K. Read, J.T. Robinson, and J.K. Smith were all located in offices at the Texarkana National Bank Building. Doctors S.A. Collom, R.L. Grant, G.A. Hays, Wm. Hibbitts, T.F. Kittrell, L.H. Lanier, J.A. Lightfoot, R.H.T. Mann, H.E. Murry, C.A. Smith, and J.N. White were located in the State National Bank Building. The rest had offices scattered throughout the downtown area.[62] However, Texarkana's women continued to frequent Dr. Beck for the majority of their hospital procedures.[63]

Texarkana's three large hospitals were doing great business in 1920. Texarkana Sanitarium and Hospital at 517 Pine Street, Michael Meagher Memorial Hospital at 503 Walnut, and the Cotton Belt Railroad Hospital out on College Hill had found their loyal customers among the citizens and were supported in all they endeavored to accomplish. What emerged was a keen competition among the hospitals for patients and the income they brought in.[64]

Hospital admission records for Texarkana Sanitarium and Hospital from May through December of 1920 showed that there were a total of 804 admissions and that women accounted for 400 of those (see Table 24). This indicated that women's portion of hospital admissions had remained constant from 1914 to 1920 at 49 percent. Hospital birth statistics, however, showed the new birthing trend, the technocratic model, in that

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[62] Ibid.

[63] Admission Records, 1920, Archive, Wadley Regional Medical Center, Texarkana, Texas.

[64] Polk, *Texarkana City Directory, 1921-22*, 568, 549.

whereas only three women had their babies in the hospital in 1914, in 1920 there were thirty. Of those thirty babies born in the hospital, five died shortly after birth (16 percent). The most frequent operation performed on Texarkana's women was an appendectomy with 82 of 400 women undergoing this operation (21 percent). The second most frequent operation was a tonsillectomy with 70 of 400 women undergoing this procedure (18 percent). The third most frequent operation was an oopharectomy with salpingo, which was the surgical removal of an ovary and fallopian tube. Forty Texarkana women underwent this procedure at this hospital (10 percent). The fourth most frequent operation was curettage with 39 Texarkana women undergoing this procedure (10 percent). Admission records disclosed the variety of medical procedures available as well. Women could have a breast amputated (7), broken bones set (10), hysterectomy (22), tumors and cysts removed (22), eye operations (15), hemorrhoids removed (6), perinorrhaphy (surgical repair of the tissue between vagina and rectum) (5), Salvarsan treatments (5), and nephrectomy (surgical removal of a kidney) (2).[65]

Several other interesting statistics emerged from the 1920 admission records. The total number of syphilis cases treated remained constant at 42 in both 1914 and 1920; however, the number of females treated fell to half that of 1914, while the number of males treated rose from 31 to 37. Length of hospital stays was changing as well. Women spent eleven days in the hospital for appendectomies and oopharectomies. Childbirth stays ranged from four days to twenty, with an average of fourteen days. However, hospitalization for combination operations, some of which were quite extensive, remained

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[65] Admission Records, 1920; Rothenberg, *The New American Medical Dictionary*, 219, 283, 239, 211.

TABLE 24
Female Hospital Admissions
Texarkana Hospital
May through December 1920

Total No. Women in Population	5740	
Total of Hospital Admissions	804	
Total of Female Admissions	400	
% of Female Admissions to Total Admissions	49%	
Most Common Procedures for Women:		
appendectomy	21%	(82)
tonsillectomy	18%	(70)
oopharectomy	10%	(40)
curettage	10%	(39)
hysterectomy	6%	(22)[66]

at twenty-three to twenty-five days. Texarkana women had access to a wide range of procedures from those previously mentioned to double salpingo oopharectomies, cholecystotomies (draining the gall bladder when removal was deemed too dangerous), and perineorrhaphies.[67]

While four hundred female hospital admissions seems a small number when contrasted to the total of 5,740 females present, if the number is tripled, to account for

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[66] Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Schedule II (Population), National Archives, Washington, D. C.; Admission Records, 1920.

[67] Ibid.

admissions to the other two hospitals, the resulting number is 1,200 female admissions, or 21 percent of the female population in a given eight-month period. This would seem to be a significant indicator that women's access to quality health care by 1920 had made great strides.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

Between 1880 and 1920 American women experienced significant changes in their social status in the areas of education, employment, leisure time, and health care. Events of the time period worked together to stimulate these changes, resulting in a dramatic alteration of American life in general. This study sought to illuminate the changes experienced by women in one southern town during the time period and did, in fact, disclose a number of interesting results.

Key concepts of "status" and "prescriptive" and "proscriptive" language were defined. Status was defined in terms of a sociological and historical view, while prescriptive and proscriptive language was defined through the use of historical documents from the time period. Defining the sociological and historical views of "status" was important in setting the parameters of the study and in recognizing that by adopting a multiple field approach more data might be developed. Status was further defined in terms of ascribed and achieved status to develop the concept that in the 1880s women benefited from ascribed status, while at the end of the study they had shifted to achieved status. Defining prescriptives and proscriptives allowed the study to address changes women made in light of their socialization process and their life expectations.

The present study, as with most histories of women's lives, was somewhat limited by the sources available and leaned heavily on United States censuses, city and county records, and local histories for most of the information included. The size of

Texarkana itself somewhat limited the amount of information available from the censuses because it seemed always to fall just below the size of civic entities included in census tables. However, it was possible to use these resources to produce a study that documented status change for women in the areas of education, employment, leisure time, and health care.

In the area of prescriptive and proscriptive language, Texarkana women experienced blatant indoctrination to the Cult of True Womanhood in the 1880s and the New Woman philosophy in the 1900s and 1920s. The women were aware of the rules they lived under and adhered to the patterns set by society through the vehicle of the community newspaper. One constant throughout the forty-year period of this study was the cult of true womanhood. This complex of ideas never completely disappeared even after the new woman ideal had taken hold, but rather, it seemed that a dual philosophy was at work with the conscious prescriptives emphasizing the new woman by the 1920s, and the subconscious prescriptives continuing to adhere to the ideals of true womanhood. One explanation for this phenomenon was the fact that a number of Texarkana's founding families came from the South and brought southern traditions with them, including the ideal of "true womanhood." The cult was not uniquely southern, however; it was a national phenomenon. Texarkana's southern roots simply made it a conservative society, slow to change. Another was the fact that East Texas was plantation territory during the Civil War and so, the mystique of the South was firmly entrenched. It appeared that Texarkana women had no problem living with the split personality produced by these

two ideal images, but rather, managed very well. This dual personality was also found by Shirley Abbott in *Womenfolks: Growing Up Down South.*[1]

Texarkana's women had ample access to education from the year the town was founded. Schools of a comparable level with those of other East Texas towns were in place, and parents who valued education, and had the means to, took advantage of what was offered. The proportion of women who attended school rose from 22 percent in 1860 to 52 percent in 1900 and to 94 percent by 1920. At the same time literacy rates rose significantly from 82 percent in 1880 to 98 percent in 1920. The fact that educational access was widespread meant that it was no longer tied to the family's ascribed status within the community, but rather, by 1900 depended on each girl's own efforts to succeed.

Employment opportunities for Texarkana women expanded significantly between 1880 and 1920, but not in the most predictable manner. The proportion of women reporting gainful occupations rose from 11 percent to 32 percent between 1900 and 1920 at the same time that it rose from 19 to 21 percent nationally and from 14 to 18 percent in Texas. Texarkana's working population rose 300 percent while that of the United States rose 110 percent and that of Texas rose 128 percent. The most significant aspect of Texarkana's increase was the 1900 figure of 71 percent employed in domestic and personal services. Most of these women were cooks and laundresses. Clearly Texarkana's women were not "achieving" expanded status, but were the working poor. When local women interviewed noted that "everyone" had hired help, they apparently

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[1] Shirley Abbott, *Womenfolks: Growing Up Down South* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998).

were not exaggerating. It was clear that in Texarkana there was also a racial component to employment options. The largest number of domestic and personal service jobs were held by black women, while the largest number of clerical, sales, and professional jobs were held by white women. Additionally, when the 1920 Census isolated clerical work as an occupation Texarkana's numbers in this field were 5 percent below those of the state and nation.

Texarkana's women pursued simple leisure time activities longer than their state and national counterparts did. In both the 1880s and 1900s, local women enjoyed leisure time activities such as dancing, roller skating, promenading, playing cards, and attending events at the opera house. However, the formation of activist clubs with civic agendas did not occur significantly until closer to 1910 and later. Volunteerism remained dormant in Texarkana until the time of World War I when the Red Cross was formed and women contributed to the war effort. In this broad area of leisure time activities, club formation, and use of leisure time, it appeared that Texarkana women lagged behind their counterparts by a full decade or more. Women were also reluctant to join national and international associations of clubs, preferring to maintain their own agendas.

Local women enjoyed significant access to health care by the turn of the century because Texarkana became a medical center fairly early in its history. However, their use of the local hospitals showed that they were reluctant to turn themselves over to the scientific/technological hospital system until between 1914 and 1920. Only 2 percent of women admitted in 1914 had babies in the hospital, and by 1920 the number had only risen to 4 percent. The two most common procedures performed in local hospitals were those applicable to both sexes: appendectomies and tonsillectomies. The third ranking

procedure was curettage with most of the women consulting one of three doctors for these services. By 1920 there were more "female" surgeries being performed -- especially oopharectomies with salpingo. However, overall use of the hospital by women did not vary notably, as they constituted approximately 49 percent of admissions between 1914 and 1920.

This study was successful in its goal to identify areas of changing status and to document the degree of status change Texarkana women experienced in education, employment, leisure time, and health care. It is clear that women in this small town did, in fact, experience significant change in these aspects of their lives. They had greater access to education by 1920 that allowed them to choose high school, vocational training, and/or normal school. They experienced greater access to employment verified by the census statistics in nearly every field. They enjoyed more leisure time than in 1880, and they had more options to fill that time. Finally, they enjoyed better health care, which opened even more life choices to them. Texarkana's women followed national and regional trends, but did so at a distance in some cases, especially in their access to professional jobs and their involvement in social activism. Clearly, Texarkana's women experienced overall improvements to their status, and greater access to those aspects that could make their lives better.

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