

**FEMALE COMMUNITY LEADERS IN HOUSTON, TEXAS: A STUDY OF THE
EDUCATION OF IMA HOGG AND CHRISTIA DANIELS ADAIR**

A Dissertation

by

LINDA L. BLACK

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

December 2008

Major Subject: Curriculum and Instruction

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Approved by:

Chair of Committee,	Lynn M. Burlbaw
Committee Members,	Anthony N. Stranges
	Patrick Manning
	M. Carolyn Clark
	James B. Kracht
Head of Department	Dennie Smith

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ABSTRACT

Female Community Leaders in Houston, Texas: A Study of the Education of Ima Hogg
and Christia Daniels Adair. (December 2008)

Linda L. Black, B.A., Southwest Texas State University;

M.Ed., Southwest Texas State University

Chair of Advisory Committee: Dr. Lynn M. Burlbaw

Houston, Texas, the fourth largest metropolitan area in the United States, has several structures named after historically male leaders of the city—George R. Brown Convention Center, Mickey Leland Federal Building, William P. Hobby Airport, and Jesse H. Jones Hall. However, Houston women have also had a history that included positions of leadership in the community. Not only were women instrumental in creating the city's cultural institutions such as the Houston Symphony, Alley Theater, and Houston Public Library, but female community leaders were also responsible for social and political reforms including the integration of public facilities in Houston and the campaign for women's suffrage. These women leaders have not been recognized, and there are no public buildings in Houston that bear the names of women. This study seeks, in part, to make known the achievements of two women—one white, one black—who played an integral part in the political and cultural fabric of twentieth century Houston.

The purpose of this dissertation was to analyze the relationship between educational experience and community leadership in the lives of two female community

leaders in Houston, Texas, Ima Hogg and Christia Daniels Adair. Utilizing published interviews, government records, and manuscript collections, I detail the beliefs and values taught and modeled by parents and reinforced by church, school, and community, as well as the knowledge and skills developed through organizational work and self-directed study.

Upon initial observation, the lives of Ima Hogg and Christia Adair seemed quite different, separated by issues of race and class. However, by examining both the formal and informal educational experiences of these two women, common patterns or themes emerged. The themes were identified as service to community, expectations of success and leadership, a belief in the value of education and lifelong learning, and the development of leadership skills. The informal educational experience, in particular, proved to be especially significant in the development of leadership skills for these women and in their eventual roles as community leaders. Using these themes, this study analyzes the education of two female community leaders as a way of understanding the relationship between women's education and women's achievement.

DEDICATION

Without the love, support, and encouragement of my family and friends, this individual effort would not have come to fruition. First, I would like to dedicate this to my mother, Florence Workman Greene, who no matter what, always put her children first in her life and believed we could accomplish anything. Second, I would like to thank my husband, Royce Black, for never leaving my side during this journey, for believing in me at those times when I did not believe in myself, and for being willing to take on the many duties I asked of him, including research assistant, editor, and critic. I would like to thank to my son, Shawn, for his enduring pride in his mother's accomplishments and my sister, Nanci, for always being there when I needed support. To Donna and Gene, thank you for your support and for allowing me to move your father away from you, even if it was only for a while. To my nieces and nephew, thank you for your love and support. A sincere thank you to special friends Jean Silaski and Mary Smith who encouraged me at the beginning of my journey and to Heather Caldwell, Heidi Roupp, Deborah Smith Johnston, Sharon Cohen, Merry Wiesner-Hanks, Janet Tareilo, Neil Armstrong, Donnya Stephens, and Julia Ballenger who believed in me and kept me going during the rough times. All I can say to my AP buddies who "never doubted I would finish," everyone should have such friends.

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I will always be grateful to Dr. Patrick Manning for convincing me that this was possible. His encouragement and support have never wavered. As a scholar, as a mentor, and as a friend, his calm and thoughtful advice continues to encourage and inspire me, even as I begin this new career path. Dr. James B. Kracht was the first to suggest that I pursue a doctoral degree, and I am grateful that he recognized qualities in me that, at the time, I did not. Dr. M. Carolyn Clark helped me clarify and refine my thinking about teaching and learning, especially from a feminist perspective. Dr. Anthony N. Stranges helped expand my vision of world history through his knowledge of the history of science.

I also want to thank my friends and colleagues from Stephen F. Austin State University, Dr. Janet Tareilo, Dr. Julia Ballenger, and Dr. Dana Cooper, who gave of their time to read chapters of my dissertation and make suggestions. Dr. Lee Stewart, also of Stephen F. Austin State University, provided much needed technical advice and did so in a manner that always made me feel like a valued colleague.

I also wish to thank my friend and historian Betty Chapman, whose knowledge of historical Houston and Houston women was invaluable in completing this study. Her

willingness to find and to share seemingly small bits and pieces of the historical puzzle that was the role of women in Houston speaks volumes about her commitment to making known the achievements of women in history.

Finally, I wish to express my thanks to my editor, Marilyn Oliva, who stayed with me through trials, tribulations, and the Chicago format. Thank you for helping make this possible.

ABBREVIATIONS

BCP: Billie Carr Political Papers, Woodson Research Center, Rice University.

CAP: Christia Adair Papers, Houston Metropolitan Research Center, Houston Public Library.

CC: John and Ethelyn Chisum Collection, Dallas Public Library.

CFWC: City Federation of Women's Clubs, Afro-American Collection, Houston Metropolitan Research Center, Houston Public Library.

ERCP: Elizabeth Richardson Cherry Papers, Archives, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston.

FRP: Frankie Randolph Papers, Woodson Research Center, Rice University.

HFR: Hogg Foundation for Mental Health Records, Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin.

HTU: Registrar's Office, Huston-Tillotson University.

IHP: Ima Hogg Papers, Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin.

IHPC: Ima Hogg Symphony Program Collection, The University of Houston.

JMP: Jane Y. McCallum Family Papers, Austin History Center, Austin Public Library.

JSHP: James Stephen Hogg Papers, Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin.

MFA: Ima Hogg Collection, Archives, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, Texas.

MFC: Minnie Fisher Cunningham Papers, Houston Metropolitan Research Center, Houston Public Library.

MRC: Houston Metropolitan Research Center, Houston Public Library.

RGE: Women's Clubs of Houston Collection, Houston Metropolitan Research Center,
Houston Public Library.

TTWC: Tula Townshend Wyatt Collection, San Marcos Hayes County Collection, San
Marcos Public Library.

WHP: William C. Hogg Papers, Center for American History, The University of Texas
at Austin.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A visitor to Houston, Texas, would certainly recognize who have historically been the male leaders of the city. George R. Brown Convention Center, Mickey Leland Federal Building, William P. Hobby Airport, and Jesse H. Jones Hall are just a few of the structures named for male community leaders from Houston's past. However, Houston women have also had a history, a history that included positions of leadership in the community. Not only were women instrumental in creating the city's cultural institutions such as The Houston Museum of Fine Arts, Houston Symphony, Alley Theater, and Houston Public Library, but female community leaders were also responsible for social and political reforms including the integration of public facilities in Houston and the campaign for women's suffrage. These women leaders have not been recognized and there are no public buildings in Houston that bear the names of women. This study seeks, in part, to make known the achievements of two women—one white, one black—who played an integral part in the political and cultural fabric of twentieth century Houston. Ima Hogg and Christia Daniels Adair were women who demonstrated leadership skills in fields as varied as education, public health, the arts, and civil rights. The purpose of this study was to analyze the educational experiences of these two women as a way of understanding the relationship between women's education and community leadership. Analyzing the formal and informal educational experiences of

The style for this dissertation follows that of the *American Educational History Journal*.

Ima Hogg and Christia Daniels Adair, produced a complex picture involving issues of race and class as well as gender.

Analysis of women's education provides valuable information about both the social institution of education and the history of women. McClelland (1992) wrote that, "The study of the history of the education of women is a complex affair" (3). This complexity is marked by the intersection of two fields, women's history and the history of education. A literature search has shown a void in the literature about the education of women in Texas with only two sources in the last fifty years (Aiken 1957; Cottrell 1993b). Although works on women's education have been published within the last thirty years (Gordon 1993; Graves 1998; Horowitz 1984; Lagemann 1979; Rury 1991; Solomon 1985), there have been no comparable works published about the education of Texas women in the last fifty years. In writing about Texas, Cottrell (1989) addressed this issue, "the entire area of the content, form, and purpose of schooling for girls and young women is virtually untouched" (2). Chapman's work (1993, 2000), focusing on Houston women during the period 1880-1920 did not specifically address the issue of women's education. Therefore, research about Texas women and their education during the period 1880-1920, is needed. Not only does this work fill a particular void in Texas women's history, but it also adds to our knowledge of women's history, the history of education, and the role of women. This study seeks, as Erlandson et al. (1993) wrote, "to deepen the conversation and broaden the audience" (11).

Originally, ten women were identified as possible subjects for this study based on two criteria: all were community leaders in Houston and all were formally educated in

Texas between 1880 and 1920. These women were not chosen as representative of all Texas women, but as a purposive sample because of their leadership roles in the economic, social, and cultural institutions of twentieth century Houston, Texas. Subsequent research on the lives and achievements of these women identified Ima Hogg and Christia Daniels Adair as community leaders who were exemplars of race and class. This study paints a picture that will aid in understanding the complexity of the educational process in the lives of select women in a particular setting and does not claim to represent all Texas women. Erlandson et al. (1993) described this selective process as a way to “understand and explicate social phenomena,” in this case the educational process, within a certain context of time and place (11).

Lagemann (1979) wrote that studying the educational experiences of individual women through educational biography provides a means to examine both education history and the history of women. Cremin (1976) defined an educational biography as “an account or portrayal of an individual life, focusing on the experience of education” (42). This approach focuses on the individual’s own efforts, as well as the deliberate actions of others, in the acquisition of knowledge, attitudes, values, or skills (Cremin 1976). In discussing the power of educational biography to specifically promote the understanding of women’s history, Lagemann (1979) wrote that

Biography is a sensible approach to the educational history of women because it allows one to examine education as a broad process, to map the variety of settings in which education can take place, to analyze the personal and social factors that define educative meaning of a wide range of experiences, and to trace the effects of these experiences over time. (4)

Finkelstein (1998) addressed the role of historical biography in illustrating the significance of human agency when she wrote, “Historical biography reveals the relative power of individuals to stabilize or transform the determinacies of cultural tradition, political arrangements, economic forms, social circumstances, and educational processes into new social possibilities” (46). One aim of this dissertation was to draw a rich, thick description of each woman’s experiences in order, “to draw large conclusions from small, but very densely textured facts; to support broad assertions about the role of [the education] culture in the construction of collective life” (Geertz 1973, 28). Through the lives of these two women, this study also explored the issue of the purpose and role of education in helping to shape individual lives.

Research Questions

In a 1992 study, McClelland pointed out, “the education of girls and women—particularly as it has differed from the education of boys and men—is an area too little studied and perhaps even less understood” (xii-xiii). A lack of research studies on women’s education and a lack of recognition for the achievements of individual women provide the context for the following four research questions that guided the examination and analysis of data for this dissertation:

- What were the educational experiences of each of the women chosen for the study?
- What role did both formal and informal education play in each woman’s education?

- How did the education of these individual Houston women in the period 1880-1920 help shape their role as community leaders?
- What were the perceived and the actual roles of Texas women in the context of 1880-1920 society, and how did these individual women reflect this picture?

Definition of Terms

Education and learning can take place in a variety of settings (Henze 1992; Jeffs and Smith 1990; Leichter 1979; Merriam 1993). Learning can take place in the classroom, but can also originate within the family and within community settings such as museums, religious institutions, and youth organizations. Although these different types of learning experiences have been categorized in the education literature as formal, informal, and non-formal education by some researchers (Jeffs and Smith 1990), others have suggested that a continuum from formal to informal would be more accurate, as elements of each sometimes seem to overlap (Henze 1992). Therefore, for the purpose of this study, the following definitions of types of education were used.

1. Formal education is composed of those educational activities that are planned, offered, and controlled by a structured institution sanctioned by the state.
2. Informal education is the process where people acquire and accumulate knowledge, skills, attitudes, and insights from daily experiences including educational activities sponsored by community and church organizations,

study clubs, and extracurricular organizations in schools (Coombs and Ahmed 1974).

Methodology

Qualitative methods of historical analysis were used to examine primary and secondary sources in Texas libraries and archives, primarily in Houston and Austin. Analysis and interpretation of historical documents, both in narrative and non-narrative forms, were used to construct meaning. However, certain aspects of data collection, document analysis, and interpretation needed to be attended to in evaluating the objectivity, reliability, and authenticity of source material.

One problem in using original sources is access. Sometimes documents exist and availability is restricted; other times, documentation is completely lacking for a particular subject. What is available and what is missing can influence a historian's choice of sources and, therefore, color the historian's interpretation. The availability of information about the education of individual women from both published sources and unpublished archival material, from family and friends, and from the women themselves, limited the choice of women for this study.

Once source materials have been identified, historians make decisions about reliability and objectivity of sources, while also keeping in mind what has framed their own personal perspective. Historians examine sources taking into account the context of the time as well as the background and beliefs of the writer. They analyze factors such as age, gender, class, nationality, occupation, religion, etc., that can influence

interpretation. Corroboration of evidence between multiple sources is also used to check reliability of sources.

In evaluating source material, an understanding of the historical context, replete with the values and beliefs of the time, is also an important consideration and vital to providing authenticity in any research in that “the context is rich in cues about how the actors or subjects negotiate and understand their experience” (Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis 1997, 12). Therefore, an analysis of trends and historical events during the period 1880-1920, especially the attitudes toward the education of women as it related to their perceived and actual roles, frames the third chapter of my study.

Finally, while historians have long believed in the goal of objective research and interpretation, they realize the impossibility of unbiased historical writing and must continually use careful methods to not only analyze sources, but to also take into account their own biases. Howell and Prevenier (2001) wrote, “all historians approach their work burdened with an array of individual experiences that affect their reaction to events; they have heard different voices, have different memories, lived through different times” (146). As I researched and wrote about these two women, I was aware of my own life experiences and education in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries and their experiences in the 19th and early 20th centuries, and how this awareness informed my interpretation of their lives. I was drawn to this study because of my perspective on women’s roles in society and my own belief that women’s stories have not been integrated into the teaching of history, particularly at the secondary level.

Perspectives

This dissertation was written from an interpretivist perspective and examines the lives of two individual Texas women in the period 1880-1920, their formal educational experiences, the influence of informal educative experiences, how they made meaning out of their educational experiences, and how they structured their world as a result of their education. Although this dissertation examined the theoretical frameworks found in the literature review about Texas women, it focuses on the contextualized voices of the individual women in the study. The goal, in interpretivist terms, is “to uncover the conceptual structures that inform our subjects’ acts ... and to construct a system of analysis in whose terms what is generic to those structures, what belongs to them because they are what they are, will stand out against the other determinants of human behavior” (Geertz 1973, 27).

Historical writings about the activities and achievements of women written before the 1960s were few (Collingwood 1956; Lerner 1979). Although women played significant roles in the culture and economy of past societies, the traditional written narrative seldom reflected their presence (Anderson and Zinsser 2000; Lerner 1979; Wiesner-Hanks 2001; Zinsser 1993). The official records of the day seldom recorded women’s achievements in fields as varied as agriculture, textile production, the education of children, and health care as official government spheres were dominated by men (Reilly 1997). When historical narratives were written, the world of men was described, a world dominated by political, economic, and military events and male personalities (Carr 1963; Reilly 1997; Wiesner-Hanks 2001).

With the beginning of the new women's movement of the 1960s, interest in women's history developed (Anderson and Zinsser 2000; Stearns 2000; Wiesner-Hanks 2001; Zinsser 1993). In the introduction to their 2000 work, Anderson and Zinsser noted that in the past thirty years "academic series of books in women's history, rich monographs, specialized encyclopedias, dictionaries, bibliographic guides, and new journals in women's history were published" (vii). However, information about the role of women in different societies has not yet been embraced by traditional histories, including textbooks (Anderson and Zinsser 2000; Black 2002, 2006). Textbooks still focus on the political and economic narrative, mentioning, briefly, if at all, those fields in which women played a significant role in society, such as textile production or the education of children (Anderson and Zinsser 2000; Reilly 1997). When information about women and women's role in society is included, it is placed in side bars, special sections, or at the end of chapters (Black 2002, 2006; Zinsser 1993). Traditional narrative history has been and still is being used to marginalize the history of women (Anderson and Zinsser 2000; Black 2002, 2006; Lerner 1979; Wiesner-Hanks 2001; Zinsser 1993)

In the past thirty years, historians of women's history have developed new methods of investigation and identified new sources that provide information about women's role in history (Reilly 1997). Describing the process used by these historians, Reilly (1997) wrote, "they have shown us how to read between the lines of documents, and to find new sources in myths, oral traditions, art and artifact (xii). This dissertation utilized information from both narrative and non-narrative sources. By examining non-

narrative sources such as oral histories and the minutes and reports of women's organizations, as well as traditional documents, this dissertation attempted to produce a more integrated and balanced picture of the education of Ima Hogg and Christia Adair.

Throughout history, much of women's education came through non-traditional or informal educative experiences, education within the family, the community, and through social interaction (Anderson and Zinsser 2000; Lewis and Simon 1986). Much of the non-traditional education of women has been denigrated and not seen as true objective knowledge (Lerner 1979; Zinsser 1993). Lewis and Simon (1986) describe this as a problem stemming from power relations between men and women, and not one of subjective and objective knowledge.

This implies that women's experience and discursive forms are defined by men as illegitimate within the terms of men's experience and men's discursive forms. The assertion that women's knowledge is based on personal experience while men's knowledge is based on objective grounds obliterates the relationship between education and personal experience. The ingenuousness of an educational process that attempts to obliterate the personal is profoundly silencing. (464)

In looking at examples of informal learning, the influence of family, particularly parents, in establishing patterns of community involvement, is important to understanding the actions of these individual women community leaders. Delgado Bernal (1998) wrote "knowledge that is passed from one generation to the next provides an understanding of certain situations and explanations about why things happen under certain conditions" (568). These experiences are outside the realm of formal education but still perform an educative function and should be studied for a full understanding of women's educational experience. Meaning is embedded in a woman's own experiences

(Merriam 1991). Pratt (1993) wrote “learning is an interactive process of interpretation, integration, and transformation of one’s experiential world” (17).

Formal education and informal learning in Texas from 1880-1920 was examined as reflective of the norms and values of society of the time, because, as Giroux (1982) contends, “schools embody conflicting political values, histories, and practices and can be analyzed as an expression of the wider organization of society” (37). Historical events and demographic trends including immigration, industrialization, commercialism, urbanization, and racism formed the context of the period 1880-1920. The lives and the achievements of these two individual women were also examined within the context of society’s beliefs about women, women’s education, and women’s roles in the period 1880-1920.

Organization of the Study

Chapter II is a review of literature that focuses on women and women’s education in the period 1880-1920. Chapter III surveys the historical context of the period 1880-1920, with certain trends and historical events that affected ideas about women’s roles and women’s education during the period. Chapters IV and V explore the individual educational experiences, formal and informal, of Ima Hogg and Christia Adair, respectively. Chapter VI uses a thematic framework to compare and contrast the lives and educational experiences of Ima Hogg and Christia Adair in analyzing the relationship between women’s education and women’s achievement. Conclusions are drawn about the results of this study and its significance and suggestions are made for further research.

In the analysis of the formal and informal educative experiences of Ima Hogg and Christia Adair and their roles as community leaders, certain patterns or themes emerged. These themes encompass beliefs and values taught and modeled by parents and reinforced by church, school, and community. These themes were identified as (1) service to the community, including civic responsibility and civic leadership, (2) expectations of success and leadership, (3) a belief in the value of education and self-directed learning, and (4) the development of leadership skills, including organization, networking, and collaboration skills. The four themes are reflected in the experiences of Ima Hogg and Christia Adair. However, each woman's commitment to service and education was connected to their community leadership and became the basis for their life's work. These four themes have been used to organize the telling of the story of each woman in Chapters IV and V and provide a framework to compare and contrast the lives of Ima Hogg and Christia Adair in Chapter VI.

The chapters on each woman are similar in organization beginning with a brief overview of that woman's achievements and then proceeding to the first theme, that of service to community, the predominant theme in each woman's life. For the chapter on Ima Hogg, the second section discusses the theme of family expectations of success and leadership. The second section of the chapter on Christia Adair examines the theme of justice, fair play, and civic responsibility in response to conditions in a segregated society. The third section of each chapter follows a similar pattern for each woman, describing the value of education including experiences of self-directed learning. The

final section of each chapter links the development of leadership skills in each woman's life to examples of their leadership as an adult.

Chapter Conclusion

This study contributes to a growing body of research on women in Texas and, in particular, the role of education in helping to shape women's lives. As McClelland (1992) wrote, "a study of women's education can make a significant contribution to the study of the history of education as a social enterprise" (51). As the literature review illustrates, there are published studies about women reformers during the Progressive Age. However, few of these sources focused on the relationship of education to community leadership. This study attempts to deepen the understanding of women leaders, especially on the local level, and to fill a void in the history of Texas education with a portrait of not just the achievements of twentieth century Texas women, but how the personal, the private, and the public realms of education played an integral and interconnected role in women's lives.

The importance of research in this area lies in the intersection of women's education, women's identity as portrayed by their actual and perceived roles in society, and women's agency and their ability to control their own destinies. An understanding of the education of individual women can further the understanding of the generation of women to which they belonged (Lagemann 1979).

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

Relevant sources for this study are organized chronologically by topic, from the general to the particular. After an examination of issues concerning the writing of women's history, the first section continues with an analysis of general works written about women in the period 1880-1920 and then works about women's education in the same period. The second section examines monographs about Texas women and education in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The last section ends with an examination of sources written specifically about Houston women in the period 1880-1920.

Women's History

Since the beginning of written history by the Greeks over 2,000 years ago, historical writings about the activities and achievements of women have been few (Anderson and Zinsser 2000; Collingwood 1956). By the nineteenth century, as history became both a research field and a subject of educational study, historical writings by and about men were still the norm. However, as the new social history movement developed over the last four decades of the twentieth century, the history of women as a field of historical research also developed (Anderson and Zinsser 2000). The new feminism of the 1960s inspired feminist historians to research women's history (Lerner 1981). The initial studies of women's history looked at the achievements of public figures such as female rulers, writers, artists, and inventors as a way of restoring women

to history, but still within the context of the male narrative—war, statecraft, industry, etc. (Reilly 1997). However, as the scholarship about women developed throughout the 1970s and into the 1980s:

It became obvious that the historical experiences of men and women [the famous and the not-so-famous as well] were different. That is why scholars now speak about “gender,” the social and cultural behavior that may build upon or ignore sexual identity. To see gender in history is to see the ways in which men and women are trained in different (and similar) activities, to explore these diverse realms, and to understand the dynamic of gender interaction. (Reilly 1997, xi)

A National Focus

With the emergence of women’s history came the problem of developing a framework in which to analyze the historical experiences of women. Downs (1991) wrote that Barbara Welter’s 1966 article on “The Cult of True Womanhood” provided one of the first paradigms for looking at women’s experiences by examining the literature written for women in the early nineteenth century. This framework became a model for successive works about women’s history. Studies by Andreadis (1989) about frontier women and Malone (1983) about Texas women both concluded that the concept of “True Womanhood” greatly influenced women’s perceptions of their roles in the nineteenth century and well into the Progressive time period of 1880-1920. McClelland (1992) listed thirty-two works published in the 1970s and 1980s that used this framework in exploring different topics about women.

In examining the formal education of Ima Hogg and Christia Adair, both women were educated during the Progressive Age from 1880 to 1920. In explaining why a study of women in the Progressive Age is a significant historical topic, Dye (1991) wrote “it enables us to see both how central women reformers were to progressivism and how

important issues concerning gender, family, and the relationship between private and public spheres were in shaping the reform movement” (9). On a national level, published works about women of the Progressive Age include Frankel and Dye’s 1991 examination of gender and reform in the Progressive Age, Rury’s 1991 analysis of education and women’s work, and Tyack’s 1992 and Graves’ 1998 investigations into the impact of vocational education on women.

An increasing interest in the history and activities of women during the Progressive Age was also demonstrated by the number of theses and dissertations about women in the Progressive Age produced in the last twenty years. Topics of these theses and dissertations included the changing image of women in the Progressive Age (Rosoff 2004), female reformers of the Progressive Age (Badura 1996; Barr 1993; Dooley 1996; Hart 2004; Lancaster 1998; Nutter 1998; Reukauf 1994; Rouse 1983), and formal education and women in the Progressive Age (Bretschneider 1998; Cottrell 1993a, 1993b; Hall 2005; L’Eplattenier 1999; Means 2003; Miller 2004; Rockwell 1999; Siroky 1996). Dissertations that specifically dealt with Texas women and the Progressive Age included Seaholm (1988), McArthur (1992), Gower (1996), and Rowe (1999). This dissertation differs from these published works, theses, and dissertations because it focuses on the relationship between both formal and informal educational experiences and the development of community leadership.

As early as 1910, Talbot’s *Education of Women* offered a contemporary analysis of the significant changes in women’s roles in society as a result of industrialization and urbanization and described how these changes affected the education of women.

Individual chapters consisted of topics such as education, urban life, social change, and school attendance. The work on women's education in the United States that concluded with a description of women's education in the Progressive Age was Woody's widely cited 1929 work, *A History of Women's Education in the United States*. This was a historical account of women's education, public and private, which placed developments in context and described the impact of events such as women's suffrage on educational practices. Woody's chapters on early twentieth century women provided information on their economic status, the introduction of vocational education, the beginning of coeducational high schools, informal education for women, and the women's club movement. Woody's (1929) analysis of women's club participation as giving women "a foundation for civic powers" (467) described a theme echoed by later historians (Chapman 1993; Cottrell 1993b; Frankel and Dye 1991; McArthur 1998; McElhaney 1998; Riley 1986; Turner 1997).

McClelland's 1992 work, *The Education of Women in the United States*, served as a more contemporary introduction to the general subject of the education of girls and women, with some reference to historical antecedents in western civilization. The author used a thematic approach to frame the discussion of the educational experiences of women, from the 'colonial wife and republican mother' to the 'modern housewife and college woman.'

Rury (1991) explored the intersection of ideas about education, gender, class, race, and reform in a work that used both quantitative analysis and historical narrative to examine female education and work patterns in urban areas from 1870-1930. Rury

(1991) proposed the hypothesis that, for female students in the United States, the secondary vocational movement from 1900-1920 ended the gender equity established in coeducational high schools of the late nineteenth century and placed constraints on women's educational opportunities (Rury 1991).

Graves (1998) used Rury's hypothesis as her primary focus when she analyzed the curriculum transformation caused by the introduction of vocational courses in the St. Louis public schools and the patterns of female coursework. "The differentiated curriculum led to academic decline in St. Louis, altering girls' high school experiences, and restricting girls' access to certain kinds of knowledge, most notably mathematics and science" (Graves, 1998, xviii). The study most relevant for this dissertation was Lagemann's 1979 work on the relationship between education and individual achievement in the lives of five female Progressive reformers from New York. Lagemann saw education as a lifelong process of interaction and focused on the combined influence of family, mentors, and colleagues in analyzing the lives and accomplishments of female Progressive reformers. This work provided a model for analyzing both the formal and informal educational experiences of Ima Hogg and Christia Adair.

A Focus on Texas Women

For a general overview of women and education in Texas, *The New Handbook of Texas* article on this subject by Cottrell (1996) was a starting point, describing the chronological development of education for Texas women from the 1830s to 1994 and providing research links to significant people, places, and events. Earlier, Cottrell (1994)

prepared a detailed historiography of sources on Texas women in the introduction to the second edition of *Women in Early Texas*, where she traced the historiography of sources about Texas women written from 1896-1994, categorizing works into sections by topics such as suffrage.

Cottrell (1994) noted that in the field of Texas history, historical studies about women began in the nineteenth century. Most of these works were biographies as described by both Malone (1988) and Cottrell (1994), recounting frontier life for Texas women. Eby published the first work on Texas education, *The Development of Education in Texas* in 1925. Although Eby briefly reported on the state of girls' primary and secondary education, including female departments in colleges, his analysis of the political and economic context in which the public school system of Texas developed dominated the narrative. His chapters on Texas education in the first two decades of the twentieth century, including the development of the coeducational public high school in Texas, as well as the chapter on what he referred to as "Negro education," are valuable in looking at the beginning of formal education for women and blacks in Texas.

According to Malone (1988), none of the articles, theses, or books published between Eby's 1925 history and Aiken's 1957 work included information on the education of women. Works describing women's lives from 1880-1920, were published as early as 1905. An early work that presented Texas women as community builders was McKeever's (1905) *Inception, Organization, and Work of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas*. Ward's (1918) *Property Rights of Married Women in Texas* illustrated the importance of the women's rights issue at that time (Malone, 1988). The role Texas

women played in the suffrage movement continued to be a topic of interest to scholars throughout the twentieth century, beginning with Bowles' 1939 thesis on the "History of the Women Suffrage Movement in Texas," to Taylor's 1951 article on "The Woman Suffrage Movement in Texas," to Winegarten and McArthur's (1987) *Citizens At Last, The Woman Suffrage Movement in Texas*.

Not until 1957 would there be a scholarly work published that specifically dealt with the education of Texas women. Even though higher education for women was the main focus of Aiken's *Education of Women in Texas* (1957), her analysis of the educational theories and the sociological and cultural factors affecting the education of women in Texas from 1825-1957 conceptualized the changing roles of women in Texas. Until 1969, the works by Eby and Aiken represented the only published works on education that included Texas women. A search of dissertations about women and/or education in Texas found a "History of Education in Texas 1860-1884" (White 1969), which gave general background information about coeducational public high schools, but only two paragraphs on female colleges. A dissertation by Oates (1992) provided insight into women educators in Texas from 1840-1940, particularly rural teachers and policies concerning rural schools.

Several of the publications about Texas women from the beginning of the twentieth century through the 1980s were biographical, dealing with well-known individual women, collections of famous women, or the lives of pioneer or frontier women in general (Cottrell 1994; Malone 1988). Much of this is celebratory; women, even ordinary women, celebrated as heroines, written to justify the inclusion of women

into the history of Texas (Downs 1991). Examples of this kind of literature from different decades include Pickrell (1929), Crawford and Ragsdale (1982), and Carrington (1994). Biographies of Ima Hogg by Iscoe (1976) and Bernhard (1984) also fall in to this category. One of the first archival bibliographies about Texas women, *Finder's Guide to the Texas Women: A Celebration of History Exhibit Archives* was published in 1984 by Winegarten. This index to more than 20,000 items in the biographical and topical files in the Texas Woman's University Library collection on Texas women gave brief historical descriptions of individual women, including the two women in this study and was relevant for identifying the achievements of individual women.

The historiographical essays about Texas women by Malone (1988) and Downs (1991) provided more of an analysis of publications and not just a listing. Malone's framework included both topical and chronological trends in literature about Texas women that enabled this author to gain an over-all picture of the nature of historical sources on women, including the impact of the historical context. Nineteen publications mentioned women and women's issues during the Progressive time, but none of the nineteen sources dealt with women's education, in particular. In the concluding paragraph of her 1988 work, Malone wrote, "In the area of education, much needs to be done to illustrate women as informal educators of the Texas society as a whole" (136).

The historiographic essay about Texas women by Downs (1991) proved to be the most useful to this study because it explored why women's history remains outside the mainstream of Texas history. And, more importantly for this author, Downs connected

ideas about Texas women to scholarship on Southern and Western history and presented a framework for analyzing works on women through the lens of several common themes that encompassed the perception of women's roles in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Downs noted "there has been little critical work done on the history of education in Texas" (Downs 1991, 96).

Beginning in the mid-1980s and continuing into the 1990s, a number of scholarly works about Texas women that took into account issues of race and class began to appear in the literature, e.g., Malone (1983), Myres (1986), Cottrell (1993b), Downs and Jones (1993), Turner (1997), McArthur (1998), and McElhaney (1998). While these works mentioned previous paradigms such as the cult of true womanhood, most attempted to analyze social and cultural factors within a certain historical context, projecting a much richer, more complex, and not always positive image of women in Texas history.

Malone (1983) examined the roles of women in Texas on the frontier using familiar themes of the "true woman" and women as "civilizers" on the frontier, but did so while discussing the lives of Indian, Mexican, and black women who did not always fit the image portrayed in past literature. Her cross-cultural perspective invited readers into the world of comparative history that had not been explored in previous works.

Myres (1986) investigated the idea of Texas women as part of the Texas myth in "Cowboys and Southern Belles," a portrait of the roles of Texas women. As Myres wrote, "Not only has mythic Texas influenced our views of male and female images, it also has influenced our image of the relationship between them" (135).

Looking at women's activities through the larger lens of social history, Ford (1990) noted the significance of women's contributions in the "private sphere" of the home. Ford described the educative nature of women's everyday activities and how important this was in understanding the human condition. Her examples of sources particularly relevant in researching informal education in women's history included church and club records, diaries, literature written by women, crafts and the production of textiles such as quilts, and oral histories. Ford (1990) wrote "that social history cannot be understood without an understanding of how marginal groups [like women] have performed daily to support society" (14).

A series of essays about Texas women edited by Downs and Jones (1993), resulting from a state-wide history conference on Texas women, described diverse issues such as Texas women and education, politics, literature, drama, and the oil business. Four of the essays described women in the period of 1880-1920 and provided information about topics in this dissertation. "Texas Women and the Writing of Women's History" by Fox-Genovese (1993) examined the different essays in terms of various theoretical frameworks for writing women's history, while "Pauline Periwinkle: Prodding Dallas into the Progressive Era" by McElhaney (1993) described the role of Sara Isadore Miner, Woman's Editor of the *Dallas Morning News* in promoting the efforts of women reformers in Dallas. McArthur's 1993 essay on "Saving the Children: The Women's Crusade Against Child Labor, 1902-1918" detailed another reform effort by women in the Progressive period and "Professional, Feminine, and Feminist: Annie Webb Blanton and the Founding of Delta Kappa Gamma" by Cottrell (1993c) described

efforts by the first female State Superintendent to create a professional organization for female Texas teachers and, as Downs (1993) noted, “invites discussion of the role of moderate reform organizations, including women’s clubs, in bringing about social change” (xvi).

This theme of women actively involved in the culture of the community was also reflected by Turner (1997) as she examined women’s religious groups and women’s benevolent societies in helping shape Galveston society in the period 1880-1920. Turner’s work, along with the earlier work of Chapman (1993) and McArthur (1998) presented the hypothesis that Texas women of the period 1880-1920, began to emerge from the private sphere of home into the public sphere of the community, actively helping to effect political, economic, and social change. Turner (1997) and McArthur (1998) also examined issues of race and class and how women, both black and white, were activists in their own communities. Turner’s (1997) work, in particular, analyzed church organizations as informal avenues of education for women that eventually led them to successfully push for political reform for white, middle-class women and economic reform for lower class white and black women.

Expanding on her 1993 article about *Dallas Morning News* columnist Isadore Callaway, McElhaney’s 1998 biography described how Callaway helped spur such reforms as pure food, water, and milk laws and pushed for the higher education of Texas women, particularly the State Industrial School for Women. McElhaney (1998) compared these reform movements in Dallas to similar movements in other parts of the

United States and demonstrated that women, during the Progressive period 1880-1920, were the primary impetus for these types of reforms.

In looking at the reform efforts of women throughout Texas, McArthur (1998) also wrote about the changing roles of Texas women, describing in her title this process of women's involvement as "creating new women." McArthur, like McElhane (1998), described areas of reform such as clean food and improvements in schools. Although she did not focus on the education of these reform-minded women, McArthur did address issues of feminism, vocational classes for women, and free kindergartens. She analyzed how Texas women, both black and white, worked separately and together to effect change. She also described Houston women and their efforts to organize special interest groups such as the Ladies Reading Circle that eventually established the Houston Public Library.

Houston women were the subject of two works by Chapman. "From the Parlor to the Public: New Roles for Women in Houston, 1885-1918" (Chapman 1993), was a brief look at female organizations that afforded women the opportunity for activism and leadership in the community. Chapman (2000) also described the achievements of such groups as the Ladies Reading Circle, the Public School Art League, the Houston Civic Club, and the Settlement Association within a framework of beliefs about women's traditional roles of the time. Chapman's 2000 work combined narrative text with extensive photographs of women and women's activities in the history of Houston from the early 1800s through the twentieth century. Chapters on community institutions and work described women's involvement in these areas and the chapter on education briefly

incorporated the education of both black and white Houston women from 1870 to 1940. The emphasis throughout the book was on the role of individual women, such as Julia Ideson and Annette Finnegan. The only information provided about each woman was in the caption under her photograph.

Since 1957, the only work that dealt entirely with Texas education and women was the biography of one Texas woman, Annie Webb Blanton by Cottrell (1993b). Focusing on the achievements of the first Texas woman State Superintendent of Public Instruction and President of the Texas State Teachers Association, Cottrell presented a picture of an educator as well as the education of a Texas woman. Cottrell provided an account of how Blanton's personal frame of reference intersected with contemporary beliefs about gender roles and educational reform to produce the ultimate reform-minded Texas woman. While the majority of the book emphasized the life of Blanton, her achievements in educational reform for Texas children and her struggle against traditional gender constraints demonstrated the changing roles of women in the Progressive Age of 1880-1920.

Chapter Conclusion

This dissertation analyzed the education of two Texas women in the period from 1880 to 1920. A review of literature for this study included an examination of general works written about women in the period 1880-1920 and of specific works about women's education, particularly works about Texas women. An analysis of published works, theses, and dissertations about women and their role in the period of Progressive reform from 1880 to 1920 revealed that the historical and demographic events and trends

of the time influenced women's roles and women's education and that women played public roles in promoting reform on a national level (Baker 1984; Cash 2001; Dye 1991; Frankel and Dye 1991; Lebsack 1990; Skocpol et al. 1993; Tilly and Gurin 1990).

In examining works written from a national perspective about the education of women during the period from 1880-1920, Talbot (1910) described significant changes in women's education as a result of the industrialization and urbanization of the time. Rury (1991) and Graves (1998) also analyzed the impact of industrialization and urbanization, but with an emphasis on the negative impact that the introduction of resulting vocational course work had on women's education. Both Horowitz (1984) and Solomon (1985) analyzed women's college experiences in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, including women of color, describing the changes that brought about women's entrance into higher education and the changes in women's lives as a result. Lagemann's 1979 study of the effect of both formal and informal educational experiences of five female reformers during the Progressive provided a model for this dissertation as well as examples of the significance of informal education in the lives of women.

There were no published works describing the education of Texas women in the period from 1880 to 1920. Only two works published in the last fifty years (Aiken 1957; Cottrell 1993b) dealt with education and Texas women and neither addressed the issue of education and leadership. Aiken (1957) described higher education for Texas women from its inception to the 1950s and Cottrell (1993b) examined the life of one particular Texas woman who was a teacher and later State Superintendent of Education. In looking at works about Houston women in the period of 1880-1920, Chapman's 1993 and 2000

publications focused on Houston women during this time period, but did not specifically address the issue of women's education.

This dissertation differs from previously published works, theses, and dissertations because it focuses on the relationship between the formal and informal educational experiences of two Texas women and the development and demonstration of their community leadership skills on the local level. This study adds to our knowledge of Texas women's history and deepens our understanding of the role of education as well as the relationship between education and achievement.

CHAPTER III
EDUCATION AND WOMEN IN THE NINETEENTH AND
EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES

Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the history of women's education in Texas from the early 1800s to 1920. Nineteenth century ideas about the expected role of both white and black women, including the concepts of true womanhood, domesticity, separate spheres and racial uplift, are examined in relation to both formal education and informal educational experiences. The development of women's organizations in the 19th and early 20th centuries is addressed, especially the influence of women's study groups on the informal education of women in the period 1880-1920. The chapter concludes with an analysis of Progressive Age trends and events and their influence on women's education.

Formal Education in Texas Prior to 1880

In early nineteenth century Texas, formal education for white students reflected both the historical circumstances of Texas settlement, with its wide dispersal of a small population and the traditions that the predominantly Anglo settlers brought with them (Aiken 1957). Most primary schools in early nineteenth century Texas were tuition-based private, coeducational institutions, operated by individuals or church organizations (Carrington 1994; Eby 1918; Evans 1955). The cost of private schooling prevented many children from attending secondary school as the unpaid labor of children, particularly

older children, was crucial to the economic survival of the family in a predominantly rural Texas (Evans 1955).

Until 1875, the schools in Texas that provided secondary education were private single-sex schools, called academies, seminaries, or sometimes, colleges or universities (Carrington 1994; Evans 1955; Purcell 1951). In this matter, Texas followed the pattern found in the rest of the United States, with the establishment of coeducational and single sex academies following the settlement of new areas (McClelland 1992; Woody 1929). The largest expansion of academies in the United States came between 1830 and 1850, as educated settlers moved westward, while in Texas this expansion continued until the late nineteenth century, as Texas experienced both migration from Southern and Northern states, and immigration from outside the country (Eby 1925; Woody 1929).

In Southern states, a series of state statutes enacted between 1740 and 1850, made the education of slaves illegal (Woodson 1968). For example, the 1848 Georgia slave code stated:

If any slave, Negro, or free person of color, or any white person, shall teach any other slave, Negro, or free person of color, to read or write either written or printed characters, the said free person of color or slave shall be punished by fine and whipping, or fine or whipping, at the discretion of the court. (Hotchkiss 1848, 397)

Johnson (2000) noted that the education of African Americans was accomplished primarily by informal means, either through occupational tasks they were assigned to do or by being taught by others in secret. This was accomplished individually or in clandestine schools of slaves or free African Americans and sometimes, whites (Anderson 1988; Dubois 1963). Dubois (1963) wrote that even before the Emancipation

Proclamation in 1863 and the end of the Civil War in 1865, slaves and free blacks had made plans for the education of African Americans.

During the period of Reconstruction from 1865 to 1877, ex-slaves obtained the support of northern church organizations, benevolent societies, and Republican politicians in their push for a program of universal public education in the South (Bullock 1967; Johnson 2000). Dubois (1962) characterized this movement in his analysis of the Reconstruction period saying, “public education in the South for all at public expense was, in the South, a Negro idea” (642). Southern white planters were not in favor of universal public education (Anderson 1988; Dubois 1963). Anderson (1988) explained reasons for this:

The South’s landed upper class believed that active intervention in the social hierarchy through public education violated the natural evolution of society, upset the reciprocal relations and duties of owners to laborers. This uprising among former slaves [the desire for universal public education] was the central threat to planter rule. The result was a postwar South that was extremely hostile to the idea of universal public education. (4)

Johnson (2000) wrote that schools for African Americans in the South during Reconstruction were established and funded by either whites from northern church organizations or benevolent societies, or by African Americans themselves, usually in conjunction with the Freedmen’s Bureau. In examining the programs of the Freedmen’s Bureau in Texas, Winegarten (1995) wrote that education was its “most significant accomplishment” (86). In quoting the *Tenth Semi-Annual Report on Schools for Freeman, July 1, 1870*, Winegarten (1995) wrote, “by the time the Freedmen’s Bureau ceased operations in Texas in 1870, approximately 20,000 African Americans had achieved some degree of literacy and more than half were females” (90). When the

federal government ended the Freedmen's Bureau school program in 1870, the education of African Americans in the South was in the hands of either church-sponsored schools or African Americans themselves (Johnson 2000).

Between 1869 and 1877, white Southerners resumed control of local governments and created public schools (Dubois 1963). The harshness of the Reconstruction policies in the South coupled with the prevailing notions of racism combined to create significant opposition to mixed race schools (Dubois 1963). A dual system of public education was created with separate schools for whites and for African Americans (Bullock 1967; Dubois 1963; Evans 1955). Segregated schools in Texas were part of the larger pattern of social, economic, and political segregation that developed in Southern society and were established by all-white legislatures enacting statutes during the 1870s (Hine and Thompson 1998). Texas schools were legally segregated when the state legislature passed the School Law of 1876, with Section 54 of said law stating, "In no case shall any school, consisting partly of white and partly of colored children, receive any aid from the available school fund, but the two races shall always be taught in separate public free schools" (as quoted in Eby 1918, 702). The Texas School Law of 1884 re-confirmed this practice and made it even more explicit. Section 7 of the law stated, "The children of the white and colored races shall be taught in separate schools" (as quoted in Eby 1918, 804).

In writing about the actions of lawmakers who created the segregated educational system in Texas, Heintze (1996) noted several factors.

During the 1870s and 1880s many white Texans were opposed to the idea of providing extensive educational opportunities for blacks. They also were

against the idea of integrating the public schools. Many held strong convictions, reinforced by the works of several popular nineteenth century social scientists, that blacks were intellectually inferior to whites and unable to master more than the most basic skills. Others feared that education would make blacks difficult to control or would reduce the pool of cheap agricultural labor. Some were also concerned about the social interaction and intermarriage that might result from school integration. (562-563)

Public schools in Texas and across the South were legally segregated until the 1954 Supreme Court decision of *Brown v. Board of Education*, when the court ruled separate educational facilities were inherently unequal (Kellar 1999).

Throughout the South, schools for African American children lacked the number and quality of supplies, textbooks, equipment, desks, and teachers found in schools for white children (Anderson 1988; Barnett 1901; Davis 1934; Hine and Thompson 1998; LaGrone 1932; Neverdon-Morton 1989). First-person accounts by African American teachers and students about the poor quality of segregated public schools for African Americans in the South and in Texas are included in published works by Campbell (1983), Davis (1934), Hine and Thompson (1998), Neverdon-Morton (1989), Rice (1971), Robinson (1978), Sterling (1984), and Winegarten (1996).

One reason for the poor quality of African American schools in the South created in the late nineteenth century was inequity in funding. Studies in the first decades of the twentieth century that documented inequities in educational funding between schools for white students and schools for African American students in specific regions of Texas included Barnett (1901), Davis (1934), and LaGrone (1932). Davis (1934) compared data from the Reports of the State Board of Education for the region of East Texas for the years 1895 and 1905, and reported:

While the Negro scholastic population [of East Texas] during the period [1895-1905] was practically one-third of the total scholastic population, the value of Negro school property at the beginning of the period was less than one-fifth of the total value of all school property and the value of Negro school property at the close of the period was only one-seventh of the value of all school property. (46)

In examining the issue of inequity in funding, Anderson (1988) wrote:

In the early twentieth century whites all over the South seized the school funds belonging to the disfranchised black citizens, gerrymandered school districts so as to exclude blacks from certain local tax benefits, and expounded a racist ideology to provide a moral justification of unequal treatment. (154)

In Texas, inequity in funding was not a matter of state funding, but of local distribution. The Texas School Law of 1876, section 15, specified “each race shall receive its just pro rate, as far as practicable, in each county, according to the number of children of each race within scholastic age” (Eby 1918, 690). However, studies from different decades indicated local district officials rarely complied (Blanton 1922; Barnett 1901; Davis 1934; LaGrone 1932). For example, the State Superintendent’s Report for 1909-1910 showed local school districts spent an average of \$10.08 annually per white student versus \$5.74 per African American student (Bralley 1911). The State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Annie Webb Blanton, described this trend in her 1922 report when she stated, “The state apportions counties the same allowance for each colored scholastic as for each white scholastic, but, in many cases, the total apportioned by the state for negro education is not used [by the local authorities] for the support of the colored schools” (Blanton 1922, 194).

Because of this inequity in funding, the number of teachers and school buildings provided for African American students and the amount of funds spent on furniture,

specifically student desks, and other materials, were not comparable to that spent on facilities, teachers, and materials for white students, as evidenced by data in the State Superintendent Reports of the period (Bralley 1911; Carlisle 1893, 1900; Cousins 1909; Doughty 1918; Lefevre 1902). For African American students, the results of this segregated policy and the inequitable funding in Texas and across the South included sub-standard facilities, lack of supplies and textbooks, shortened school terms, and either over-crowded facilities or a lack of facilities altogether (Beeth and Wintz 1992; Campbell 1983; Davis 1934; Dubois 1963; Kellar 1999; Rice 1971; Robinson 1978; Sterling 1984; Winegarten 1996).

Section Summary

Prior to 1880, there was little public education for students in Texas. Primary and secondary education consisted of private, tuition-based schools, operated by individuals or church organizations. Family need and the lack of finances meant the majority of students never advanced beyond primary or elementary school level. For African Americans, laws about slaves prevented most from obtaining formal education, although some managed to learn in secret. After the Civil War, missionaries from northern church organizations and the federal Freedmen's Bureau established the first schools for African Americans. After Reconstruction, issues of race and the need for cheap labor combined to create a system of segregated schools controlled by local white governments across the South, including Texas. For African American students, the results of this segregated policy and the inequitable funding by local white-controlled districts in Texas and across the South resulted in limited educational opportunities.

Formal Education and the Role of Women in the Nineteenth Century

Education for white females in nineteenth century private schools or academies was usually different from that provided for males, influenced by nineteenth century beliefs about women's roles in society. Females were educated to promote Christian morals, to prepare for teaching careers, to promote the idea of republican citizenship and, finally, to provide domestic training for future wives and mothers (Aiken 1957; Chapman 2000; Welter 1966; Woody 1929). In her examination of what eighteenth century writers called "True Womanhood," Welter (1966) wrote about "the attributes by which a nineteenth century woman judged herself and was judged by her husband, her neighbors and society" and described this as the "cult of True Womanhood" (151-152). Welter (1966) described these attributes as "piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity" (152). Chapman (2000) wrote about the concept of true womanhood saying, "Although the idealization of these attributes was actually relevant only to the married middle-class woman, the standards that it set affected many other females as well" (27).

In the first half of the nineteenth century, secondary academies for girls in Texas reflected nineteenth century trends in women's education in the United States, with courses for women in classical literature, history, and mathematics, but generally emphasized the refined arts of music, painting, and needlework believed necessary for elite young women (Aiken 1957). Describing the female department of the University of San Augustine, Texas, Aiken (1957) quoted an 1844 article that stated the purpose of the Ladies Department of San Augustine was to teach young ladies courses in science and

classical education but to also “train [them] in the refinement and deportments of life which would enable them to secure husbands, keep them happy, and thereby serve as ornaments and blessings in homes and communities” (33).

Although the purpose of educating nineteenth century females embodied the concept of “true womanhood” (Welter 1966), some historians of African American women argued this middle-class concept did not apply to African American women (Guy-Sheftall 1990; Johnson 2000). Guy-Sheftall (1990) stated African American women did not represent the Eurocentric image of the “true woman” and nineteenth century ideas about “race and gender had interacted in the minds of Whites” to produce a negative image of African American women as sexually promiscuous (22). Christia Adair spoke of this issue in her 1978 interview, “The white woman looked down with disdain on the Negro woman because she had mulatto colored young ones and they said she was immoral” (33).

Women were educated to be wives and mothers. African American women were also educated for domestic service and agricultural work (Anderson 1988; Bullock 1967; Dubois 1963). Education for African American women, would, over time, also come to encompass education for the purpose of producing teachers, nurses, missionary workers, and Sunday school teachers as a result of the emphasis on “uplifting the race” in the black community (Easter 1992).

Johnson (2000) wrote about the origin of the concept of racial uplift, “Black leaders and intelligentsia articulated a universal call for ‘racial’ uplift in response to the prejudice and oppression that African-Americans faced at the time” (134). For African

American women, the traditional responsibility to home, children, and family, combined with this goal of uplifting the race and resulted in a philosophy that promoted the idea that African American women should play a special role in working not only toward their own development but of the entire race as well (Higginbotham 1993; Johnson 2000; Neverdon-Morton 1982). Rosetta Douglass Sprague, daughter of Frederick Douglass, in 1902, described this responsibility.

The progress of the race means much to the Negro woman, and as she goes forth adding her best energies to the uplifting of her people the work in itself will react upon her, and from a passive individual she will be a more alert and useful factor in the regeneration of her race and to the social system at large. (169)

As far as the education of African American women was concerned, this dual responsibility emphasized certain occupations that were service-oriented in nature, e.g., teaching and nursing, as well as related coursework in schools.

Section Summary

The education of white females in the nineteenth century was usually different from white males, influenced by the popular middle-class ideal of “true womanhood.” This concept promoted middle-class values about the proper role of women as mothers, wives, and teachers. Private single-sex schools for women reflected the concept of true womanhood with a gendered curriculum. African American women in the nineteenth century faced negative racial images that influenced their relationship to the concept of “true womanhood.” African American women also faced the responsibility of improving black society or uplifting the race, as well as themselves. The nineteenth century concepts of “true womanhood” and “uplifting the race” were complex social constructs

informed by issues of class and race and were played out in the formal education of individual women in different ways.

Informal Education and the Role of Women in the Nineteenth Century

Separate Spheres

Immigration, new patterns of settlement and urbanization, and at the close of the century, commercialism and industrialization, brought about changes that transformed nineteenth century society in the United States (Bose 2001; Kerber and De Hart 1991). The role of women in the nineteenth century reflected the changing domestic labor patterns of the expanding urban middle class where women still worked in the home, but increasing numbers of men worked outside the home (Cott 1977; Hayden 1981; Kerber and De Hart 1991; Turner 1997; Woloch 2000). The concept of separate spheres, where the public sphere outside the home was the domain of men, while home and family made up the private female sphere, was espoused by popular magazines of the time such as *Ladies Magazine*, *The Housekeeper's Annual and Lady's Register*, and *Godey's Lady's Book* (Hayden 1981; Turner 1997; Woloch 2000). In this ideal middle-class world, women did not work outside the home (Bose 2001; Cott 1977; Hayden 1981; Kerber and De Hart 1991; Turner 1997; Woloch 2000). McClelland (1992) wrote about how the paradigm did not fit the reality of many nineteenth century women.

Certainly this notion [of separate spheres] was at odds with the lives of working-class women who labored in factories and shops to help support their families. Nor did it reflect the lives of black women, either slave or free, who struggled against nearly insurmountable odds on a daily basis to make ends meet. But it was a powerful notion nonetheless. (59)

Bose (2001) noted the impact of the separate spheres concept on women who were not white or middle class.

This patriarchal ideology served to justify and solidify a new economic structure in which male household heads had to work hard to support a family—a goal most attainable by the middle class. For their part, women employed outside the home found they had to justify themselves even though it was becoming harder to find remunerative work they could do at home. Many African-American women objected to these new role constraints, and they, along with immigrant and working-class women, found the new model unattainable because their families needed their earnings. (31)

The concept of separate spheres was an ideal in the literature of the time and influenced society's beliefs about their proper place in society. In time, other avenues of activity provided opportunities for women that were both educative in nature and served as a bridge from the private to the public sphere.

The Educative Role of Women's Organizations: Church Organizations and Benevolent Societies

For some women, the journey from the private to the public sphere began with their involvement in church-related organizations where they learned and developed leadership skills in the areas of organizing, networking, and collaboration (Chapman 2000; Scott 1984a; Turner 1997). In describing the development of voluntary organizations for women in Houston in the late 1800s, Chapman (2000) wrote:

In Houston, as in most of the nation, women participated in the formation of the first churches and constituted the majority of the members. Realizing that their own organizations allowed them to increase their roles within the church and at the same time encourage the development of a female community, [women] formed groups within each church. (27-29)

Whether it was the Ladies Sewing Circle, the Baptist Missionary Society, or the Hebrew Association, women of all faiths created and administered organizations that

raised funds for church buildings, hospitals, hymnals and prayer books, contributed to the salaries of church officials, maintained cemeteries, and taught basic literacy skills as part of Sunday school classes (Chapman 2000; Tatum 1960; Turner 1997). In so doing, women expanded their domain of interest outside of the private sphere of home.

Turner's (1997) evaluation of women's involvement with church organizations in Galveston, Texas, in the late 1800s noted how this involvement in voluntary organizations changed the lives of the women who were involved by acting as an educative agent.

It exposed them [women] to values and behaviors that were not conventionally assigned to women. Traits attributed to men, competitiveness, striving for power, public recognition, and authority, were presented in unexpected ways: through games and prizes in Sunday school, by strategical maneuverings on committees and in Sunday school, via independent Bible classes, and by decisions over expenditures. Women also learned through their sisterhoods and all, women societies about independence, financial and organizational-that allowed them to develop skills appropriate for administrative leadership and accountability. Women learned through church life how to exert authority while being denied formal access to power. (42-43)

The development of female organizations within churches in the nineteenth century was sometimes accompanied by the development of benevolent societies affiliated with these same churches. Benevolent, relief, or charitable societies were organizations created in the early 1800s to care for widows, children, and others who could not care for themselves (Scott 1984b; Tilly and Gurin 1990). Groups such as the Morristown Female Charitable Society or the Raleigh Female Benevolent Society, elected officers, wrote constitutions, and developed plans for earning money for their particular benevolent purpose (Scott 1984b). As this trend increased during the nineteenth century, benevolent societies were created that dealt with a variety of issues,

including temperance, education, the needs of working women, orphans, and anti-slavery-all issues involving women in the public sphere.

White women were not the only group creating benevolent societies to help their own communities. Scott (1984b) noted that benevolent or relief societies before the Civil War were created by women of all religious groups and that “free black women combined for mutual aid and self-education and formed their own antislavery societies” (11). In her 1990 article on black women’s voluntary associations, Scott described the development of these organizations in more detail.

Even before the Thirteenth Amendment, wherever northern occupation brought freedom, black women had begun, with whatever meager resources they could gather, to create, first welfare organizations and, then schools, health centers, orphanages, and many other institutions. The habit of organizing to deal with community problems continued to grow, so that by 1910, in proportion to population, black women had developed at least as many, possibly more, voluntary associations than had their white counterparts. (5)

The expansion to a more public role for women continued in the late 1800s with the spread of benevolent societies to developing Southern and Western cities, such as Galveston and Houston (Winegarten 1993). Scott (1984b) reported “as new communities sprang up in the West, women’s groups took responsibility for organizing schools, churches, orphanages, houses of rescue, and homes for the aged” (12). Turner (1997) devoted an entire chapter in her book about late nineteenth century Galveston, Texas, to benevolent societies, noting the impact of these societies in helping to transform women’s role in society.

By 1880, the women’s benevolent societies were firmly in place, dispensing aid on a regular basis; they served a critical need as proto-welfare agencies in a time when few such institutions existed. By ministering to the poor, however, benevolent ladies came to understand the degree of dependency that had been

created by increased industrialization and the growth of the city. The importance of this shift cannot be overstated, because by moving into the public sector women with means created an opening for themselves that would continue through the twentieth century. (121)

Section Summary

In the late nineteenth century, changes in American society as a result of urbanization, commercialism, and industrialization, produced new ideas about women's roles, such as the concept of separate spheres, where the perspective was that women's proper place was in the private sphere of home. In reality, though, women's involvement outside the home developed from their involvement in church-related organizations and benevolent societies where they learned and developed leadership skills in the areas of organizing, networking, and collaboration. African American women also developed benevolent societies in their communities. Changes in formal education in the last three decades of the nineteenth century provided additional educational opportunities for Texas women.

Formal Education in Texas

The Development of Public Schools

The decades following the Civil War saw changes in Texas education. The 1876 constitution allowed communities to establish either gender separate or coeducational public schools according to the needs of the community (Eby 1918; Evans 1955). The co-educational public schools were a step forward for a more equitable female education in that most private schools had consistently segregated classes and/or curriculum according to both sex and race. Sometimes separate schools had also carried gendered requirements, such as the 1871 requirement of the Texas Board of Education that "public

schools for girls devote two days a week to needlework” (Cottrell 1996, 1042), with no equivalent requirement for boys, such as manual training, for boys.

A factor favoring the development of public schools in Texas was the growth in population, which increased 94.5% from 1870 to 1880. The population growth continued after 1880 with at least a 20% increase each decade through 1920 (Eby 1925). To meet the rising demand for education, the 1876 Constitution decreed that any incorporated city could, by a majority vote of the property taxpayers, create and assume exclusive control of an independent public school district within its limits (Eby 1918). By August 1884, sixty-five Texas towns and cities had independent school districts (Eby 1918). The continued growth in population led to the building of more schools in Texas, with the number of schools doubling from just over 5,000 in 1880, to over 10,000 by 1910 (Eby 1918).

As Texas in the late nineteenth century experienced urbanization, parents and leaders from school districts in Texas cities called for increased public education and voiced opinions about what should be taught, particularly at the secondary level (Harris 1902; Taylor 1887; Winston 1896). Beginning in the 1870s, Texas towns and cities established coeducational public high schools: Brenham in 1875, Houston and Denison in 1878, San Antonio in 1879, Sherman in 1880, Austin and Weatherford in 1881, El Paso, Ft. Worth, and Waco in 1884, and Marshall and Galveston by 1885 (Eby 1918). Separate high schools for African American students opened in major Texas cities: Galveston in 1885, Dallas in 1888, Austin in 1889, and Houston in 1892. Texas

remained, however, a predominantly rural state and most rural areas lacked secondary or high schools for white or black students (Eby 1918; Evans 1955).

By 1901, the total of female students enrolled in Texas high schools outnumbered male students 9,054 to 5,850 (Lefevre, 1902). Private schools, including female academies, declined in number during the last half of the twentieth century but still provided elementary and secondary education for those who could afford it. Some private secondary schools also offered the equivalent of college-level courses (White 1969).

The Curriculum in Public Secondary Schools

The curriculum for both males and females in Texas public high schools, whether black or white, usually offered two courses of study, depending on the size of the school: the classical route, with an emphasis on Greek and Latin, and a general course of study, including languages such as German or French. A third course of study, a normal course for those wishing to become teachers, was sometimes offered (*Annual Report of the Public Schools of the City of Houston* 1889, 1891, 1893, 1894; Eby 1925). The three courses of study were comparable to what was offered on the national level in other states (Reese 1995).

With the advent of the coeducational public high school in urban areas of Texas in the late nineteenth century, some females now had greater access to the traditional classical curriculum. Comparable enrollments in the late nineteenth century of both males and females in academic subjects such as algebra, geometry, physics, chemistry, and foreign languages have been reported on a national level by both Rury (1991) and

Graves (1998). Rury (1991) noted, “One important consequence of a coeducational policy for high schools was the appearance of an educational context in which boys and girls were generally taught the same things” (35). Rury (1991) continues, describing the significance of female access to these academic subjects.

It may have given several generations of girls a historically unique sense of their ability to succeed in a context where they often competed with boys. To the generations of women who later became involved to one degree or another in social reform, who organized the nation’s first mass women’s movement, and who challenged many of the conventions of Victorian society, this sort of experience may have been important indeed. (35)

Section Summary

As Texas in the late nineteenth century experienced population growth and urbanization, more schools were built, including the first co-educational public high schools in the 1870s. With the advent of the coeducational public high school in urban areas of Texas, some females in urban areas now had greater access to the traditional classical curriculum. However, the rise of vocational education, in the form of manual training or domestic science, during the last two decades of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century, changed the educational landscape for female students, both black and white.

The Progressive Age and Formal Education for Women, 1880-1920

The Progressive Age

This dissertation focused on the period from 1880 through 1920, also known as the Progressive Age, an era which Dye (1991) described as:

A complex, sometimes contradictory amalgam of social criticism, popular protest, political restructuring, economic regulation, and social welfare

legislation [which] embodied a vast array of responses to the changes taking place in American society at the turn of the century. (1)

The changes to which Dye referred involved historical events and economic trends in the United State in the period 1880-1920: increasing industrialization, commercialism, urbanization, and immigration (Dye 1991). Historical events in various parts of the world coupled with economic opportunity produced large numbers of immigrants to the United States and resulted in a population increase of 68% between 1890 and 1920 (Woody 1929). Texas experienced population growth from immigration and from rural to city migration. Gould (1996) described the growth in Texas.

There were 132 cities of 5,000 of more residents in 1910. But, after 1910, cities increased in population ten times faster than the countryside. Nearly one-third of the population lived in urban centers by 1919 and fifteen percent lived in Houston, Dallas, and San Antonio. By 1920, there were thirty cities with 10,000 or more people and Dallas, El Paso, Ft. Worth, Houston, and San Antonio all had more than 50,000 residents. (349)

During this time, workers suffered from low wages, lack of unions and collective bargaining provisions, and lack of government measures and services, such as minimum wage and safety laws (Campbell 2000; Hogan 2003). Towns and cities, faced with rapid population growth, were not able to provide adequate city services (Campbell 2000; Hogan 2003). The result was poverty, urban slums, disease, lack of education, and violence among workers, especially after a nationwide depression from 1893-1897 (Campbell 2000; Hogan 2003; Riley 1986). Although many Southern cities were not yet industrialized, increasing urbanization accompanied by commercialism created many of the same problems faced by larger northern cities (Campbell 2000). Chapman's 2000

description of the challenges facing early twentieth century Houston shows the problems cited by Campbell were not restricted to large Northern cities.

Local government found itself stymied by the social and economic problems created by this rapid growth. City leaders had difficulty providing clean water and collecting growing piles of garbage, and they were virtually helpless in matters of public health, education, and cultural enrichment. (48)

The people who called for legislative change in order to solve society's problems or to help various groups in society were the Progressive reformers, those "who aimed to restore economic opportunities and correct injustices in American life" (Danzer et al. 2007, 307). However, while some people benefitted from Progressive era reforms, other segments of society experienced little change in their lives. African American leaders, such as W. E. B. Dubois, felt Progressive reformers focused on the needs of the white middle class and were indifferent to racial injustice, especially in the South (Dubois 1963).

Gould (1996) described conditions for different racial and ethnic groups in Texas during the first two decades of the twentieth century.

It [Texas] was solidly Democratic in politics, a fact which meant that it rigidly segregated whites from African Americans and barely tolerated Mexican Americans. Law, custom, and the threat of violence ensured that blacks would remain politically and socially subservient. The Mexican-American population, numbering about 250,000, did not confront the highly visible repression that blacks endured, but their lot in the border counties of South Texas was one of poverty and political subordination. (347-350)

During the Progressive Age, the percentage of women in the work force also increased. Rury (1991) wrote "the rate of female labor participation in the United States increased from less than 15 to nearly 25 percent in these years, such that by 1930 almost one out of every four American workers was a woman" (2). In 1910, Talbot described

the changes that had already taken place on a national level resulting from women entering the work force and how these changes affected women's lives. Talbot (1910) devoted entire chapters in her book, *The Education of Women* to the industrial, commercial, civic, domestic, educational, and social changes for women.

The home has ceased to be a center of production, and women workers have followed their work out of the home and have begun to participate in many processes of trade and other wage-earning occupations which have developed incident to the factory system. The list of occupations scheduled by the Twelfth Census (1900) contains 303 separate employments, in 295 of which women are found. Nearly a million and a half women are engaged in manufacturing pursuits outside of their homes, and the numbers are steadily increasing. (11)

Discussing the impact of industrialization and commercialism specifically on women's roles in the private sphere of home, Talbot (1910) noted:

The change in the interests of women which is most striking is that [which is] due to the industrial revolution or the introduction of the factory system. The removal of household industries from the home to the factory has gone on rapidly, until the process has been completed in the case of spinning, weaving, shoemaking, tailoring, candle-dipping, preparing drugs, and numerous other activities. (10)

Chapman (2000) described the impact of these same trends on Houston women.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, most middle-class women still believed in the paramount importance of their role as mothers and homemakers. Yet life was changing for many women. Houstonians could now buy a wide variety of edible products and clothing: baked goods, canned vegetables, suits, shirts, and dresses. (47)

Bose (2001) wrote about the issue of women's employment in the period 1880-1920, including issues of race, class, and ethnicity as well as gender.

Throughout this forty-year period, women's major forms of employment were in the domestic and personal service industry. Gradually, native-born white women were able to leave private household work to enter newly open occupations, which left Asian, Hispanic, black, and immigrant white women increasingly concentrated in domestic work. (55)

The historical events and economic trends of the Progressive Age also produced change in American schools (Graves 1998; Rury 1991; Woody 1929). For women, in particular, the increase in the number of working women expanded women's role outside the home which provided an impetus for women's education to fulfill dual needs: skills for working outside the home in commercial business activity and skills needed for home organization, management, and child care.

Curriculum Changes and Vocational Education

As a result of the increasing pace of industrialization, immigration, and urbanization in the late 1800s, business leaders as well as progressive reformers called for the school curriculum to reflect what they perceived as societal needs, especially the need for trained workers (Graves 1998; Hogan 2003; Rury 1991; Watras 2002; Woody 1929). Vocational and commercial classes that addressed the growing needs of business and industry were introduced into public secondary schools and taught in specialized manual or industrial vocational training schools and evening schools (Graves 1998; Hogan 2003; Rury 1991; Watras 2002; Woody 1929). Graves (1998) wrote there was a national call for more practical courses in the high school curriculum which led to the creation of the differentiated curriculum (Graves 1998). Winegarten (1995) described the purpose of these curriculum changes for women and how this related to woman's role in the private sphere.

Many women married and became mothers, but also worked. Vocational classes for female students both fitted them for the limited available jobs and suited the widespread ideology that women should acquire skills to enhance their homes and their roles as wives and mothers. (107)

By the beginning of the first decade of the twentieth century, the school curriculum was increasingly differentiated to reflect what different groups of students would face when they left school. Decisions about which type of instruction, academic or vocational, to offer students, were based on race and class (McClelland 1992).

McClelland (1992) wrote about the differentiation in the curriculum, addressing issues of race, ethnicity, and class.

For the middle-class girls, schooling and instruction in academic subjects became a principal source of education. When lower-class girls [black, white or immigrant] did attend school, their curriculum diverged significantly from that of their white middle class counterparts; for the poor girl, black or white, native or immigrant, vocational or industrial training often took the place of academic instruction. Formal schooling for these young women was specifically designed to be ‘useful,’ which meant in the home or useful in the workplace. (78)

Texas paralleled national trends in vocational and commercial education as the first manual training department in a Texas high school was established in 1896 in Austin with public high schools in other Texas cities soon following, including the segregated African American schools (Eby 1925). Domestic science courses provided instruction for female students in what is today referred to as home economics and was first offered in Texas at Fort Worth High School in 1903, with high schools in Austin and Dallas, San Antonio, and Houston adding such courses in 1904, 1905, and 1906, respectively (Eby 1925).

Additional business and commercial classes, some specifically tailored for girls, were added to the high school curriculum at this same time. For example, the *Annual Report of the Public Schools of the Independent School District of the City of Houston, 1900-1901* stated, “Houston is a commercial and manufacturing city [and our] modern

education needs the technical or industrial training to fit our youth for the battle of life, and lastly domestic service, which would prepare our daughters the better to fill their place in home life” (Barnett 1901, 5). By 1904, the Houston school district had created a complete commercial department with six terms of work, including stenography and typewriting (Horn 1905, 85).

In the decade between 1910 and 1920, students in Texas were affected by the passage of state and federal laws affecting education. In 1916, the state legislature passed a compulsory attendance law for all children, age “eight years and no more than fourteen years old” (Doughty 1918, 5). In 1917, the passage of the federal Smith-Hughes Act in 1917, created federal funding for salaries of vocational teachers of agriculture, trade, industrial, and home economics across the nation. The act laid out a plan and guidelines for the types of vocational courses and work students would be doing in these classes (Doughty and Crigler 1918; Eby 1925). In Houston, for example, the *Annual Report of the Public Schools of the City of Houston for 1919-1920* described the development of courses for female students made possible by the Smith Hughes Act:

One of the most interesting developments of the school work during the past year has been the establishment of classes in retail salesmanship and in other industrial [courses] under the Smith-Hughes Act. Of the 1,769 high school girls in Houston, 368 elected work in the Home Economics Department and 1,677 children took sewing and cooking lessons once a week. (Horn 1920, 18, 27)

While the introduction of vocational courses in the first two decades of the twentieth century provided opportunities for both males and females for practical, work-related education, both Rury (1991) and Graves (1998) wrote that the introduction of vocational classes on a national level placed constraints on the educational opportunities

for female students and, in the long run, diminished the academic focus and content of their formal schooling. By 1920, the changes in secondary schools had produced a different type of educational institution than had existed in 1880. While the majority of female students in high school in the 1880s had enrolled in academically oriented courses, by 1920 “roughly one out of three high school girls enrolled in home economics and about 20 percent of all high school males took manual training” (Rury 1991, 156).

Vocational Education for African Americans

For African American students, the widespread adoption of vocational education between 1890 and 1920 reinforced the industrial model promoted by many Southern whites and added to the debate over the purpose of black education. After the Civil War, as African American communities pushed for education for their children, both blacks and whites presented their visions of what constituted appropriate education for the black community (Evans 2007). Between 1895 and 1925, “black intellectuals, in particular, debated the aims and content of black education” with different philosophies of education espoused by two well-known African American leaders (Neverdon-Morton 1989, 10). One of these leaders was Booker T. Washington.

Hampton Institute [in Virginia] originated the concept of a higher education for Afro-Americans focused on trades. The concept was further elaborated by Booker T. Washington, a Hampton graduate who became head of Tuskegee Institute, who proposed that Afro-Americans be educated and work along industrial lines rather than trying to move quickly toward social equality in the South. (Neverdon-Morton 1989, 10)

In his book, *Up From Slavery* (1901), Washington talked about being invited to speak at the Atlanta Cotton States and International Exposition on September 18, 1895 where he

summarized his beliefs about education for African Americans and the importance of industrial or vocational training.

Our greatest danger is that in the great leap from slavery to freedom we may overlook the fact that the masses of us are to live by the production of our hands and fail to keep in mind that we shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify common labour [sic]. No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top. (209)

Most Southern whites supported Washington's approach because it matched contemporary beliefs about the capabilities of blacks and because it met Southern economic needs for agricultural and industrial workers (Anderson 1988; Neverdon-Morton 1989). Evans (2007) wrote this model also suited the agenda of some white philanthropists who also believed much of the rhetoric about black capabilities. Some African Americans also supported the vocational training model because they believed it would improve the quality of their lives (Anderson 1988; Neverdon-Morton 1989).

On the other hand, W. E. B. Dubois, an African American faculty member at Atlanta University and a leading spokesperson for other African Americans who believed a liberal arts education would better serve African Americans and criticized industrial schools patterned after Washington's model (Anderson 1988; Neverdon-Morton 1989). Dubois (1903) did not believe only offering African American students vocational training would enable African American families to eventually reach the level of white Americans (Evans 2007). Writing in *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903), Dubois criticized Washington's programs.

Mr. Washington represents in Negro thought the old attitude of adjustment and submission. [He] distinctly asks that black people give up, at least for the present, three things-First, political power, Second, insistence on civil rights, Third,

higher education of Negro youth-and concentrate all their energies on industrial education and accumulation of wealth, and the conciliation of the South. (38)

Dubois (1903) continued by stating his philosophy for what education for African Americans should accomplish.

The function of the Negro college, then, is clear: it must maintain the standards of popular education, it must seek the social regeneration of the Negro, and it must help in the solution of problems of race contact and cooperation. And, finally, beyond all this, it must develop men. (80)

Neither Washington (1901) nor Dubois (1903) specifically addressed the issue of women's higher education separate from men. African American females who had the opportunity to attend college, therefore, found themselves as a part of a larger debate about the goals of black education as well as being included in the growing movement of females attending college.

Higher Education for Women

Higher education for women in the United States began when women were admitted to Oberlin College in Ohio in the 1833, where "women students followed the 'ladies course,' received special degrees, and entered men's classes only with special permission" (Woloch 2000, 282). Eight state universities in the West and Midwest admitted women by 1870: Iowa 1855, Wisconsin 1867, Kansas, Indiana, Minnesota 1869, Missouri, Michigan, and California 1870 (Solomon 1985; Woloch 2000). The first women's colleges opened between 1860 and 1885: Vassar in 1861, Wellesley and Smith in 1875, and Bryn-Mawr in 1885 (Solomon 1985; Woloch 2000). Woloch (2000) characterized these colleges as places where women students were admitted through the

“front door, not the side door,” enabling women to “establish a separate sphere in higher education, where women were in control” (283).

Although a few private academies or seminaries in Texas offered some college level courses, the first degree-granting institution in Texas to approve coeducational classes was Baylor University in 1865. The University of Texas, which opened in 1883, was also coeducational (Cottrell 1996). Ima Hogg attended The University of Texas from 1899-1901. The increasing feminization of the teaching field offered women another opportunity for higher education with the beginning of the first state-supported normal school for white students at Sam Houston Normal Institute in Huntsville, Texas, in 1879 and the first state supported school for African American students at Prairie View Institute in 1876, which became a normal school in 1879 (Garrett 1996). Both Sam Houston and Prairie View Colleges were coeducational. Christia Daniels Adair attended Prairie View College from 1913-1915. Between 1901 and 1925, seven new coeducational normal schools were opened in Texas. With the founding of these colleges, as well as the state’s first women’s college, The Girls Industrial College in 1901 (renamed Texas Woman’s University in 1957), the opportunity for females for higher education, increased (Cottrell 1996).

Across the nation, enrollment of women in college increased during the last quarter of the nineteenth century (Solomon 1985). Solomon (1985) reported the number of women enrolled in college increased from approximately 40,000 women in 1880 (33% of all students enrolled), to 85,000 women in 1900 (36.8% of all students enrolled), to 283,000 women in 1920 (47% of all students enrolled) (63). Evans (1955)

illustrated the growth of women in college in Texas with the following: 4,149 women enrolled in 1890 (29% of all enrolled students), 11,621 women in 1910 (34% of all enrolled students), and 48,889 women in 1930 (39.9% of all enrolled students) (177).

Though the number of women attending college in the period 1880-1920 increased, this reflected only a small percentage of the total women eighteen to twenty-one years of age during this time. Solomon (1985) reported in 1900, 2.8% all women eighteen to twenty-one years of age attended college, and by 1920 that number had risen to 7.6% (63). While the numbers of white women attending college were small in comparison to the total of women eighteen to twenty-one years of age, the number of African American women attending college was even smaller.

Higher Education for African American Women

Higher education for African American women began at Oberlin College in Ohio, which graduated its first African American woman in 1862 (Neverdon-Morton 1989). Most African American women attended historically black co-educational schools started by church organizations, such as Fisk in Nashville, Tennessee, or Howard University in Washington, D.C. (Solomon 1985). Anderson (1988) noted, “From Reconstruction era through the Great Depression, black higher education in the South existed essentially through a system of private liberal arts colleges” (238). The newly created black private colleges were similar to the black public colleges that later began in the South during the 1880s and 1890s, in that both were coeducational because, as Solomon (1985) noted, “black communities could not afford the luxury of single-sex schools” (145). Texas exhibited this same pattern of the establishment of private black

colleges affiliated with churches, with eleven denominationally-sponsored coeducational private colleges established between 1872 and 1912, including Samuel Huston College in Austin in 1900, which Christia Adair attended (Heintze 1985).

Enrollment in college in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was a privilege very few people, male or female, black or white, experienced (Anderson 1988; Graves 1998; Heintze 1985; Solomon 1985; Woloch 2000). Citing the Immigration Commission's report of 1911, Solomon (1985) noted the number of African American women enrolled in college before World War I was small, only 0.3 per cent of the total female college population. Solomon (1985) added, "This abysmally low figure reveals how difficult it was for black women to enter a liberal arts college. Those who did, usually received teacher or industrial training" (76). Neverdon-Morton (1989) noted, "All of the institutions incorporated some aspect of domestic science in the program offerings for women, thereby indicating that education was an extension of the home and was gender-based" (15).

One reason for the low college enrollment of African American women was the cost of sending a child to college for a family probably only one generation removed from slavery (Anderson 1988; Solomon 1985). In fact, many families, black or white, did not have the ability to finance college expenses (Anderson 1988; Solomon 1985). Another reason for the small numbers of African American women enrolled in college involved the academic preparation needed for college. Although some institutions of higher education for African Americans were called colleges or universities, courses in many of these institutions were not taught at the college level until the second decade of

the twentieth century (Anderson 1988; Evans 2007; Heintze 1985; Neverdon-Morton 1989; Solomon 1985; Winegarten 1995). On a national level, Anderson (1988) noted, “In 1915, only thirty-three black private institutions were teaching any subjects of college level. Of the 12,726 students attending these institutions in 1915, 79% of the students were in elementary and secondary grades” (249). Anderson (1988) explained “the lack of good academic elementary and secondary schools forced the black colleges to provide training or pupils at lower levels to help meet the educational needs of local black communities” (249).

Texas reflected this national pattern as well. In the twelve black colleges in Texas in 1915, 1,466 students were classified as elementary students, 1,143 students as secondary students, and 132 as college students (Jones 1915, 572-601). In 1915, Christia Daniels (Adair) graduated from Prairie View College, the same year Prairie View College reported no students classified as taking college level coursework (Jones 1915, 601). Adair referred to this issue in her 1978 interview, saying, “When I finished the academic work at Sam Huston, they didn’t have college work then. Prairie View didn’t have college either, but everybody who wanted to teach school had to go through Prairie View or take summer normal courses” (11-12). Heintze (1985) explained the reason for the lack of college level course offerings in black Texas colleges at this time was similar to the national pattern, in that “the poor quality of public black education, characterized by an almost complete lack of public high schools in most areas of the state, meant the few black students were qualified for college study” (47).

Section Summary

The impact of the events and trends of the period from 1880 to 1920, produced changes in American society. Increased industrialization meant an increased need for workers, which helped stimulate immigration and the introduction of vocational training in schools. Rapid economic growth also gave rise to social and economic problems, such as increased urbanization and the lack of city services, and inadequate living and working conditions for many workers. People of color, newly-arrived immigrants, and the poor working class did not always benefit from legislative reforms that were passed during this time period. Local and state governments attempted to solve social and economic problems and, at times, were prodded by individual women as well as women's organizations involved in pushing for reform. The increase in the number of working women expanded women's roles outside the private sphere of home and created an impetus for women's vocational education.

Vocational and commercial classes were introduced into public secondary schools to meet the rising need for trained workers. While vocational courses provided opportunities for some, the introduction of vocational classes also placed constraints on the educational opportunities for females. For African American students, the widespread adoption of vocational education in the first decade of the twentieth century reinforced the industrial model promoted by Booker T. Washington, as well as Southern whites. Enrollment of both black and white women in higher education increased, though this reflected only a small percentage of the total women eighteen to twenty-one years of age during this time.

The Progressive Age and Informal Education for Women, 1880-1920

The period from 1880-1920 was a key transitional period for women in Texas and across the United States, an era characterized by changes in women's roles and by female organization and institution building (Chafe 1991; Dye 1991; Freedman 1979; McArthur 1998). Not only did white females gain the right to vote at the end of this period, but the changes in education resulting from industrialization and urban growth transformed the perceived purpose of formal education for the rest of the twentieth century. The activities of women's organizations during this period provided both informal educational experiences for women as well as increased political, economic, and cultural opportunities (Talbot 1910).

The Educative Experience of Women's Organizations 1880-1920: Women's Clubs

The late nineteenth century witnessed the continued growth of women's church organizations and benevolent societies as well as new educative opportunities for women with the development of temperance associations and women's clubs of a more secular nature. Originally, women's clubs, sometimes referred to as literary or study clubs, were organized for the educational and cultural development of women (Chapman 2000; McClelland 1992; Seaholm 1988). Seaholm (1996) noted, "the formation of these clubs was part of a national movement that included home-study associations, the lyceum movement, and Chautauqua societies" (331). Describing women's clubs in Houston from 1880-1920, Chapman (2000) wrote, "To compensate for their lack of formal education, local women began organizing clubs in which they could discuss intellectual matters in acceptable surroundings" (38). Similarly, McClelland (1992) stated, "before

women were routinely accepted into colleges and universities, the club movement provided a mechanism through which women could advance their own education” (110). Woloch (2000) noted “the literary and cultural overtones [of these clubs] provided clubwomen with a substitute for the higher education open to their daughters” (295).

The first white women’s clubs were established in the United States in 1868, in New York City and in Boston and increased in number during the last quarter of the nineteenth century (Woloch 2000). When the white women’s clubs united in the General Federation of Women’s Clubs in 1892, there were 100,000 members. By World War I, there were over a million members (Woloch 2000). Women’s clubs were organized in Texas in the 1880s, the first one in Houston was the Ladies Reading Club organized in 1885 (Chapman 2000; Seaholm 1988).

Neverdon-Morton (1989) wrote about how African American women filled the needs of the African American community left out of the age of Progressive reform.

The Progressive Movement helped to bring about needed reform in white society. Afro-Americans, however, were generally excluded from the Progressive Party and from the effort to change the American social order. Consequently, Afro-Americans had to create their own social service organizations. Especially in the South, these organizations were headed by black females. (9)

African American women began to organize their own local women’s clubs in the mid-1890s because of the exclusionary racist policies of most local white woman’s clubs (Cash 2001). Local clubs united in 1896, when The National Association of Colored Women (NACW) was formed by “a group of well-educated and financially secure black women” (120). The NACW was a multi-purpose organization whose local chapters promoted the study of liberal arts for women and educational and charitable activities to

benefit local communities (Cash 2001; Hine 1994). This organization followed a similar pattern to the white women's club movement that attempted to educate women and, later, to address problems in the community (Cash 2001; Chapman 1993; Johnson 2000; McArthur 1998; McElhanev 1998; Neverdon-Morton 1989; Turner 1997).

African American clubs in the South were also forced to address the specific social, economic, and educational needs of the African American community within the context of the segregated South, what Neverdon-Morton (1989) referred to as "the political straitjacket of Jim Crow" (6). In describing the African American women's clubs, Cash (2001) wrote:

Black clubwomen were drawn to reform, yet they, too, were oppressed by social injustice. The clubwomen were among the new emerging and expanding black middle class. Discrimination and segregation prevented the clubwomen from elevating themselves beyond a certain point, but, by working together, they could "uplift" others and, conversely, themselves. (44)

In 1905, African American women in Texas organized The Texas Association of Colored Women's Clubs (TACW) because African American women were not allowed to join the Texas Federation of Women's Clubs (Winegarten 1995). The state organization of TACW, as well as local chapters, waged a crusade against lynching, worked for civil and political rights for African Americans, and lobbied the legislature for the creation of a state home for delinquent girls (Winegarten 1995). "Local clubs were concerned with self-improvement," wrote Winegarten (1993), "as well as community service. They raised funds for scholarships, voter registration, and tutoring" (101). Local chapters of the TACW, such as the Houston 1906 Art, Literary, and Charity Club, of which Adair was a member, provided community education and welfare

programs, such as day care for the children of working mothers (Adair 1978; Winegarten 1995). In 1927, “seven black women’s clubs formed The Austin Community Welfare Association and established a community center which housed a nursery school, a well-baby clinic, a milk distribution center, and meetings rooms for parenting classes” (Winegarten 1993, 101).

Women’s clubs, both black and white, were primarily unemployed married middle and upper class women (Chapman 2000; McClelland 1992; Seaholm 1988). They had the time and, sometimes, the domestic help that enabled them to take part in these organizations. There were some single or widowed members, but these were usually in a minority in the period 1880-1920 (Seaholm 1988).

Women’s clubs in the period 1880-1920, both black and white, acted as educative agents in the lives of women (Benton 1913; Chapman 2000; Kerber and De Hart 1991; McClelland 1992; Seaholm 1988). Woloch (2000) described the educative activities at women’s club meetings. “The typical women’s club of the 1880s,” wrote Woloch (2000), “began by holding weekly meetings for lectures, discussions, and book reports” (295). Chapman (2000) described the Ladies Reading Club in Houston as “concentrating on art, literature, history, and science, with members presenting carefully researched papers” (38). In 1913, Benton published a guide for women interested in organizing a women’s club that included the following possible topics for research and discussion: modern drama, the history of the United States, myths and folklore, the opera, great painters, women writers, English novelists, the Gilded Age, forestry, town

improvement, Shakespeare, the study of childhood, important movements of our time, and the employments of women (Table of Contents).

Women who belonged to these clubs, whether black or white, benefited from learning about new subjects and from developing communication and leadership skills (Cash 2001; Chapman 2000; Seaholm 1988; Woloch 2000). First, women's clubs provided women with opportunities for developing their speaking and writing abilities, especially outside of home and church (Benton 1913; Chapman 2000; Seaholm 1988). Benton (1913) described the value of women's clubs in developing these skills noting, "One joins a club not so much to acquire information, because that can be done by reading books at home, but rather to learn to express oneself readily and intelligently" (20). Benton (1913) also provided an outline for writing biographical papers as well as advice on how to organize debates.

Second, women's organizations provided opportunities for developing the skills of organizing, networking, and collaborating, especially after local clubs joined the federated club movement (Cash 2001). These national networks served as coordinating bodies for local social service programs in which women were involved in leadership positions at all levels (Hine 1994). This, in turn, provided networking opportunities for women that extended through local, state, and national levels, the first cohesive national networks for women (Seaholm 1988). The structure of the organization facilitated communication and collaboration: local clubs at the base, then state federations, regional federations, and at the top, the national body (Neverdon-Morton 1989; Seaholm 1988).

In response to the economic and social problems created by industrialization, urbanization, and rapid population growth in the period 1890-1920, women's clubs increasingly moved toward promoting community reform efforts (McClelland 1992). A growing number of white women's clubs politicized their agendas to work toward alleviating social, educational, and economic problems within their own communities although, in the African American clubs, this had been a goal from the start (Higginbotham 1993; Johnson 2000; Neverdon-Morton 1989). Local clubs "raised funds for the improvement of local communities, such as planting trees, establishing libraries, and building hospitals and playgrounds" (Woloch 2000, 295). Seaholm (1996) noted "at least 70% of the public libraries in the state of Texas were founded through assistance of Texas women's clubs" (331).

Woloch (2000) related that national organizations "moved on to national issues, passing resolutions to support those in which women, home, and family had a stake-such as child labor laws, pure food and drug legislation, and finally, in 1914, woman suffrage" (295). Dye (1991) noted, "Women's grass-roots activism and their vision of a new civic consciousness lay at the heart of early progressive reform" (2). In so doing, women engaged in activities that mirrored the political methods and the activities of political parties and further developed their leadership skills in the public sphere (Frankel and Dye 1991; Lagemann 1979; Seaholm 1988; Woloch 2000).

Third, women's clubs provided multiple opportunities for women to serve as leaders. Tyack (1992) described women in the period 1880-1920, "not as passive victims of male domination but women who actively shaped policy and carried out a variety of

different programs” (ix). Years of practice in church organizations, benevolent societies, and women’s literary and study clubs provided women with the necessary leadership skills. Seaholm (1988) described how the women’s club movement increased women’s public role by providing multiple leadership opportunities in the club hierarchy as well as in many “community-building projects and in many social welfare reform campaigns” (527).

Women, both in Texas and across the nation, assumed leadership roles in this time of progressive reform (Beard 1916; Cash 2001; Cottrell 1993b; Frankel and Dye 1991; Lagemann 1979; McArthur 1998; McElhaney 1998; Riley 1986; Turner 1997). Lerner (1979) described the achievements of the African American women’s clubs on the national level.

The establishment of social welfare agencies for black children, orphans, the aged, and the delinquent was largely the work of these women’s clubs. In state after state the first welfare services available to black people were initiated by black women and only later taken over by local governments. (84)

On the state level, McArthur (1996) summarized the achievements in which women’s clubs in Texas either took the lead or were co-sponsors of local and state reforms during the period 1880-1920.

Working independently or in collaboration, the women’s organizations pursued legislation to safeguard public health, provide care for dependent and delinquent children, improve the public school system and protect working women. Women’s voluntarist politics helped secure a pure-food law (1907), laws enabling public schools to institute kindergarten programs (1907, 1917), a constitutional amendment to raise the limitation on local school taxes (1908), a compulsory school attendance for children between eight and fourteen (1915), a juvenile court system (1907), state juvenile training schools for boys (1909) and girls (1913), and a mothers’ pension law for widows with dependent children (1917). (1051)

The Club Movement and Women's Changing Role

In describing the role of women during the Progressive Age, Dye (1991) wrote “women filled the progressive landscape. In towns and cities throughout the nation women formed their own civic clubs and municipal improvement associations” (1).

Lebsock (1990) related that, by the turn of the century, women were organizing everywhere and many of the concerns of the private sphere were transferred to the public sphere. Dye (1991) described this transition, saying,

Increasingly, middle-class women came to the realization that in modern industrial society, the doctrine of separate spheres no longer held: the home and the community were inextricably bound together, and those concerns once defined as the private responsibility of individual housewives and mothers were in actuality public and political. (3)

Dye (1991) described women's methods as well as their achievements in these voluntary organizations as political in nature. Woloch (2000) noted that women's clubs, unlike the earlier church groups or benevolent societies, modeled themselves on men's political clubs, in that they “held meetings, followed parliamentary procedures, elected officers, wrote minutes, and read reports,” much like governmental or political organizations (293). In examining women and politics in Texas, McArthur (1996) characterized Texas women in voluntary associations in the 19th and early 20th centuries as “pioneering pressure-group politics: promoting an issue before the public, mounting petition and letter-writing campaigns to state legislators, and urging male voters not to re-elect uncooperative incumbents” (1051).

The political activities of women's groups during the late nineteenth century do not fit into the traditional male-gendered definition of politics as used in the traditional

American history narrative, what has usually been described as *electoral* politics because women could not take part in electoral politics of the time (Skocpol et al. 1993). “The characteristic form of political activity for women of the time,” wrote Lebsack (1990), “was participation in a voluntary association” (37). Baker (1984) revised the traditional male-gendered definition of politics “to include any action, formal or informal, taken to affect the course or behavior of government or the community” (622). Feminist historians have since revised traditional interpretations of the Progressive Age, characterizing the actions of these women activists as “significant” and very much “political” in nature (Dye 1991; Frankel and Dye 1991; Lebsack 1990; McArthur 1998; Scott 1984a; Seaholm 1988; Tilly and Gurin 1990; Turner 1997).

Assessing women’s involvement in American politics, Lebsack (1990) characterized the political significance of women in the period 1880-1920.

Long before they were voters, American women were important political actors. The four decades preceding the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, in fact, were a great age for women in politics—certainly greater than anything that had been seen before and arguably greater than anything seen again until the rebirth of feminism in the late 1960s. In the context of centuries of exclusion from formal politics, the rising of American women between about 1880 and 1920 was nothing less than phenomenal. (35)

Similarly, Dye (1991) noted the long-term impact of these women’s club reformers, writing that, “The body of state and federal legislation for which women progressive reformers worked provided much of the foundation for American welfare legislation for the remainder of the twentieth century” (2).

Woman's Suffrage Organizations

The woman's rights movement in the United States began in the nineteenth century and is "commonly dated from 1848 when Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, and others met in Seneca Falls, New York, and drew up the Declaration of Sentiments" (Kraditor 1981, 1). The formal push for woman's suffrage, an outgrowth of the woman's rights movement, developed when two separate organizations, the National Woman Suffrage Association and the American Woman Suffrage Association, merged into the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) in 1890 (Flexner 1959; Kerber and De Hart 1991; Kraditor 1981).

In Texas, woman's suffrage began in the late nineteenth century, with the organization of several groups, such as the Texas Woman Suffrage Association, none of which were successful in gaining public support until the influence of women's involvement in World War I served as a catalyst for change (Texas Equal Suffrage Association, September 1-November 1, 1917, File 4, MFC). As Winegarten (1995) explained, "After the United States entered World War I, suffragists expanded their agenda to include active support of the war effort at home. That advocacy eventually helped win male votes for women's suffrage" (208). In May 1916, The Texas Equal Suffrage Association (TESA) was formed when the Texas Woman Suffrage Association changed their name and adopted a new constitution at their annual convention (Taylor 1951). Minnie Fisher Cunningham was elected President and became a driving force in the organization (Taylor 1951).

The women involved in the Texas suffrage movement used the lessons and skills gained from two decades of various women's club work to form an active statewide organization composed of local branches in order to publicize and promote their cause (Winegarten and McArthur 1987). In writing about the relationship between women's club work and the suffrage movement, McArthur (1998) stated, "The nature and structure of the federated club movement itself taught women to think and act politically, ultimately enabling many to envision themselves as voters" (21).

The local branches of TESA played a significant role in the promotion of suffrage in that it was their "responsibility for promoting favorable sentiment in their communities" (Taylor 1951, 204). McArthur (1998) wrote that this organization used methods similar to those of modern political parties to organize local women throughout the state into a grassroots campaign. For example, Jane McCallum, one of the early Texas woman suffrage leaders, described the organization as a "marvel of efficiency, which included in its files the background of every lawmaker in the State capital" (McCallum 1922, 637). Taylor (1951) described the educational activities of the organization.

These societies endeavored to make more efficient workers of their own members through lectures and discussions on the status of women and on the nature of politics and government. Sometimes they conducted "suffrage schools" in which women were instructed in public speaking, organizational methods, and campaign techniques. They sponsored public speeches, open forums, mass meetings, house-to-house canvasses, parades, and suffrage booths at fairs. (205)

TESA kept the issue of suffrage before the public in repeated news articles and on the agenda of the legislature through a barrage of letters and petitions to legislators, both on the state and national level ("Directions for Lobbyists," Box 3, JMP; Hortense

Ward to Minnie Fisher Cunningham, 7 December 1917, File 4, MFC). Carrie Chapman Catt, national women's suffrage leader, described the letters and telegrams supporting suffrage sent to Congress from Texas citizens at this time as "heavy artillery down in Texas" (McCallum 1922, 640).

African American Women and Suffrage

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, African American women involved in women's clubs and community reform efforts realized their efforts might have more impact if they were linked to national movements such as suffrage (Neverdon-Morton 1989). In addition, African American women in the South felt that women's suffrage might benefit black males "who had been largely disenfranchised through poll taxes, property requirements, literacy tests, and terrorism" (Neverdon-Morton 1989). Winegarten (1995) explained that, "Most black female leaders continued to support women's suffrage because they believed that only through political equality could the status of black men and women be elevated" (209). These leaders included Mary Church Terrell, Anna Julia Cooper, and Mary McLeod Bethune "who saw the voting issue as one shared by black and white women," even though many white women seemed reluctant to address the issue of black women's suffrage (Neverdon-Morton 1989, 203).

African American women, especially in the South, were excluded when they attempted to join local and national white women's suffrage groups in the first two decades of the twentieth century (Neverdon-Morton 1989; Winegarten 1996). The National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) excluded African American

women from their 1913 convention because they feared racial “disruptions” (Neverdon-Morton 1989, 203). But, African American women persisted and took part in some suffrage activities such as demonstrations, parades, and petitions in favor of suffrage (Adair 1978; Neverdon-Morton 1989; Winegarten 1995, 1996). The Texas Federation of Colored Women’s Clubs endorsed suffrage in 1917, the same year that the Negro Voters’ League was founded in Galveston (Winegarten 1995).

The issue of voting for African Americans in the South, both male and female, was a complex affair governed by local regulations and prohibitions previously mentioned, poll tax, property restrictions, and literacy tests (Neverdon-Morton 1989). Sometimes these restrictions applied to white as well as black citizens, disfranchising the poor, landless, and illiterate of both races equally. But, in the South, these restrictions as well as the threat of violence, were weapons used primarily against African Americans (Barr 1971; Kousser 1974; Lewinson 1932). Even though the Fifteenth Amendment gave African Americans the right to vote, Southern states found ways around this (Barr 1971; Kousser 1974; Lewinson 1932; Rice 1971). One method white Southern politicians used was to allow African American men to vote in general elections and for constitutional amendments, but to exclude them from voting in the primaries. “Negroes could vote in federal elections. But, the political parties were operated as private clubs and excluded Negroes” (Caudill 1972, 4).

The significance of this primary suffrage exclusion, especially in the Democratic Party primary, lay in the reality that the primary was where the actual winner of the eventual election was chosen because the all-white Democratic Party was the majority

and controlling party in Texas and had been throughout the South since the end of Reconstruction (Barr 1971; Ewing 1953; Kousser 1974; Lewinson 1932; Rice 1971). Therefore, being nominated by the Democratic Party was tantamount to being elected. So, although African Americans could vote in general elections and in contests over constitutional amendments, their lack of participation in the Democratic primary elections guaranteed a white-dominated election and, therefore, a white-controlled local and state government (Barr 1971; Ewing 1953; Kousser 1974; Lewinson 1932; Rice 1971).

After the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, African American women in some states were allowed to vote, even though the majority of black women in the South were prevented from doing so (Adair 1978; Neverdon-Morton 1989; Winegarten 1995). In Texas, African American women were allowed to vote, but only in the Republican primary and in the general election (Winegarten 1995). Neverdon-Morton (1989) described the impact of these restrictions, especially for African American women, “Because of their inability to influence political, economic, and social conditions through the power of the vote, black women in the Southern states remained dependent upon their own skills, energy, and often money, to effect meaningful change” (205-206). Freedman (1995) also addressed the impact of the suffrage amendment on women saying, “In the South, suffrage did not usher in a new era, for political, economic, and social discrimination persisted, necessitating local service and self-help programs that continued to rely on female leadership” (173). The period from 1880-1920 was a key transitional period for women in Texas and across the United States, an era

characterized by changes in women's roles and by female organization and institution building. The activities of women's organizations during this period provided informal education for women as well as opportunities to demonstrate their leadership skills in community reform efforts.

Chapter Conclusion

The history of the education of Texas women from 1880-1920 was not only connected to the development of formal education in public and private schools but was also linked to informal educative experiences provided by family and community set within the context of certain historical events and trends. For white middle-class females, as long as there were separate private academies, the opportunity to obtain the quality of the educational experiences was diminished by the gendered separateness of the curriculum with its emphasis on social qualities over academic content. For some middle-class African Americans, there were opportunities for increased education, both in public and private church-sponsored secondary schools. For African American women, community expectations for "uplifting the race" presented both incentive and opportunity for advanced education. For the majority of African Americans in Texas and across the South, however, the quality of the education provided by segregated schools, continued to pose a challenge.

With the creation of the co-educational public school high school came increased opportunities for small numbers of usually middle-class white and African American female students to obtain secondary education. These secondary schools provided the opportunity for females to include more academic courses within their courses of study

as well as courses in preparation for becoming teachers. However, the impact of industrialization, immigration, and accompanying urbanization necessitated changes in school curriculum from the scope of classical curriculum in the late nineteenth century to an increase in vocational education by 1920 (Blanton and Mikesell 1920). For African American students, both male and female, these same economic trends coupled with the emphasis on manual or vocational training in the teachings of Booker T. Washington, led to an increase in vocational education for African American students by 1920 (Dubois 1963).

The growth of co-educational normal schools and colleges in Texas afforded small numbers of usually upper and middle class women, both black and white, the opportunity for higher education. The development of voluntary women's organizations and women's clubs, in particular, proved to be a significant educative influence on both black and white women, providing opportunities for knowledge and skill development, especially in the area of leadership in the public sphere (McClelland 1992).

This was the historical context in which both Ima Hogg and Christia Adair began their careers as community leaders. This was the frame of reference for their education, both formal and informal. For Hogg and Adair, their education in the period 1880-1920, reflected the context of formal education in public and private schools available at the time. However, the informal educative experiences provided by parents, church, and community would also play a role in their education. Educated during this period of political and economic change, institutionalized racism, and progressive reform, and using the knowledge and skills acquired through formal and informal educational

experiences, Ima Hogg and Christia Daniels Adair saw the demographic changes taking place in their communities and the changes wrought by women of this period and emerged as community leaders themselves, creating social and cultural institutions in Houston while pushing for political and social reform.

CHAPTER IV

IMA HOGG: EDUCATION AND PHILANTHROPY

The process of education in the individual is made up through experiences as well as through teaching. Therefore, with the roots of influence beginning in the home, it becomes a many-sided community responsibility in addition to being a school problem. This, I think we cannot overlook when considering a program for the development and education of our youth as future citizens. These are my beliefs, well grounded in me through heritage, training, and an abiding interest in my fellow man.¹

The *Houston Post* headline for August 20, 1975, read, “Miss Ima-She nurtured Music, Art, Public Service” (section 4, page 26). Ima Hogg, Houston community leader, philanthropist, and patron of the arts, had died in London, England, at the age of 93. In 1913, she helped found the Houston Symphony, serving as President of the Symphony Society from 1917-1921, and again from 1946-1956. In 1929, she started the Houston Child Guidance Center to provide mental health services for children and families and was involved in the leadership of this organization for over two decades. In 1940, she used funds designated by her brother William’s estate to establish the Hogg Foundation for Mental Hygiene (later Mental Health) at The University of Texas, which continues to provide information, scholarships, community resources, and training for mental health professionals throughout the state. As a community leader for five decades, she helped establish major cultural institutions in Houston such as the Museum of Fine Arts, which now includes Bayou Bend, her former home. In her concern over the mental health of children in the community, she researched and developed the first visiting teacher or

¹ Ima Hogg, speech to the Woman’s Club of Houston, during her campaign for Houston ISD School Board, 23 March, 1943. 4W237, Folder 3, IHP.

school social worker program while serving on the Houston ISD school board from 1943-1949.

This chapter presents and provides connections between Ima Hogg's formal and informal education and her contributions to improving the lives of children and adults in her community. Her informal and educational experiences include the influence of parents and siblings and membership in cultural and civic organizations. Her formal education occurred in both public and private schools in the context of late 19th and early twentieth century Texas. The values and skills Ima Hogg gained as a result of her educational experiences were identified as themes that linked her education to her activities as a community leader and serve as the major sections of this chapter. These themes include service to the community through civic leadership, expectations of success and leadership, a belief in the value of education, and the development of leadership skills, especially organization, networking, and collaboration.

The primary sources of information for this chapter consisted of the papers of Ima Hogg as well as those of her father, James Hogg, her brother William Hogg, and additional family papers in The University of Texas Hogg Foundation for Mental Health, all housed in the Center for American History at The University of Texas in Austin. Included in Ima's papers were transcripts of interviews that she gave in 1974-1975, in preparation for an autobiography that was never completed due to her death in August 1975. Additional sources were found in The Houston Museum of Fine Arts Archives and the Houston Symphony Archives.

The Theme of Service to Community Through Civic Leadership

Ima Hogg was born July 10, 1882, in Mineola, Texas, to James Stephen and Sarah Ann (Stinson) Hogg. She was the second child in the family, with one older brother, William Clifford, and two younger brothers, Michael and Thomas Elisha. Named for the heroine of a Civil War poem written by her uncle, she never married and was known as “Miss Ima” for most of her life.

She was born in a family with a history of community involvement, particularly in local and state politics. The pattern of service through civic leadership in Ima Hogg’s life began with the example set by her family. Her great grandfather, Thomas Hogg, served in the legislature of three Southern states, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, and helped found the University of Alabama (Cotner 1959). Her grandfather, Joseph Hogg, served in the Eighth Congress of the Republic of Texas, from 1843-1844, and was the Chair of the Judiciary Committee in the Texas State Constitutional Convention that re-wrote the state constitution when Texas joined the United States in 1845 (Bernhard 1984; Cotner 1959; Gambrell 1928). As a state Senator in the new state of Texas, Joseph Hogg proposed legislation that revised and continued the Homestead Law of the Republic, that, according to Cotner (1959), “was a constructive piece of social legislation protecting families against some of the worst features of depression and debt” (12).

Ima’s father, James Hogg would continue the pattern of service through civic leadership, even though the fortunes of the Hogg family diminished as a result of the Civil War. Joseph Hogg owned a cotton plantation of 2,500 acres in Cherokee County,

Texas, before the Civil War, but, most of that wealth was lost when he died in Arkansas in 1862, while serving as a brigadier general in the army of the Confederacy (Cotner 1959). Ima's father, James Hogg, was only eleven years of age at the time of his father's death. James' mother, Lucanda, and a younger brother, died the next year, 1863, within a few days of each other (Cotner 1959). James Hogg and four other brothers, whose education had been interrupted by the war, were cared for by his two older sisters, one of whom, Martha Frances or Aunt Fannie as she was later called, would play a part in Ima's life as well. As the war ended, so did the fortunes of the Hogg family who lost most of their land (Bernhard 1984; Gambrell 1928).

James S. Hogg

At the age of sixteen, without money and the benefit of parental support, James Hogg set out on his own in 1867, working at various jobs including sharecropper and printer's apprentice at newspapers in Rusk, Cleburne, and Quitman, Texas (Cotner 1959; Bernhard 1984; Gambrell 1928). Working for small-town newspapers at various jobs during the day and studying borrowed law books at night, he eventually started newspapers in the towns of Longview and Quitman, Texas. In Quitman, he met and married Sarah Ann Stinson in 1874, and passed the bar exam in 1875. He was elected justice of the peace in 1876 and county attorney in 1878 (Bernhard 1984; Gambrell 1928). In 1886, when Ima Hogg was four years old, he was elected Attorney General of Texas and moved his family to Austin (Bernhard 1984; Gambrell 1928). He was elected governor in 1890 and served from 1891-1895.

James Hogg ran on a platform of reform during his campaigns for both attorney general and governor (Ash 1950; Bernhard 1984; Cotner 1959). Gambrell (1928) wrote that Hogg had been looking for an issue on which to base his campaign and that he found one in the frustration of Texans towards several of the newly-formed corporations that did business with the state's farmers and ranchers. In describing the context for Hogg's reform efforts, Cotner (1959) described Texas in 1890 as having "the ills of an agrarian society and the problems arising from the new industrialism" (324). Because of these problems, "farmers complained of low profits, inequities in the marketing process, and difficulty in securing needed credit through the banking system" (Gould 1996, 347), and "the Farmers' Alliance was demanding reform" (Gambrell 1928).

Hogg spoke against the power of the railroad companies, in particular, in a campaign speech for governor, in Rusk, Texas, on April 19, 1890. "They are gaining in strength so as to threaten not only the legislative and executive departments with their overshadowing powers, but they are reaching out and threatening to grasp and throttle the judicial tribunals of our country" (Supplement, *Rusk Observer*, 3B111, Folder 6, JSHP). Gambrell (1928) described the growth of railroads in Texas in the late nineteenth century and the accompanying problems.

Texas had been generous to the railroad promoters granting 10,240 acres of public lands for every mile of track built, until the public domain had been exhausted. Nearly 40 million acres, twenty-two percent of the state, was given to the companies, and Texas by 1890 had more miles of railroad than any other state, save two. The period of road-building was succeeded by one of combinations [a type of monopoly], over-capitalization, extortionate rates, and poor service. (348)

In the campaign of 1890, Hogg capitalized on these issues and the frustration of farmers and others who had to use the railroads for hauling products (Ash 1950; Cotner 1951; Gambrell 1928). Ash (1950) described Hogg's speeches as he traveled across the state campaigning. "Hogg explained the necessity for regulation of the railroads. He showed the discrepancies, the unfairness and the existing abuses of rate charges in Texas. He charged that in Texas the railroads obtained eighty dollars a car for a one hundred mile haul, while in Georgia they received fourteen dollars for the same haul" (23-24).

Hogg's First Message to the Twenty-second Legislature, delivered January 21, 1891, outlined his reform agenda for the creation of a railroad commission, for prohibiting corporate monopolies, "for providing support of public free schools for six months each year, for endowing and maintaining the University and its branches, and for establishing and supporting a home for the disabled Confederate soldiers" (Cotner 1951, 110). As governor, James Hogg championed legislation dealing with issues protecting or supporting the rights and privileges of the 'common man,' as he described, against foreign and corporate interests. Examples of legislation passed as a result of his initiative include the first anti-trust law in Texas, the Railroad Commission to control the out-of-state monopolistic practices of the railroad companies, state financial support for the extension of the school year to six months, and laws to protect land set aside for school and public institutions (Bernard 1984; Cotner 1951).

James Hogg chose to retire from public office in 1894, at the end of his second term as governor, even though he wrote to his sister Martha Frances Davis, on the eve of his leaving office, that he had unofficially been offered the Democratic nomination for

U.S. Senate (2N156, Folder 1/9, JSHP). Unabashedly evaluating his own record in the same letter, he wrote, “Recently I have reviewed the record and checked up every branch and Department of the Government. Result: Every pledge of reform that I made as a candidate for Governor has been fully redeemed and now stands in the shape of accepted and acceptable law” (2N156, Folder 1/9, JSHP). In the same letter, he recounted that he left office with little if any financial assets, going so far as to say that he had to borrow the money to move the family’s furnishings out of the governor’s mansion (2N156, Folder 1/9, JSHP).

After he left office, Hogg continued to espouse changes that he felt were still needed in state government. A few months before his death in 1906, he prepared a speech for a gathering of state officials in Dallas in November 1905, in which he reiterated his reform platform calling for such things as “Rotation in office permanently established; Nepotism forbidden [and] Public records disclose every official act be open to all, to the end that everyone shall know that, in Texas, public office is the center of public conscience” (Cotner 1951, 532).

Bernard (1984) noted that Hogg’s accomplishments as governor earned him the title of ‘the last people’s governor of Texas’ for the legislative reforms enacted under his leadership. Evaluating Hogg’s record as a Progressive reformer, his autobiographer Cotner (1959) wrote, “Hogg is generally recognized as one of the four great statesmen in Texas [along with Stephen F. Austin, Sam Houston, and John H. Reagan]. “The native son, James Stephen Hogg, inaugurated an outstanding reform program which placed

Texas in the forefront of the Progressive Movement” (586). Gambrell (1928), described Hogg in a somewhat similar vein.

In the face of the facts I believe that Hogg was not at heart a demagogue, although he practiced with unrivalled skill the arts of mob-psychology. He never advocated a program in which he had a selfish interest, not did he profit financially by public office. And if he missed being a statesman, it was the fault of his lack of training and it was by a narrow margin that he missed it, if at all. (366)

Writing about the Democratic Party in Texas during the first two decades of the twentieth century, Gould (1973) had a different opinion of Governor Hogg’s achievements.

The railroad commission remained his most noteworthy achievement, symbolizing Hogg’s ostensible commitment to reform and the public interest. [But] the railroad commission, as Reagan and Hogg visualized it, operated to Balkanize the American economy, and the Supreme Court curbed it in the Shreveport rate case of 1914. The stock and bond law of 1893 retarded railroad construction and slowed economic development. It is impossible to speak of James S. Hogg in the same breath with other reform governors like Robert M. LaFollete, of Wisconsin, and Charles Evans Hughes, of New York. (11)

Whatever Governor Hogg’s accomplishments were, his belief that he was working for the ‘common people’ and his efforts at reform influenced his daughter Ima in her interest in public service and in her actions as a community leader. In a ceremony at The University of Texas in Austin upon the publication of her father’s biography by Robert C. Cotner in 1959, Ima talked about her father, saying, “My father staunchly believed that there was no higher calling than a career in politics as a public servant, but he was convinced that one should be qualified by special training and education” (Box 3B168, Folder 5, IHP).

In January 1905, James Hogg was injured in a minor rail accident. His neck was injured and he suffered through several operations during the course of the next year. During this time, Ima seldom left his side, even sleeping in the same room. During the last six months of his life, James Hogg spent hours talking with William and Ima. William Hogg later reflected on his father's influence describing these family discussions,

Until that six months I spent talking with my father, I had never really known him. Then, for the first time, I understood why he had always espoused the cause of the common people, the need of battling for the weak against the strong, the necessity of free education for all, if a democracy is to survive. Whatever little good I may do, whatever ideas may be found behind any action or mine, whatever has given my life worth or dignity, all are due to him. (Lomax 1956, 4)

William C. Hogg

Ima's father, James, and older brother, William, served as role models for Ima in their commitment to community and in their civic leadership. William continued the family's tradition of public service, though he chose business and not politics as a career. William (Will) Hogg graduated from Southwestern University in Georgetown, Texas, received his law degree from The University of Texas in 1897, and practiced law in San Antonio before joining his father in business in 1900 (Lefevre 1996). After the elder Hogg died in 1906, Will moved to Houston where he became an assistant to the director of the Texas Company (Texaco) and director of several real estate and oil-related companies. He served in World War I in the special intelligence office in Washington, D.C. and returned to Houston after the war to manage the Hogg family business (Lefevre 1996; Lomax 1956). "In 1919, oil was struck on the Hogg family homestead in West

Columbia, Texas, and the field made the Hogg family independently wealthy” (Bernhard 1984, 66).

Will Hogg devoted much of his time and fortune to espousing, supporting, and cajoling his friends to support various educational, civic, and philanthropic causes, until his death in 1930 (Kirkland 2004). Benefiting from his philanthropy were The University of Texas, the Boy Scouts, veterans of World War I, the Houston Museum of Fine Arts, the Houston Symphony, and the Houston YWCA and YMCA (Bernhard 1984; Kirkland 2004; Lomax 1956). Lomax (1956), Secretary of the Ex-Students’ Association from 1917-1920, and a friend of Will Hogg since 1917, wrote, “First and foremost was his [Hogg’s] interest in public education in Texas” (14).

Describing Will’s involvement in public education, Lomax (1956), related several stories taken from personal discussions and interviews with Will over a period of thirteen years, between 1917 and 1930, none of which he recorded the exact dates and times. He related Will’s statement supporting education and how important education was to a democratic nation.

In a well-ordered democracy, no boy or girl with brains and character should be denied the opportunity of college training. I find that nothing else gives me half the satisfaction derived from the knowledge that I have gambled on the brains and ambition of young men and young women. (Lomax 1956, 22)

Will supported public education in several ways. First, he personally provided financial support for those wishing to attend college. Lomax (1956) told the story that Will authorized University of Texas officials to advertise in the newspapers that army veterans who would like to attend the university and were able to pass the entrance examination, would be provided the funds to attend. Approximately 500 ex-soldiers sent

letters and more than a 100 actually enrolled, privately funded by Will Hogg. Will also provided funds for any University of Texas student of “exceptional promise who wanted to do graduate or professional work outside of Texas” (23). He also left cash amounts in his will ranging from \$25,000 to \$100,000, for eighteen public colleges in Texas to establish loan funds for students (2J329, Folder “William Clifford Hogg Correspondence,” WHP). Second, he promoted subscriptions to his friends and colleagues, raising \$300,000 in scholarship money for The University of Texas (Lomax 1956).

Will Hogg believed in the ideals of public service through civic leadership. In a 1970 interview, Ima Hogg described Will as “always interested in public things, in civic planning” (MAI 9/u1, Folder Ima Hogg, HFR). In the second decade of the twentieth century, he served on the Board of Trustees of the Society for the Promotion of Training for Public Service (2J371, Folder W.C. Hogg, WHP). Listed in its monthly publication, *The Public Servant*, for February 1916, were the goals for this national civic organization: Improvement of public administration, making public service a profession, practical training for public service, harnessing civil service reform to an educational program, developing more effective civic organizations, removing local residence requirements for public service, and preparing a national program for training for public service (2J371, Folder W.C. Hogg, WHP).

Will demonstrated his belief in public service through his actions in the community. Describing his civic activities, Bernard (1984) wrote, “In 1925 he organized the West End Improvement Association, a center for city planning and ‘civic

forethought,” which later became the headquarters for another organization Will created, The Forum of Civics (75). This organization was designed to “stimulate civic pride for the improvement of the community in its physical, social, educational or economic aspects” (Lomax 1956, 27). The motto of the organization was taken from Pericles, “No Athenian should ever confess that he neglected public service for the sake of private fortune” (Lomax 1956, 27). One of the activities of the organization was to beautify the city of Houston. Between 1920 and 1929, Will donated \$30,000 a year to purchase crape-myrtle trees for city parks and for Houstonians’ private homes, and, when told that only “white folks” were getting the trees, “he bought thousands more which were given out at Emancipation Park, the Negro recreation center, for the yards of Houston’s Negro district” (Lomax 1956). In 1927, Houston Mayor Oscar Holcombe appointed Will Hogg to be the first City Planning Commissioner. “Will plunged enthusiastically into this new task, drawing up a list of goals that included a civic center, improved parks and parkways, and a zoning plan” (Bernhard 1984, 76). When the mayor did not take action on any of Will’s suggestions, he denounced Holcombe in the next election (Bernhard 1984).

Finally, Ima’s father, James, and her brother, Will, served as role models for Ima, individuals whose behavior and actions she emulated in giving back to the community in a tradition of public service began by her great-grandfather and continued with her father and brother. Ima continued the family tradition of service to community through civic leadership as she demonstrated her leadership in establishing community resources in the fields of art, music, education, historic preservation, and mental health. In a speech to the

Women's Committee of the Houston Symphony Society in 1962, Ima explained this family belief of service to the community when, reflecting back upon her role in helping to create the Houston Symphony, she recounted:

Not long after [entering The University of Texas that] I came to these conclusions that circumstances made me discover that the motivating purpose of one's life must not be centered in one's personal achievement. This concept arrives to many of us in different ways. But we know it is not we individually who are to succeed. It is ideas put to work. We simply feel we become as instruments playing only a small part. (4W195, Folder 10, IHP)

Section Summary

Ima Hogg came from a family with a history of community involvement, particularly in local and state politics, stretching back to her grandfather. Her father, James Hogg, served as Governor of Texas from 1891-1895, and was noted for the legislative reforms enacted under his direction. Both her father, James, and her brother, William, served as role models in their service to community and civic leadership, influencing Ima in her beliefs about public service and her actions as a community leader in Houston. Demonstrating their own leadership and service was not the only way that the Hogg family had an educative influence on Ima. There were family expectations that she would be successful and continue the family tradition of service and leadership.

The Theme of Expectations of Success and Leadership

The informal educative influence of Ima's family emerged early in her life. The Hogg family provided support and encouragement for Ima throughout her life that helped develop in her a sense of confidence and self-esteem that she demonstrated in her community leadership role. Second, the instructive nature of her relationships with her father and her brother Will also illustrated the educative influence of her family. The

frequent correspondence between Ima and her family provided examples of family influence that was educative in nature.

Letters from her parents and, later, her brother, reinforced the expectations of success for Ima that were established early in her life. Her father wrote to her on her thirteenth birthday 10 July 1895.

On reflection I can recall but few epochs in my life's way that present to my mind equal pleasure to this day-thirteen years ago—the date of your birth. In all the intervening years with each recurring day I have found nothing but pleasure from this great blessing. My confidence in the purity of your nature, in your deep regard for the rectitude and refinement of your sex at all times, on all occasions, firmly supports and justifies my hope that in no act of your life shall I ever find cause for disappointment or regret. (3B111, Folder 1, JSHP)

The special relationship that James Hogg had with his daughter began at her birth with a description of Ima in a 13 July 1882 letter to his brother John as “an angelic mien as ever gracious nature favor a man with” (3B111, Folder 1, IHP). This fatherly adoration, coupled with unwavering support for whatever Ima chose to do, continued unabated until his death in 1906. The favoritism that James Hogg showed his daughter over his three sons was quite evident when he replied to Ima's suggestion that he bring her three brothers to England where he was visiting in April of 1902:

Now, Ima, that dream of yours won't work. I shall not indulge those boys in a 'trip to England.' I should not do so if I had the wealth of Carnegie ... Of course I shall be glad to take you anywhere, if I have to make the boys work to defray the expenses. In other words, you shall have carte' blanche, as you have always had and never abused. The enclosed check explains itself [emphasis in original]. (3B111, Folder 3, JSHP)

Ima became a frequent travel companion for her father because of her mother's frail health. She accompanied him during his political campaigns and in a 1975 interview, spoke of these experiences. “On these trips I often stayed in the homes of

constituents, and I learned first hand how people lived in country towns” (4Zg88, Folder “Book Notes,” IHP). As her mother’s health slowly deteriorated, Ima accompanied her father more and more often during his term as governor. Once, on a tour of ten east coast cities in June of 1894, James wrote to his wife describing how Ima was faring on the trip. His words revealed a growing bond between James and his daughter. “Ima is a born traveler and makes friends everywhere. Her gentleness, sprightliness, good manners, and thoughtfulness make her the pet of the twenty-three elegant gentlemen of our party and win golden opinions of new acquaintances” (3B111, Folder 3, JSHP).

When James was separated from his daughter, his letters to her revealed high expectations, but, in a manner that suggested he believed in her abilities to fulfill these expectations as well. For example, when Ima was contemplating attending The University of Texas in September of 1899, James Hogg wrote to his daughter from Mexico saying, “You know I have great confidence in your good sense and exalted principles. Somehow I know that you will do right, [and] do your best,” (3B111, Folder 3, JSHP). After the death of his wife in 1895, the relationship between James and his daughter became even closer, with Ima gradually assuming the roles of friend, companion, advisor, and, finally, in the last two years of his life, caretaker. In July of 1899, on the occasion of her seventeenth birthday, Ima Hogg received a letter from her father that attempted to explain the bond between them:

In every feature of your face, in every movement of your hand I can see your Mother! Perhaps this of all other causes accounts for my partiality for you. For the frailty of physique and of health she thoroughly accounted in the best attributes of a pure woman. She was honorable, truthful, gentle, faithful, generous, faultless. In her I confided with absolute safety all my professional,

political, and business movements, intentions and acts. In you I look for a friend and counselor as wise, as faithful, as true. (3B111, Folder 3, JSHP)

James Hogg came to respect his daughter's advice, referring to her role of advisor in other letters as well, and even going so far as to call her his "running mate and mascot" in a letter to her dated 16 April 1905, the year before he died (3B111, Folder 4, JSHP). In the same letter, he again reflected on the bond between them in describing how much he missed her when she was not with him, "I think of you. If I could have you with me on Sundays, I might stand the balance of the week heroically" (3B111, Folder 4, JSHP). Letters exchanged between James and Ima are evidence of the love and affection James had for his family, particularly his daughter Ima. They also suggest evidence of something more, evidence of a mutual bond of trust that provided Ima with a strong base of parental support and encouragement and that would also provide James with counsel and advice as well.

Ima later spoke of her mother's influence though Sarah Hogg died in 1895, when Ima was thirteen. When James Hogg became Governor in 1891, her mother assigned her daughter the responsibility of collecting and organizing family letters and clippings from Texas papers and periodicals concerning the political campaigns, addresses, and other activities of her father, even though she was only eight years old. In 1973, Ima wrote of this duty and its educative influence, saying "I learned something about politics, but I also learned to be a keeper of letters and documents" (3B130, Folder 10, IHP).

In a 1975 interview, Hogg described the influence of her mother in the area of music. She stated that her interest in the piano began at the age of three when she heard her mother play and tried to imitate her (4Zg88, Folder "Book Notes," IHP). She

recalled that she played “by ear” until her first official piano lessons at the same time she began kindergarten, around the age of five (4Zg88, Folder “Book Notes,” IHP). Thus began, as Ima recalled in the interview, a lifelong love of music (4Zg88, Folder “Book Notes,” IHP). Ima continued her study of the piano for the next twenty-seven years, in schools in Austin, San Marcos, and New York City, and, later, as a self-directed program of study in Germany (H. Collins to James Hogg, 6 November 1895, 3B111, Folder 2, JSHP; Ima Hogg, n.d., 4Zg88, Folder “Book Notes,” IHP; Ima Hogg, n.d., 3B130, Folder 10, IHP).

In an autobiographical speech she gave in 1962, upon the twentieth-five anniversary of the founding of the Houston Symphony, Ima reflected on her parents’ influence, describing the manner of support from her parents as “parental counseling.” She described her leadership role in helping to start the symphony and how the idea took shape as a result of both her mother’s love of music and her father’s support for her decision to continue her study of music in college. In her speech, which she dedicated to the Women’s Committee of the Houston Symphony Society of Houston, Ima Hogg stated that she “decided to pursue the study of her first love, music and the piano, while she attended The University of Texas” (4W195, Folder 10, IHP).

Ima Hogg’s perception was that there was a link between the influence of her parents, James and Sarah Hogg, and her leadership activities on behalf of the Houston community. On June 15, 1972, on the occasion of her ninetieth birthday, she was honored by the Houston Symphony with a concert at Jones Hall in Houston. To begin the evening’s program, her friend Tom Johnson talked of Ima Hogg’s achievements on

behalf of the community, especially her role in helping organize the first symphony orchestra in Houston. When Ima spoke to thank the organizers of the event, saying, “I take this as a real compliment to my parents, James Stephen Hogg and Sarah Stinson Hogg. They were my inspiration and my example-everything I should do or should wish to [do]” (Box 13, Folder 1, MFA).

Educative Influence of Family

Letters written to Ima from her brother, William, and her father, James, provided examples of informal education that were instructive in nature. In March of 1898, William wrote to Ima, apparently in answer to a question from her about a biographical series of English and American authors in which she was interested, giving advice about the selection of authors to read. He advised her to “lay the foundation of your taste with the masters that, the latter-day, lesser, saints of literature all more or less copy-Shakespeare, Scott, Dickens, Thackeray, Macaulay, Carlyle, Irving, Stevenson, and others” (2N156, Folder 1/9, JSHP).

The advice that Will gave Ima spoke to the self-directed method in which Ima would later become thoroughly acquainted with the major interests of her adult life—art, mental health, education, antiques, and historic preservation. Describing this method of study, Will continued his letter from March 1898.

If Thackeray suits your taste, you should cultivate that taste by a careful reading of his works—a reading that will make this thought and language unconsciously a part of your own. Live in his works until you have sacrificed interest to familiarity which you can never do. (2N156, Folder 1/9, JSHP)

The idea of immersing one’s self in a subject as Will had recommended, and of reading everything available about the subject, became a pattern of self-directed learning

that would repeat itself throughout Ima's life. When describing Ima after her death in September of 1975, Taylor (1975), Director of The University of Texas Winedale Museum spoke of this characteristic.

She continued to grow intellectually all of her life, to explore new ideas and adopt new projects with a vigor that could be exhausting. When she was in her eighties she decided to create an outdoor museum at Winedale. She bought a farm near the site and personally supervised construction, picking her way across rotted floor beams and up and down sagging staircases. (10-11)

There were letters of advice to Ima from her father James that were highly instructive in nature as well, with lengthy explanations of subjects as varied as the reputations of ladies and gentlemen, the political revolution in Panama, and the oil business. One particular letter that James Hogg wrote to his daughter while he was visiting England in March of 1902, revealed the former governor's decidedly American political bias as he described the shortcomings of parliamentary monarchy versus the advantages of republican democracy.

The severest criticism to be made against Englishmen in their political life is the tenacity with which they hang on to the relics of the barbarism and of ancient superstition that 'Kings rule the people by divine right.' The reverence for the Sovereign in England does not spring from merit, nor from a consideration of his ability to do anything, but from this superstition. They revere the mysterious inheritance by which he holds office. Really, in shaping the affairs of the realm through laws the King has less power by far than the President or the Governor of Texas within his dominion [Emphasis in original]. (3B111, Folder 4, JSHP)

The letter continues for two more pages, the majority of which James Hogg devoted to an explanation of the differences between the American and English systems of government, including a detailed description of veto powers as they existed in England and the United States at the time. The instructive purpose of this letter is openly referred to on the last page of the letter when James Hogg writes to his daughter, "Your

fondness for history, I do trust will not abate. A woman who well understands history and political phrases and distinctions finds a welcome place in the center of the best circles everywhere” (3B111, Folder 4, JSHP). This expectation of success without gender limitations was part of a recurring pattern in Ima’s life. As she recalled in a 1975 interview, “as a child, I was always encouraged to compete with the boys [her brothers] in all things” (4Zg88, Folder 4, IHP).

The suggestion of public service as well as a proposal for demonstrating her personal leadership abilities, perhaps in the image of her father’s progressive ideals, came in the form of another letter to Ima from James while he was still in England, dated 14 March 1902.

I want you to wield your influence, which I hope may be potential, on the side of the plain people. By all means, my daughter, keep up interest in politics. Understand well the principles on which your rights are based and stand by them. Know your lesson—your duty—and you can lead or teach others. (3B111, Folder 4, JSHP)

The context of the statement was in response to Ima’s query to her father about the oil wells on the family’s land in West Columbia, Texas. The first of these wells had recently begun producing small amounts of oil and, when James Hogg wanted to assure his daughter of the positive benefits of this endeavor, he wrote to her March 20, 1903, saying, “Mark my prediction. The [oil] business has just got started” [Emphasis in original] (3B111, Folder 4, JSHP). The support and encouragement shown by James Hogg in his letters to Ima revealed an attitude toward his daughter that, because of her abilities, she could pursue whatever interests she wanted, an attitude that would encourage Ima to do just that. While the pervading attitude about women’s proper roles

in the beginning years of the twentieth century was predominantly one of wife and mother, the advice of James Hogg to his daughter in the matter of subjects such as politics or business, was decidedly different, saying, in the same letter that, “When you quit school I trust you will study the land and oil business so that you can profitably employ your fine talents” (3B111, Folder 4, JSHP).

Section Summary

Evidence of family support and encouragement for Ima Hogg were identified in numerous family letters throughout her life. Her father expressed his pride in his daughter on a regular basis, as well as his respect for her abilities and his expectations that she would be successful and take a leadership role in the community. The educative influence of these actions enabled Ima to develop a sense of confidence and self-esteem which she then demonstrated in her actions as a community leader. In addition, the method of study her brother Will advocated, of immersing herself in a subject, became a pattern of self-directed learning that Ima used throughout her adult life. Her formal education provided an additional educational experience, giving her knowledge and skills that she used to pursue her interests as an adult.

The Theme of Valuing Education: Formal Education

In the matter of their children’s formal education, James and Sarah Hogg valued education and provided quality educational experiences for their children. Ima Hogg attended private elementary and secondary schools in Austin and San Marcos, and her brothers attended both public schools and private boarding schools in Texas and New Jersey. Ima attended The University of Texas for two years and brothers William and

Michael graduated from The University of Texas Law School, in 1897, and in 1911, respectively. William Hogg managed the family business and when his father died in 1906, took on the responsibility of educating his younger brothers Michael and Thomas, and caring for his sister Ima.

Family correspondence records James' encouragement to his children to continue their education. While on a business trip to Massachusetts in July of 1904, James wrote to Ima, Mike, and Tom, "No man ever had a more dutiful, decent, loving and lovable set of children than I have: Anything I can do to contribute to your education and comfort shall be cheerfully done" (3B111, Folder 4, JSHP).

Family letters revealed that Sarah and James Hogg continued their children's education during the summer months while visiting family in the countryside. Sarah wrote to James in June 1893, to assure him that, "The children are good. I hear their lessons every day" (2N157, Folder 2, IHP). Parental admonitions to study were scattered throughout letters to the children as well. "I want you to post up and practice well in your history, music and drawing" was sent to Ima from her father while he was on a business trip to New York in August of 1896 (3B111, Folder 3, JSHP).

Ima Hogg described the beginning of her formal education when, at the age of five, she began attending a small kindergarten run by a Mrs. Ziller, whom she described as a early Christian Science advocate and who lived on the same street in Austin as the Hoggs. She described the school as interesting and said that she was "grateful for Mrs. Ziller's influence," but never elaborated (4Zg88, Folder "Book Notes," IHP).

She next attended Hood's grammar school on 7th Street in Austin, also known as Hood's Seminary for what today would be the equivalent of elementary and junior high school (Box 3B168, Folder 1, IHP). She later described the educational setting as a place where "all grades sat in one big school room," studying reading from McGuffey's readers, stating arithmetic problems individually in front of the class, and practicing writing in a "Spenserian style" copy book (4z28, Folder "Book Notes," IHP). Physical education consisted of jumping rope at recess. Ima did recall "elocution was an extra course which I added to my other studies" (4Zg88, Folder "Book Notes," IHP).

Ima recalled Mrs. Hood as being kindly, but not allowing students to speak to one another. If they did, they received demerits on their monthly report home. One of Ima's original monthly reports from Hood's School is in the Ima Hogg Collection at the Center for American History, The University of Texas, and shows zero number of demerits for ten-year-old Ima for November 1892 (3B157, Folder 1, IHP).

The subjects listed on that monthly report were typical for the late nineteenth century grammar or elementary school and included reading, spelling, arithmetic, geography, and grammar. On the "Average Scholarship" section of the report, Ima's average of the five subjects was recorded as "83," with "100" being "Perfect." A star by a student's grade indicated "first standing in the class" and a grade of "100." On this particular report, Ima had no stars (3B157, Folder 1, IHP). During her time at Hood's School, she continued her study of the piano, describing lessons from a Russian concert pianist named Ludwig when she was eight years old, who encouraged her habit of

playing by ear instead of learning to read music which, in her opinion, “took a long time to overcome” (3B130, Folder 10, IHP).

After Governor Hogg left office in early 1895, he re-started his law practice and attempted to obtain business contacts in order to support the family. Sarah Hogg’s health had always been delicate, but had deteriorated even more so while the Governor was in office, even though she visited numerous doctors and stayed at several sanitariums had been attempted (4Zg88, Folder “Book Notes”). When finally diagnosed with tuberculosis in the spring of 1895, Sarah Hogg was sent to Colorado at the suggestion of another doctor. Ima accompanied her mother to Pueblo, Colorado, in June of 1895, where they stayed with James Hogg’s widowed older sister, Martha Francis Davis, whom they referred to as Aunt Fannie. Ima Hogg cared for her mother throughout the summer of 1895 (James Hogg to Sarah Hogg, 1 May 1895, 3B111, Folder 3, JSHP).

Sarah Hogg’s condition worsened during the summer of 1895, and she died September 20, of tuberculosis. Aunt Fannie temporarily cared for the three youngest Hogg children, Ima, Michael, and Thomas in Austin, after the death of their mother. In November 1895, James Hogg sent his three youngest children, as well as Aunt Fannie, to Coronal Institute, a private co-educational boarding school in San Marcos, Texas (Martha Frances Davis to Eva Hogg, 2 November 1895, 2N156, Folder 1/2, JSHP). They remained at Coronal for about a year until, according to Ima, “father could get on his feet.” (Ima Hogg to Kate Leader, n.d., 3B130, Folder 10, IHP).

Coronal Institute, founded in 1868 by O. N. Hollingsworth, was affiliated with The University of Texas and Southwestern University and closed in 1918, because of

low enrollment (Miller 1940). Hollingsworth later became State Superintendent of Schools in Texas in 1873 and started the *Texas Journal of Education* in 1880 (Miller 1940). Information from the 1940 history of the school as well as a report card for another student who attended the school in 1899, describe subjects that were similar to those offered in Ima's school in Austin, Hood's Seminary, including English, history, science, mathematics, and foreign languages. But the school also offered courses that were not offered at Hood's Seminary such as agriculture, domestic science, drawing, bookkeeping, calisthenics, and vocal and instrumental music (Miller 1940); Report [Card] for Owen Ford, 24 March 1899, Coronal Institute, Folder 2, TTWC). The music courses were something that Ima later commented on, saying, "There were good teachers in all departments, art and music especially. Though only thirteen, I was an advanced piano student" (n.d., 3B130, Folder 10, IHP).

In 1896, Governor Hogg borrowed money from a friend and purchased a home for the children and himself in Austin (Ima Hogg, n.d., 3B130, Folder 10, IHP). Ima entered University Preparatory School in Austin, a secondary school operated by the two sisters (the Misses Carrington), that was listed in the *Catalogue of The University of Texas 1899-1900* as an "affiliated" high school. Graduation from an affiliated high school at that time enabled students to enter The University of Texas without first passing an entrance examination. To become "affiliated," a high school had to meet several conditions including, in 1899, the required minimum courses in English, history, mathematics, Latin, and Greek, and sufficient number of teachers, facilities, and equipment. According to the 1899-1900 *Catalogue of The University of Texas* (1899),

affiliation was initially established through a visit and report by a university representative and, maintained thereafter, by the sending of a yearly report or the school's catalogue to the university (301-302).

Ima later recalled her days at the University Preparatory School as being a positive educational experience. She spoke of the teachers as having a "liberal attitude," and the school as a place where "we learned because we were given a zest for learning" (n.d., 3B130, Folder 10, IHP). She spoke of reading authors Thackeray, Elliot, Dickens, Sir Walter Scott, and Shakespeare and being encouraged to read other authors at home. She also studied Latin, German, and French grammar and translation. She later continued her German studies at The University of Texas. Early on, mathematics did not seem to be her favorite subject, for she wrote "I will always be grateful to Miss Minnie [one of her teachers] for letting me skip arithmetic until my graduating year [1899] while plane geometry and algebra were made delightfully interesting. After this, arithmetic had lost its horror" (3B130, Folder 10, IHP).

The expectation by James Hogg that Ima would attend and graduate from college, specifically The University of Texas, is demonstrated in his correspondence with Ima as early as 1895. While caring for her mother in Pueblo, Colorado, in June of 1895, Ima received a letter from her father saying, "I have attended the University [of Texas] Commencement and found it very interesting. I want you to graduate [from] there some day" (3B111, Folder 3, JSHP). In 1899, Ima Hogg entered The University of Texas as a freshman student, classified as an "Irregular" student (*Catalogue of The University of Texas* 1899, 149).

According to the Classification of Students, “Irregular” students were those taking four full courses or more, selected without reference to prescribed work (*Catalogue of The University of Texas* 1899, 34). In other words, Ima was taking courses that had not been prescribed for any specific degree. This fits with her father’s advice upon her decision to attend the university, when he wrote to her on September 25 of 1899, saying, “I should like for you to take such courses as may not interfere with your study and practice of music” (3B111, Folder 3, JSHP).

Ima attended The University of Texas for two years, 1899-1900 and 1900-1901, and was listed in the university catalogues for both years as taking English, history, and German, although the exact number and type of each of these courses is not specified (*Catalogue of The University of Texas* 1899, 149; *Catalogue of The University of Texas* 1900, 260). Ima later described her years at the university with mixed feelings saying, “These were two joyous years. The first year I studied more than I did the second and the professors were either helpful or forbidding. Most students seemed to learn less with the forbidding ones” (3B130, Folder 10, IHP). James Hogg reiterates his daughter’s claim to studying hard her first year in college, when he wrote to his sister Velma Hogg in December of 1899, saying “Ima is now hard pressed in the University with her studies” (3B111, Folder 3, JSHP).

On June 8, 1968, Ima Hogg was honored as the first recipient of the Santa Rita Award, given by the Board of Regents of The University of Texas to “those individuals who have assisted the advancement The University of Texas System and the cause of

higher education” (Bernhard 1984, 130). In her acceptance speech, she discussed her time as a student at the university.

I was not a shining light as a student. No freshman could have been more immature, more unprepared, or more frightened than I. But I did have three favorite courses—German, Old English, including *Beowulf* in the original, and psychology. I selected this course [psychology] in the university because my father had already engendered my interest in the subject by his own interest. (MS21, Box 13, Folder 1, MFA)

Although Ima mentioned in the speech that psychology was one of her favorite subjects, the *Catalogues of The University of Texas* for 1899-1900 and for 1900-1901, do not list psychology as one of the courses in which she was enrolled.

In 1902, after two years at The University of Texas, twenty-year old Ima continued her formal education in New York City. She studied piano theory at the National Conservatory of Music, while attending boarding school (Box 3B168, Folder 1, IHP). First, at Mrs. Green’s School and, then, the Comstock School, Ima took classes and studied music during the day and attended operas and the theater in the evenings. She later recalled that, “I was a really hard student of music. A strong constitution made it possible for me to work and attend concert after concert, opera after opera, with theater thrown in almost every night” (3B130, Folder 10, IHP). During this time, she saw plays by writers such as Ibsen, Hauptmann, and Dostevyetski, and learned about art history through trips to the Metropolitan Museum. She later commented that, “I shall always be grateful to our art history teacher for many excursions to art galleries, including the Metropolitan Museum” (3B130, Folder 10, IHP).

After two years of studying in New York City, Ima returned home to Texas in 1904, to live with her father.

I felt I should leave my studies and join Father. He never asked it. But I knew how long he had sacrificed everything for his children. It was well I spent those last years with him. It was not too long before he suffered an accident on the train [in 1905]. It resulted in a serious illness. On March 3, 1906, he passed quietly away. (4Zg88, Folder “West Columbia,” IHP)

Ima’s formal education, with the exception of her study of music, had come to an end.

What lay ahead involved personal decisions to continue to gain knowledge and expertise, but to learn in a different manner, a manner that would involve an informal program of self-directed study in several fields.

Section Summary

Ima’s parents, James and Sarah Hogg, valued education and provided quality educational experiences for their children, including Ima. She attended private schools in Austin and San Marcos, including a college preparatory secondary school in Austin. She attended The University of Texas, but did not graduate, choosing to focus her studies on music in New York City. Family correspondence illustrated the encouragement and support of parents throughout her educational career, but, also, a parental desire that she continue her music studies as well. For Ima, this included continued study of piano at the National Conservatory in New York City, and, later, in Germany. In interviews with Ima from the 1970s, she identified music and art as her favorite subjects in school, and these subjects became the basis for much of her adult self-study programs.

The Theme of Valuing Education: Self-Directed Learning

Art and Travel

Ima Hogg’s interest in art began as a child, taking art lessons during her time at Coronal Institute in San Marcos in 1895 (Box 9, Folder 1, MFA). Two drawing tablets,

both labeled Ima Hogg on the outside, were located in the Ima Hogg Papers in the archives of the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, in the materials left to the Museum after her death. One tablet is labeled 'Austin, Texas,' and the other, 'San Marcos, Texas.' The latter contains hand-drawn pencil sketches of several objects, including dishes, furniture, plants, and a building labeled "Coronal Cottage" (Number 6, Box 9, Folder3, MS21, MFA).

When her family returned to Austin in 1896, Ima set up an art studio on the third floor of her home (3B130, Folder 10, IHP). She wrote that her father told her that she had been neglecting her piano practice and she needed to "decide which I would be, an artist or a pianist. So I closed the art studio with regret" (3B130, Folder 10, IHP). At boarding school in New York City from 1902-1904, she was introduced to art history and had the opportunity to visit art galleries and the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

As an adult, Ima traveled to countries around the world, as well as to locations in the United States. In 1907 and 1939, she visited towns in Italy, including Sienna, Venice, and Rome; in 1926 and 1927, Athens, Nazareth, Istanbul, and Cairo; In 1929, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Poland, and Russia; and in 1930, Holland and Czechoslovakia. The Ima Hogg Scrapbooks in the Bayou Bend archive collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, contain over 200 postcards she collected during her travels. Many of the cards bear the names of museums or churches where they were purchased, such as the Cairo Museum. Some cards show buildings, others photographs of famous people such as Tolstoy, Lenin, and Stalin, but the majority show works of art, paintings and sculpture. There are booklets containing seventeen to twenty cards each from the Museo di San

Marco and the Academia in Florence, and the Vatican. There are twenty-seven cards showing paintings or sculpture from the Italian hill towns of Sienna, Orvieto, and Florence.

Ima saved these cards as sources of information on art. None of the postcards were mailed and many have handwritten notes on the back of the cards. Sometimes the notes include basic information such as the date of Ima's visit, and names and descriptions of locations. Over forty of the cards contain comments about the work of art, a building pictured on the card, or the artist. Some comments are descriptive in nature such as, "One of the mosaics in floor is white marble with black lines. This was covered but opened for us to view—July 3, 1937, Sienna, Italy" (MFA). Other cards offer Ima's opinion such as, "The small paintings belonging to this altar piece are especially interesting—Museo dell' Opera del Duomo, Sienna, Italy," "Fine altar piece painted and carved of St. Bridget—July 4, 1929, Sweden," or a card of Noah and Adam and Eve from the Academia in Florence she called "charming—July 11, 1937" (MFA). There were also comments that were analytical and comparative in nature, such as "Strongly reminds one of Durer as do several others in the same school—July 3, 1937, Sienna, Italy" (MFA).

Included in the cards were photographs of museums and famous buildings with Ima's descriptions on the reverse side. On one card dated July 2, 1929, she described a folk museum in Eneberittiget, Denmark, "This old house moved from the valley. There are several old houses fully furnished in authentic style. This open air museum has church and buildings with furnishings from earliest times up to the period 1870." The

cards from Moscow described the Cathedral of Peter and Paul as well as a fortress she described, “The imperial prisons are also within the walls-horrible tales and conditions—July 19, 1929” (MFA).

An analysis of the descriptions written on the cards suggested that she used them as learning tools in gaining knowledge about art and architecture. Her visits to museums, art galleries, and historical locations throughout the world, coupled with an examination of the postcards she saved in her scrapbooks, revealed her continued interest in art, even as an adult, and a pattern of self-directed learning about art and architecture through her own personal observation.

Antiquities and Bayou Bend

In 1958, Ima Hogg donated her home, Bayou Bend, and all of its furnishings, a collection of antique American furniture and decorative arts to The Houston Museum of Fine Arts. Writing in the Foreword of Bayou Bend curator David Warren’s 1975 book about the collection, she recalled, “From the time I acquired my first early American Queen Anne chair in 1920, I had an unaccountable compulsion to make an American collection for some Texas museum. I presented this idea to my eldest brother, William C. Hogg, as an opportunity” (vii). That opportunity developed into a passion for collecting which lasted the rest of her life. In 1967, Ima wrote of the reason for her interest in antique furniture. “I began my collection in 1920, having been interested since a child in the kind of old furniture used by settlers in Texas” (3B168, Folder 1, IHP). In 1975, Hogg elaborated on her motivation.

I cannot remember when I was not interested in old things with a history. My maternal grandfather Colonel James Stinson’s house in East Texas was filled

with antebellum furniture long out of fashion, and at the Governor's Mansion in Austin, I slept in Sam Houston's mahogany four-poster bed. (vii)

The manner in which Ima Hogg became knowledgeable about American antiques, particularly early American furniture, reflected the pattern of self-directed learning she demonstrated in the fields of music and art. In 1975, Hogg wrote about this process of collecting antiques.

There were few reliable sources of information at the time and even the most dependable dealers were not informed as to the names of cabinetmakers or the provenance of the items. Early in my collecting, however, I had the good fortune to meet Charles Cornelius, the first curator of the American Wing of the Metropolitan Museum in New York. There followed Joseph Downs and Vincent Andrus as curators of the American Wing, and all of these were of great assistance to me. (vii)

Although far removed from the East coast world of colonial antiques, Warren et al. (1998) wrote that Ima immersed herself in the subject, gaining knowledge through conversations and correspondence with experts and through studying available material on the subject.

In the early 1920s she kept abreast of the field by subscribing to magazines, including *The Antiquarian*; *Arts and Decoration*; *International Studio*; and *The Magazine Antiques*, which, from 1922 through the early 1930s, came to [both Will Hogg's] New York apartment and the Houston residence. (ix)

Warren et al. (1998) continued by describing Ima's growing collection of publications on antiques. "In later years, she noted that in the early 1920s there were no books available on American furniture and glass. However, in the late 1920s and early 1930s, as new publications began to be issued, she immediately enriched her library with these books, each carefully inscribed with her name and the date, usually the year of publication" (x). Noting Ima's pattern of self-directed learning about antiques, Bernhard

(1984) wrote, “She studied; she amassed a library of nearly a thousand volumes on every aspect of antiques and decorative arts” (11).

After World War II, Ima developed a relationship with a “circle of collectors” and “the interaction with [these] collectors proved an important stimulus to Miss Hogg, helping her focus the goals for her own collection” (Warren, et al. 1998, xviii). In March 1956, at a house party given by Ima, one of these collectors, Henry du Pont, “encouraged Ima to leave the collection at Bayou Bend and create a house museum, which is eventually what happened” (Warren et al. 1998, xviii). Du Pont had recently established his family home, Winterthur, in Delaware, as a museum in 1951, which housed the largest collection of American colonial furniture in the United States, 175 period rooms compared to Bayou Bend’s 28 period rooms. To establish Winterthur and Bayou Bend as historic house museums was not a new idea. Butcher-Youngmans (1993) wrote that house museums have a long history in the United States dating back to the 1850s with the saving of Mt. Vernon and, by the 1970s, there were “thousands of house museums across the nation” (1).

Peter Marzio, the Director of the Houston Museum of Fine Arts in 1998, described the uniqueness of Ima’s idea about creating a collection of American colonial antiques in Texas, in the context of the 1920s:

The idea may not seem particularly remarkable today. However, Miss Hogg’s desire to establish such a collection should be viewed in its proper context. The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, the first art museum in Texas, did not open to the public until 1924. That same year, The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York opened its American Wing, the first permanent museum display of American furniture. (vii)

Though Ima originally only intended to collect furniture, she “broadened her scope and acquired paintings, textiles, sculpture, works on paper, metalwork, ceramics, and glass, all of which date from 1620 through 1870” (Marzio 1998, vii). As a source of civic pride, Bayou Bend is unique in that it is “the only such collection of Americana in the Southwestern United States” (Warren 1975, xv). Ima’s goal was to create a collection “so that the people of Texas would benefit from firsthand exposure to their colonial heritage” (Marzio 1998, vii). In a 1970 interview with Dr. Robert Sutherland, Director of the Hogg Foundation for Mental Health from 1940 to 1974, Ima gave her perception of the historical and educational purpose of Bayou Bend:

I know a lot of people say they never realized what American history meant until they went to Bayou Bend. We tried to relate every object to its source and how and why, and respect for the craftsman who made it and the people who owned it. We tried to relate even the history of the people with all that. (MAI 9/u1, Folder Ima Hogg, HFR)

Ima Hogg’s belief in the value of education extended to educational programs developed and offered at Bayou Bend. In 1975, the collection at Bayou Bend “served as the basis for a survey course in American Art at Rice University and augmented courses in American history within the Houston school system” (Warren 1975). Thirty years after Ima’s death, Bayou Bend’s educational program has continued to expand, offering programs for both children and adults. Educational programs include an annual scholarly lecture series, teacher workshops and curriculum materials, school outreach exhibitions, a speaker’s bureau, group tours for adults and students, and an interactive summer history camp for students (Museum of Fine Arts).

Historic Preservation

Ima Hogg continued the tradition of public service demonstrated by her family through her own efforts in the field of historic preservation. In 1966, she received the highest award of the National Trust for Historic Preservation for “achievement in the preservation, restoration, and interpretation of sites, buildings, architecture, districts and objects of national historical or cultural significance” (Bernhard 1984, 129). The reason for this award was Ima’s efforts at preserving historical buildings across Texas. In a 1976 interview with Robert Sutherland, Director of the Hogg Foundation for Mental Health, Ima explained her interest in historic preservation.

Of course, restoration of landmarks is natural for me. We grew up always with a reverence for the past, and Father was always very history-minded. I hated to see the landmarks in Texas being neglected and many of them destroyed; so I became quite interested in that. (MAI 9/u1, Ima Hogg Folder, HFR)

In 1951, Ima had her parents’ original home in Quitman restored including period antiques, and it is now open to visitors (3B168, Folder 1, IHP). During the 1950s, she restored the Hogg family plantation home near West Columbia, furnished it with period antiques, and presented the fifty-acre estate, along with funds for its maintenance, to the Texas State Park Service in 1958. In 1963, she purchased a nineteenth century building in Winedale, Texas, about eighty miles west of Houston, which had been used as a stagecoach inn in the 1800s. When her original idea of moving the building to Bayou Bend proved too expensive, she decided to restore the inn and its out buildings, on site (Bernhard 1984).

Lonn Taylor (1975), Director and Curator of Collections at the Winedale Historic Center from 1970-1977, wrote about Ima’s involvement in the restoration at Winedale,

“When [Ima] was in her eighties she decided to create an outdoor museum at Winedale, and she traveled to the East Coast to examine outdoor museums, attend seminars, and consult with the leading members of the profession on such esoteric subjects as point restoration and wood preservation” (11). Bernhard (1984) described the role Ima played as she immersed herself in the Winedale project.

Ima Hogg personally directed the removal of layers of old paint [from pre-Civil War murals that had been discovered on the ceilings of the upstairs rooms]. She also found a place in New England that could reproduce the heavy handmade nails used in parts of the inn’s construction. She took a cottage nearby and spent her weekends there, climbing around the construction in progress and inspecting every detail. She was then eighty-one. (125)

When the Winedale properties were completed, she furnished the buildings with period antiques and donated all 131 acres, along with an endowment for maintenance, to The University of Texas for use as a museum and research and conference center for the study of Texas history, architecture, and arts and letters (Bernhard 1984, 1996).

Bernhard (1984) noted Ima’s statement about the donation, “I want Winedale to be a laboratory for the revival and restoration of a way of life” (126). Next, Ima purchased an 1861 home, the McGregor house, near Roundtop, Texas, moved to Winedale and restored. To furnish the home with pieces of furniture authentic to the time period, she had “all the available estate records of men who died in Austin and Washington counties from 1855 to 1870 researched to determine exactly what kinds of furnishings were popular in that part of Texas in the Civil War years” (Bernhard 1984, 127). Then, she purchased appropriate pieces for the home. Ima Hogg personally directed all of her restoration projects across the state (Bernhard 1984).

Throughout her life, Ima Hogg displayed an interest in learning, whether formally or informally through self-directed learning. Near the end of her life, the rural community at Winedale and Round Top provided Ima with yet another opportunity for education. At the age of ninety, she signed up for a weekend symposium at Round Top that included workshops and classes on farm life in the Texas Hill country. In a 1975 *Houston Chronicle* article by Ewing, Virginia Elverson, part-time resident who organized the weekend program spoke of Ima's motivation for signing up. "She said that she wanted to learn how to mow hay" (Section 8, page 6).

Section Summary

Ima Hogg's pattern of self-directed learning encompassed the fields of art, antiques, and historic preservation. She gained knowledge by consistently consulting and corresponding with those who were knowledgeable in the field, by personal study of publications of various kinds, and through her own personal observation and study. This pattern of self-directed learning played a significant role in her life and in her choice of service projects as an adult. She demonstrated her idea of service to community by helping to establish and maintain The Museum of Fine Arts in Houston, through both her financial support, her donations of art, and, finally, the bequeathing of her own home as a museum. She felt that it was her civic responsibility to preserve historic structures in various locations across the state of Texas and financed several projects personally. By the 1950s, her knowledge of American colonial period furniture, acquired through self-study, was well known. President Dwight D. Eisenhower appointed her to a committee for the planning of the National Cultural Center, now the Kennedy Center for

Performing Arts, and, in 1962, at the request of Jacqueline Kennedy, she served on the advisory panel that made suggestions for historic furniture for the White House (Bernhard 1996).

The informal educational experiences of Ima Hogg were vital to her success as a community leader. While her formal education provided her with basic knowledge and skills, especially in music and art, it was her lifelong pattern of self-directed learning that brought her the expertise she needed for community leadership. These informal educational experiences provided the framework for acquiring knowledge that benefitted not only Ima, but the beneficiaries of her philanthropy as well.

The Theme of Leadership: Organization, Networking, and Collaboration Skills

The Houston Symphony

In 1962, in a speech to the Women's Committee of the Houston Symphony, Ima Hogg talked how the plans for the symphony were first conceived. She spoke of family and of elements in her childhood and education that influenced her to promote the idea of a symphony orchestra in Houston.

[I] decided to pursue the study of [my] first love, music and the piano, while at The University of Texas. Soon after this, I began to envision a symphony orchestra for Texas, somewhere, somehow, I didn't yet know. The first classical orchestra I remember hearing, and it was a small one, was when it visited The University of Texas. I was deeply stirred. During my musical study, which followed in New York and in Europe, I heard many great orchestras. When I returned to Houston I started wondering how an orchestra could come about here. But it was not too long after much watchful and patient waiting before the opportunity appeared for the making of the orchestra. (4W195, Folder 10, IHP)

At times, Ima Hogg stated that she had not been the leading force behind the beginning of the Houston Symphony (4W195, Folder 10, IHP). In a biographical list of activities

that she had prepared when she was 85, she lists herself as “a” founder of Houston Symphony (Box 3B168, Folder 1, IHP). Other sources, however, attribute the founding to her part in organizing the initial effort (Bernhard 1984; Kirkland 2004; Roussel 1972).

In 1907, a year after the death of her father, Ima Hogg traveled to Europe for the first of several trips she would take in her life, though this time, to continue her study of music. First, in Vienna, Austria, under Franz Scharwenka, pianist to the court of Franz Joseph I, and later, in Berlin under Martin Krause, Ima practiced and developed her technique, supposedly in the pursuit of a career as a concert pianist. Kirkland (2004) wrote “Krause was a protégé of Franz Liszt and wanted to present his talented pupil” but, by the time Ima returned to Houston in 1908, her career path had changed. She did not choose the life of concert pianist, but, instead, taught piano for the next few years, until 1919.

Kirkland (2004) speculated that “family pressures, societal constraints, and a streak of perfectionism as well as her desire for a rooted home life brought Ima back to Houston” (Footnote 318). At the age of ninety-two, in an interview for the Houston Metropolitan Research Center’s Oral History Collection, she stated that she had only been studying for her own pleasure (Ima Hogg, Oral History Collection, MRC). In June of 1979, Bernhard (1984) interviewed Nettie Jones, a friend of Ima’s who recalled Ima saying “the great sorrow of my life is that I was never a concert pianist” (54). Roussel (1972), who has written the only history of the Houston Symphony to date, addressed the issue of Ima’s decision.

Ima Hogg was a realistic young person. During the crossing from Europe, with a chance to think carefully over her life and ambitions, she made an important

decision. She had made up her mind that she lacked the natural equipment for a concert at the first level. Any other kind she would not want to attempt, and so she had accepted the alternative way to remain close to the art of her choice. She would make her offering through the service of teaching. (11)

Moving back to Houston in 1908, Ima immersed herself in the musical events of the city, attending performances of local musicians, and having her piano students perform recitals in her home (Scrapbook 4, IHPC). In 1911, she also helped form a musical organization for young ladies called the Girls' Musical Club (later re-named the Tuesday Musical Club), and served as President for the 1912-1913 season (Kirkland 2004, 325). This organization was a women's study club, in form and in function, whose purpose was stated in the Girls Musical Club Constitution of 1919-1920. "The object of this Club shall be the permanent establishment of an organization for the musical culture of the members and the uplifting of the standard of music in the city of Houston" (Box 2, Folder 1, ERCP). Meetings were held every other Tuesday, from October through June (Constitution of the Girls Musical Club, Box 2, Folder 1, ERCP), and included programs that featured "lecture presentations and instrumental and vocal performances. A leader, who presented a paper and performed, presided at each meeting" with other members performing as well (Kirkland 2004, 326).

Topics of study varied with the theme for the season, such as "American Women Composers" March 3, 1920; "The Romantic Movement," November 27, 1917; and "Claude Debussy," May 10, 1917 (Box 2, Folder 1, ERCP). Several programs were interdisciplinary in nature, and included art, literature, and poetry in the program, as well as music. For example, the first half of the 1919-1920 season, the topics included "Music in Relation to Sculpture," November 18, 1919; "Music in Relation to Architecture,"

December 2, 1919; and “Music in Relation to Painting,” December 16, 1919 (Box 2, Folder 1, ERCP). The 1917-1918 season featured the study of music from European countries and periods, including Scandinavia, February 5, 1918, Italy, January 8, 1918, and The English Renaissance, February 19, 1918 (Box 2, Folder 1, ERCP). Two years after the end of World War I, the club had a program on “The Effect of the War on Music and Musicians,” February 3, 1920, and “The Effect of History on Music,” January 20, 1920, (Box 2, Folder 1, ERCP).

Educational contributions by members, both as lecturers and as performers, were expected, with the Constitution specifying “It shall be the duty of each active member to contribute her part to the program at least three times during the year” (Box 2, Folder 1, ERCP). Regular attendance and punctuality were encouraged, with fines for members who absent without “a valid excuse” and for tardiness (Box 2, Folder 1, ERCP). Not only did the leader present a paper at each meeting, but, during the first five years of its existence, questions related to the presented papers were listed on the bottom of each program and were discussed following the performances. When Ima Hogg was the leader for the November 27, 1917, program, two of the questions related to the program were: “Name the composers of the Romantic movement in music,” and “Define mazurka, polonaise, ballade, scherzo, prelude.” When Ima was one of the performers on the May 10, 1917, program about Debussy, the question related to her performance was: “Point out the essential differences in the work of Debussy and Wagner in treating the same theme, and the resemblance to Gluck” (Box 2, Folder 1, ERCP).

The Girls Musical Club served multiple functions in Ima's life. First, the organized educative experience enabled her to continue her study of music. Second, membership in the club provided opportunities for leadership development in Houston in a field that she loved. Third, Ima developed a network of resources in that the members of this organization were "cultural leaders like artist Emma Richardson Cherry and music patron Katherine Parker; daughters of prominent families, like Nina Cullinan; and talented musicians" (Kirkland 2004, 325), all people that she later called upon in forming the Houston symphony orchestra. And, finally, the organization would serve as a mechanism she used to build a symphony orchestra.

Describing the initial efforts at creating a symphony, Roussel (1972) wrote:

In 1913, Julien Paul Blitz, the director of another musical group, the Treble Clef Club, and a cellist in his own right, had been toying with the idea of organizing a Houston symphony orchestra of his own. He had been unable to find enough backing among his immediate friends, and in late winter, having heard of a ladies committee that was interested in music for the community, he went to Miss Hogg, asking her to help furnish support. She saw an interesting chance and she thought of a plan, which she took to members of her ladies committee of the Girls Musical Club as well as to others in the community. (16)

The result was the creation of a temporary organization, "a society of music lovers," the eventual Houston Symphony Association, that would sponsor a proposed trial concert (Kirkland 2004; Roussel 1972). If the concert was a success, then the organization would plan for a permanent organization with regular concerts.

The concert was held on June 21, 1913 in the Majestic Theater the city's main vaudeville house, and, according to the Houston Post critic Mrs. Wille Hutcheson, was a success.

The concert in many ways was a revelation to Houstonians, who, while realizing in a sort of off-hand way that there is much musical talent in Houston, were yet unaware of the intensity of music study and the breadth of understanding and artistic conception of the majority of Houston musicians. If any want to criticize, the criticism must at least have been tempered with sympathy and appreciation; for while none would claim an afternoon of perfected offerings, there was far more to enjoy and admire than to condemn or sharply criticize. (18-19)

In the November 1913, Ima Hogg and the ladies committee which had organized the trial concert, “met in preliminary discussions and then gathered potential guarantors in the Chamber of Commerce rooms to explain their program, elect officers and [board of] directors” (Kirkland 2004, 332). They formed the Houston Symphony Association for the purpose of “establishing a permanent orchestra and giving seasons of regular concerts” (Roussel 1972, 20). Ima was elected first vice-president and served in this position from 1913-1917 (Kirkland 2004; Roussel 1972). The ladies committee chose the twenty-five members of the board of directors which included most of the business leaders of the community. Kirkland (2004) wrote that,

The women well understood that their persuasive powers could carry them only so far, and they sought an alliance with Houston’s business brokers to secure financial backing among those who might only respond if they could believe music would be good for business. (332)

After establishing a budget, the members of the organization began soliciting financial support in the form of 138 guarantors who would pledge \$25 apiece. In a letter dated 18 November 1913, Will Hogg asks a friend, Bassett Blakely for his contribution of \$25.00 to support the Girls’ Musical Club, of whom his sister Ima was the vice-president, in its drive to establish a Symphony Orchestra in Houston.

They are raising the fund by means of guarantors, of which there must be 125 in the sum of \$25 each. So far the ladies have 103 or 104 guarantors. No one is

bound until the 125 are secured. At the instance of my sister, whom I dare not resist, I write this letter. (3B118, Folder 4, IHP)

Ima's description of the establishment of the symphony organization, "Feminine Fancies: Our Orchestra," was written in 1938, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Houston Symphony.

As a result of the encouragement received from the public and press, a sufficient number of music lovers joined together to form a permanent society for the first season of three concerts, including pay for musicians on the union scale and for the conductor. The little Board of Directors began the first campaign for subscription by dividing the telephone directory alphabetically. The Board literally carried on a campaign of education with the patient explanation of the oft-repeated question 'Just what is a symphony orchestra anyhow'? (3B168, Folder 5, IHP)

Kirkland (2004) noted that the first season of the symphony, 1913-1914, was a success, as were the next three. The significant role that Ima Hogg played in the initial formation of the Houston Symphony is demonstrated by a photocopy of the Registration with the State of Texas by the Houston Symphony Orchestra Association with the intent to "hereby voluntarily associate ourselves together for the purpose of forming a private corporation" with the stated purpose of "the promotion of music as set out in subdivision 3 of Article 1121. Revised Statute of 1911" (Scrapbook 1, Houston Symphony, MRC). There are five signatures of the directors of the Symphony Association on the document, four men and Ima Hogg.

Ima Hogg was elected President of the Symphony Association in 1917-1918, and was also involved in other civic organizations such as the Chautagua Club. However, according to Kirkland (2004) and Rousell (1972), World War I gradually took its toll on the Houston Symphony and on Ima Hogg. Kirkland (2004) noted that, because Germany

was the enemy, music from Ima's favorite German composers, was not allowed on symphony programs. Rousell (1972) wrote that, "The Symphony went through with the 1917-1918 season," wrote Rousell (1972), but, as the season ended "the directors voted to not attempt a sixth season because men were leaving to be trained for war" (26). The Symphony Association continued to sponsor local musical groups and traveling orchestras to perform in Houston until 1930, when a hometown symphony orchestra was again formed.

Ima wrote of the disbanding of the symphony in her one page history of the orchestra, "Feminine Fancies: Our Orchestra," in 1938.

It was the war which made such inroads on the personnel of the orchestra that it had to be temporarily disbanded. But, there remained CASH in the BANK-enough in fact to help the same symphony society to finance another trial concert so recently presented [in 1929] [emphasis in original]. (3B168, Folder 5, IHP)

Ima's direct involvement in the symphony association ceased in the period between 1919 and 1924. Kirkland (2004) speculated "Ima [had] exhausted herself [after the war] trying to sustain the civic music movement" (337). Rousell (1972) explained "[In 1919], Miss Hogg suffered an illness that caused her to remain long in hospital, and when it ended she was not at once able to resume her accustomed activities" (29). Between 1918 and 1924, Ima was ill with a variety of physical and emotional issues, and did not reside in Houston for long periods of time (Bernhard 1984; Kirkland 2004; Rousell 1972). In her 1970 interview with Robert Sutherland, Ima described her health problems between 1918 and 1924, saying that first, she "took flu" during the [1918] flu epidemic in Houston, then developed spinal meningitis and "had a mastoid operation in

Philadelphia in June 1919,” then “took pneumonia in 1920,” had an emergency appendectomy in June 1921 (MAI 9/u1, Folder 12, HFR).

Ima’s leadership efforts to establish a symphony orchestra in Houston on a permanent and financially stable basis resumed in 1929. At that time, Ima was again living in Houston. Her efforts from 1929 through 1956, demonstrate her organization, networking, and collaboration skills, and her vision of public service to the community through the establishment and maintenance of a major cultural institution, the Houston Symphony.

First, she began the re-establishment of the symphony with a series of networking actions in 1929. She had questionnaires sent to symphony organizations and music conservatories across the country, Cleveland, Milwaukee, Seattle, Portland, and San Francisco, asking about organizational and financial issues (3B174, Folder 1, IHP). She also attempted to identify possible candidates for conductor. In a series of telegrams in June 1929, she attempted to recruit Alfred Casella, the Boston Pops conductor from 1927-1929 (3B174, Folder 1, IHP). Ima, on her way to Europe in June 1929, met with Alfred Casella in New York City to discuss the Houston position, but he declined (3B174, Folder 1, IHP). The Houston Symphony hired a conductor, who stayed with the orchestra for the next five years, and concerts began again in 1931 (Kirkland 2004; Roussel 1972).

Second, she used her networking and organizational skills to successfully raise funds for the symphony. Fundraising for the Houston Symphony during the Depression was not an easy task. Members of the Symphony Association struggled each season

between 1930 and 1937, to sell subscriptions to cover the cost of musicians pay and other symphony expenses (Rousell 1972). When asked by the Symphony Association President Walter Walne to be the first General Chairman of the Women's Committee in 1937, she created a highly efficient and successful organization that met the symphony's financial goals for the next twenty years. As she stated in 1962 on the 25th Anniversary of that founding, "By the time this occurred, I had a picture of what was needed to create an organization for its promotion. Through all the years I had longed to see an active Women's Committee organized. Plans had long been formulating in my mind, waiting to be used" (4W195, Folder 10, IHP). She served as General Chairman of the Committee from 1937-1939, and as a member until her death (Bernhard 1984; Kirkland 2004). Kirkland (2004) noted that "The Women's Committee [with Ima as chair] took over the subscription drive, then the Symphony's only source of assured revenue, and immediately introduced innovations that allowed the board to increase its goals year after year, even in the slow economic times of the late 1930s (356-357).

An example of Ima's organizational ability can be found in her preparation for each year's subscription campaign. First, she employed a campaign manager and secretary and set up offices in her home, even after she was no longer chair. Second, she then organized all the women volunteers into nineteen different committees that covered all aspects of the community. A copy of Ima's original hierarchical flow chart showing all nineteen subcommittees of the Women's Committee can be found in *The Program Commemorating 25 Years of Service to the Houston Symphony by the Women's Committee 1937-1961* (4W195, Folder 9, IHP). Each committee was organized by

occupation and/or location of prospective donors i.e., (Doctors Committee, Lawyers Committee, Church Committee, etc.), with explanations of the specific duties and responsibilities of each committee director, each committee, and each committee member, including detailed directions on how to secure subscriptions (4W195, Folder 9, IHP).

Another example of her leadership skills was her ability to use networking and collaboration as well as persuasion and appeal to civic pride to marshal the efforts of a large number of middle and upper class Houston women to volunteer their time to sell subscriptions for the symphony. The February 13, 1937 edition of *The Houston Chronicle* shows a photograph of women arriving at Bayou Bend with the caption, “Greetings were in order as members of the Master Committee assembled for work at the home of Miss Ima Hogg” (17). A photo in *The Houston Post* for March 30, 1937, shows 250 women at the River Oaks Country Club with the caption, “the 1937 subscription campaign was launched at a luncheon meeting of 250 workers with Miss Ima Hogg presiding” (14). In describing the 1938 subscription campaign, Kirkland (2004) quoted a 1938 *Houston Post* article that “estimated that [400] women working for three weeks were able to check 22,000 prospect names in 700 hours of volunteer labor” (357).

In 1956, at the end of what would be her final term as Association President, the President of the Women’s Committee spoke of Ima’s leadership. “Without Miss Ima Hogg, the Women’s Committee would not be what it is today. In fact, it might not even exist. She began it, she was its first chairman, and has been its pilot and beacon. She still

is” (3B168, Folder 5, IHP. Kirkland (2004) noted “Ima set a course still followed nearly seventy years later” (356).

To Ima Hogg, the Houston Symphony was a symbol of civic pride, something that everyone in the community should be able to enjoy. As President of the Symphony, she adopted a slogan that illustrated her belief in the symphony as a source of pride for the entire community, “Music for Everybody” (Kirkland 2004, 373). In describing her perception of the symphony in her “Feminine Fancies” of 1938, she explained that, “It matters not whether one be a number of the faithful workers or a generous donor, cherished subscriber, discerning critic, tired businessman, famed city father, intelligent working girl, or appreciative colored maid-all can participate” (3B168, Folder 5, IHP). In a speech to a radio audience fifteen years later, in 1953, she stated, “This is truly Houston’s orchestra” (3B168, Folder 5, IHP).

To make this vision possible, Ima initiated several programs when she served as President of the Symphony Association from 1946-1956: free outdoor summer concerts, radio broadcasts from the Music Hall, concerts for students at reduced prices, ensemble performances at junior and senior high schools, and concerts for young adults (Kirkland 2004; Roussel 1972). In 1952, she initiated the Painting to Music program to “award prizes for art inspired by student performances where winning entries were displayed in the foyer during performances” (Kirkland 2004, 374). This connection between art and music reflects the heritage of the original Tuesday Musical Club, of which Ima was a member, and was expanded in 1955, while Ima was president, to include artwork from the major Houston Museums, displayed in the Music Hall foyer during performances

(Kirkland 2004; 3B168, Folder 5, IHP). Ima spoke of this program at an Association meeting in 1955:

We were delighted when Mr. Stokowski [the conductor of the Houston Symphony at the time] requested that pictures be hung at the Music Hall during our concerts. This was quite in accord with the policy which the Symphony has tried to practice. We feel this coordination of the Visual Arts with music will give a deeper appreciation and interest in the underlying principles of all creative art. We are grateful for the ready cooperation of the Houston Museum of Fine Arts, the Contemporary Arts Association, the Houston Art League, and the many individuals for making this possible. (3B168, Folder 5, IHP)

In support of education, she endowed the Ima Hogg Scholarship Fund, which provides scholarships for students pursuing a career in music. Her dedication to bringing classical music to Houston audiences and to encouraging the talent of young musicians is still seen in the Ima Hogg National Young Artist Competition and in the continued financial support of the Houston Symphony by the Hogg Foundation three decades after her death.

Describing Ima's management style as both "democratic" and "autocratic," Kirkland (2004) wrote, "For nearly forty years no decision was taken with consulting her wishes" (376-378). She wanted her vision for the orchestra to be everyone's vision. Rousell (1972) characterized Ima as "[the Symphony's] exigent Juno, never easy to please, and at the same time its most devoted angel" (47). Describing Ima's influence on the Houston Symphony, especially in choosing conductors, a *Time Magazine* article dated February 7, 1955, said that she "reigns as an absolute empress" (8). Following in the family tradition of public service through civic leadership, Ima Hogg used her leadership skills to establish and maintain the Houston Symphony Orchestra, from 1913-

1919, and from 1929 until her death in 1975. Kirkland (2004) summarized the significance of Ima's role in the history of the Houston Symphony.

Ima is credited as founder of the Houston Symphony Orchestra Association and lauded as its guardian angel from 1913 until her death in 1975. The scant extant records bear witness to her pivotal role in launching the Symphony movement in 1913, in reorganizing the struggling association in 1929-1931, in pushing the established regional orchestra to national and international prominence during her 1946-1956 presidency, and in securing top-flight conductors during the 1950s and 1960s. (327-328)

Mental Health: Self-Directed Learning and Community Leadership

Ima Hogg demonstrated her service to community and civic leadership in the field of mental health or mental hygiene, as it was called in the early twentieth century, through the establishment of the Child Guidance Center in Houston and the Hogg Foundation for Mental Hygiene (later Mental Health) at The University of Texas. Rosanoff (1938) defined mental hygiene as “the science and practice of the preservation of mental health and efficiency” (749). Crow and Crow (1951) described its three major purposes:

(1) the prevention of mental disorders through an understanding of the relationship that exists between wholesome personality development and life experiences; (2) the preservation of the mental health of the individual and of the group; and (3) the discovery and utilization of therapeutic measures to cure mental illness. (4)

The mental hygiene movement started in the first decade of the twentieth century by Clifford Beers and Adolph Meyer. The treatment that Beers received in different mental institutions for three years prompted him to write an autobiography in 1908, and to seek, along with Meyer, a leading psychiatrist, improvement in the treatment of the mentally ill (Crow and Crow 1951). They helped organize the National Committee for

Mental Hygiene in 1909, a voluntary organization of physicians and laymen (Crow and Crow 1951).

Ima Hogg described how her interest in mental health began in a series of interviews in 1961, 1967, and 1970, with Robert Sutherland. In a 1967 interview, Sutherland asked Ima about her father and his visits to asylums.

I went with my father through the wards and with the doctors when I was eight or nine or ten, all the way through father's administration. One time my mother and I visited a family in San Antonio. She had gone over there to consult Dr. Hirsch, and we stayed about a week. And that time I was in the wards all the time. And I talked with patients. The doctor permitted me to do that, and I was so interested in the, I thought, well, someday I'd like to be a nurse in a mental hospital. I really wanted to. Those dear people, they loved to talk about their families, they wanted to talk more than anything. (MAI 9/u1, Folder Ima Hogg, HFR)

Ima spoke of her interest in mental health again on June 8, 1968, when receiving the Santa Rita Award from The University of Texas.

While he was Governor and I was still a child, [my father] frequently carried me along on his inspection tours of the State Hospitals and penitentiaries. I heard him discuss case histories of many inmates and talk with them. After I became involved in the cause of mental health, I used to wonder how my father could have known as much as he seemed to. Rather recently I discovered a volume from his library, '*Responsibility in Mental Disease*' by Henry Maudesly, published in London in 1878, a volume from his library, the margins of which had been marked by my father, which answered my question. (MS21, 13, Folder 1, IHP)

When asked in a 1970 interview how she first became interested in mental health, she talked about the influence of her younger brother.

I had a young brother, my youngest brother, Tom, who was the most outgoing, sweet child you ever knew. I had an aunt [Fannie] who was a very high powered woman, and she didn't like him. She punished him for everything he did. It worried me to no end. So when I went to the University I took a course in psychology and child development under Dr. Ellis, and that's when I first began to be interested and wondering, I didn't know, I wondered, what could be done to counteract these things. (MAI 9/u1, Folder Ima Hogg, HFR)

Kirkland (2001) and Bernhard (1984) both speculated that another possible for Ima's interest in mental health issues, was her own bout with depression, first, after her father's death in 1906 and, then again, from 1918-1924. From 1918-1924, several physicians treated Ima for various physical and emotional maladies, but she never admitted, at that time or later, that she suffered from any form of mental illness. She later stated that it was a combination of fatigue and physical ailments (Kirkland 2001).

According to Ima's statement in a 1967 interview, the treatment by physician and therapist, Dr. Austin Fox Riggs from November 1923 to February 1924, made a lasting impression on her understanding of what mental health could be. "I think Dr. Riggs was a great forerunner of mental health. I knew him quite well, and he gave me exceedingly good advice" (MAI 9/u1, Folder Ima Hogg, HFR). According to the website history at the Austen Riggs Treatment Center in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, Dr. Riggs, a New York internist, became interested in psychiatry and psychology while recuperating from tuberculosis in 1907. "Influenced by the mental hygiene movement of the time, he developed his own system of treatment based on talk therapy combined with a structured routine of daily activities that emphasized a balance between play, rest, and exercise" (Austen Riggs Center). In an article describing his significance to American psychiatry, Millet (1969), wrote:

As early as 1913, ten years before Freud turned his attention to this field, Austen Fox Riggs had developed a fully integrated conceptual system of ego psychology. As a by-product of his work he developed specialized services which are today recognizable in the fields of student mental health, child guidance, and community psychiatry and in the teaching of psychosomatic medicine. (948-949)

When asked in a 1970 interview about her treatment by Riggs, Ima explained:

I had insomnia terribly and I went to Stockbridge, Massachusetts, to Dr. Riggs and asked what in the world I could do. Of course, he never gave any medicine, luckily. Never gave any sleeping pills. He put me in a room next to the church where the bell rang every quarter hour. And I said, "Why, Dr. Riggs, that bell keeps me awake," He said, "Well, you have nothing to do with that bell. That's not your responsibility." And I learned to sleep. When Father had heart trouble I used to listen for him at night and that's what started me not sleeping. (MAI 9/u1, Folder Ima Hogg, HFR)

Ima noted Riggs's influence on her understanding of mental health in a draft of a letter to the Hogg Foundation Board of Regents in March of 1962.

Dr. Austin Riggs introduced me to the equally important area of positive health. He taught me that not only that much mental illness can be prevented but also that all of us can function more effectively if we learn how to live with our emotions, and, if they become our allies in achieving important goals instead of implicating factors of inner conflict. (MAI 9/u1, Folder Ima Hogg Correspondence, 1962, HFR)

In a 1967 interview, Ima spoke of how Dr. Riggs influenced her idea of a child guidance center for Houston.

I asked [Dr. Riggs] one time, "Why is it that something isn't done before people have any trouble to prevent mental illness? And he said there was this foundation, The National Committee for Mental Health and it had established the first child guidance centers. So I asked Dr. Riggs where in the world I could see one because I had an idea they'd be a fine thing to establish somewhere in Texas. (MAI 9/u1, Folder Ima Hogg Folder, HFR)

During the 1920s, after her treatment and conversations with Dr. Riggs, Ima began a self-directed program to study mental health issues with the goal of beginning a clinic in Houston. She joined the National Association for Mental Health and brought experts in the field, such as Dr. George Stevenson, Director of the Division of Community Clinics for the Commonwealth Fund, to Houston to discuss the possibility of beginning a clinic in Houston (Sutherland interview, May 10, 1967, MAI 9/u1, Folder 12, HFR).

In 1929, just a few years after her own physical and emotional problems, Ima demonstrated her desire to improve community mental health resources in Houston, by taking a leadership role in establishing the Houston Child Guidance Clinic, an organization that provided mental health services for children and adults. A one-page history of the Guidance Center attached to a letter from Board of Directors President J. C. Flanagan in 1951, reported that the Houston Child Guidance Clinic:

Organized itself as a non-profit, charitable corporation and in May, 1929, was granted a charter from the State of Texas to operate. A professional staff was employed and the clinic was formally opened November 1, 1929. After operating for two years on funds donated by Board members and other patrons, it was accepted as a member of the Community Chest which provided two-thirds of the clinic's budget." (4W235, Folder 1, IHP)

The Guidance Clinic was referred to as the Bureau of Mental Hygiene in the 1940s, the Guidance Center of Houston in 1950 and has been part of the DePelchin Children's Center since 1992 (Kirkland 1998).

According to the constitution of the Child Guidance Center of Houston, the purpose of the organization included, "the psychiatric examination, diagnosis, and treatment of children and adults, an educational program for the improvement of mental hygiene in the community, and the fostering of research in the field of mental hygiene" (4W235, Folder 3, IHP). These goals coincided with Ima's advocacy of a visiting teacher program in the Houston school district while she was a board member from 1943-1949, and her desire to train professionals, police and probation departments, and the juvenile courts who worked with delinquent children, (Kirkland 2001).

Ima continued her program of self-directed study of mental health throughout her life and joined organizations that provided publications and conferences. In the Minutes

of the Planning and Policies Committee Meetings of the Houston Bureau of Mental Hygiene from 1944-1945, she discussed conversations and correspondence she had with experts around the state as well as visits she made to other child guidance clinics, such as Dallas (4W235, Folder 3, IHP). She attended lectures about mental health issues and personally read about the subject, bringing reading material about mental health to the staff of the Child Guidance Center and to committee meetings (Minutes of the Planning and Policies Committee, 1944-1945, 4W235, Folder 3, IHP).

Records in the Ima Hogg Papers indicate that Ima was not a silent benefactor in the Guidance Center, but an active participant in shaping the direction of the agency for the next two decades. Minutes of meetings of the Planning and Policies Committee that determined the direction of the organization show that Ima was Chair of the Committee from 1937-1940, and from 1943-1947. The Minutes for the June 23, 1944, meeting held in Ima's home, show that Ima is clearly directing the actions of the organization. Statements like "Miss Hogg opened the meeting by referring to the outline which had prepared in advance and sent to each committee member," "Miss Hogg thought we should be in a position to give counseling to other agencies," Miss Hogg stressed the need for preparing people in handling youth and said there should be in-service training courses where credits would be obtained and Dr. Waterman [the Director] should give these courses," Miss Hogg next called attention to lecture courses which she thinks very necessary in Houston especially for staff member," Miss Hogg next brought up the question of talks by staff members at public meetings," Miss Hogg next brought up the question of fellowships," "Miss Hogg said that there should be enough records kept in

our clinic,” and “Miss Hogg next brought up the question of having a liaison committee” (4W235, Folder 3, IHP).

Kirkland (2001) noted Ima’s significant role in the Guidance Clinic.

Hogg’s most sustained influence on the center’s success lay in her steady interest in the board’s public education and long-range planning capacities. She shaped the board’s character by acting as chairperson of the nominating committee in 1931, 1932, 1937, and 1944, and took direct responsibility for hiring and firing of personnel and reviewing performance while serving on the personnel committee. She served on the selection committee that searched for new directors in 1934, 1938, and 1943. (435)

Minutes of the Planning and Policies committee for 1945 indicate a similar pattern and show Ima’s direct influence on key personnel in determining the educational goals of the organization (4W235, Folder 3, IHP). The minutes for the meeting of Planning Committee held October 30, 1945, at Ima’s home reported that:

Miss Hogg stated that she had a long conference with Dr. Waterman on the work of the clinic. She had made some suggestions as to the kind of analysis of the year’s work to be put into his annual report. Dr. Waterman had outlined a plan for a full-time psychiatrist to be attached to the staff. Miss Hogg has asked him to write out this plan. Miss Hogg said that she would like to see a concise report of the year’s activities of the organization to be made in addition to the annual report and mailed out to other agencies and kept at the clinic for any person who might be interested. (3W235, Folder 3, IHP)

In an example of her organizational skills, Ima developed and used similar methods for raising funds for both the Guidance Center and the Houston Symphony, until 1941, “when the entire budget was obtained from the Community Chest” (4W235, Folder 1, IHP). For example, the form given to committee members for obtaining financial pledges for both organizations had a similar numbered instructional design, similar talking points, a similar step-by-step procedure, and, in some place, the exact language. Item number twenty-two indicated a hierarchical organizational plan similar to

the one used by the Women's Committee of the Houston Symphony in that it requested that the committee member "give telephone numbers to your captain" (4W235, Folder 1, IHP). One major difference was item number eighteen, which asked the guidance center committee member to "Inform yourself along lines of *Psychology of Mental Health*. Read Clinic pamphlets and suggested books. Local book stores have these as well as Public Library" (4W235, Folder 1, IHP).

In her support of the Houston Symphony for seven decades, Ima had used a collaborative model, drawing together various constituencies in the community. Her vision for mental health services for children was no different. In a 1961 interview, she explained.

You see, there are three steps. [First], a person who was getting a degree in education would be required to have a short course in social psychiatry, only enough for them to be conversant with and recognize the problems. They would not have to treat them. The visiting teacher would treat them and, when it gets beyond the visiting teacher, it goes to the clinic. (MAI 9/u1)

On a state level, Ima's vision for mental health services for communities was carried out by the establishment of the Hogg Foundation for Mental Health, an organization that came about because of the legacy of Ima's brother, William. In 1930, Ima Hogg's older brother William died, and the provisions of his will bequeathed most of his estate to his alma mater, The University of Texas, but did not specify exactly how the money was to be used, only that his sister, Ima, and brother, Michael, would make that determination (4W239, Folder 2, IHP). Between 1930 and 1938, they discussed several ways that they could honor their brother's wishes. Finally, Ima and Michael Hogg conceived of a "broad mental health program of great benefit to the people of

Texas” (The University of Texas, Hogg Foundation for Mental Health), a program that would provide a variety of university mental health services across the state. The result was the formation, in 1940, of the Hogg Foundation for Mental Hygiene (later Health) at The University of Texas (4W239, Folder 2, IHP). “Its initial mission was to educate the people of Texas about mental hygiene, a little-known concept at the time, by sending experts and scholars across the state to promote the positive, preventive, and therapeutic aspects of mental health” (The University of Texas, Hogg Foundation for Mental Health).

To carry out the program envisioned by Ima and Michael Hogg, the Board of Regents hired Dr. Robert L. Sutherland, Head of the Department of Social Sciences at Bucknell University, as the first Director of the Hogg Foundation, in June of 1940 (Letter to Ima Hogg from Dr. Homer Rainey, President of The University of Texas, MAI 19/u25, Folder “Planning to Inauguration, February 1941,” IHP). In February of 1941, Sutherland initiated the first step in the educational program of the Hogg Foundation for Mental Health. In February 3, 1941, he issued a statement announcing “To Texans Interested in Public Education and Mental Hygiene:”

Speakers will be sent to various communities for the purpose of stimulating the local agencies in their educational work. In addition to the lectureships, the Foundation will give major attention to the co-ordination and extension of mental hygiene services throughout the State. [It] is interested in co-operating with the school guidance officers, social workers, doctors, ministers, lawyers, and other professional groups. (4W239, Folder1, IHP)

Ima Hogg envisioned an advisory role for herself in the Hogg Foundation and, corresponded with Sutherland, for thirty-four years, on a regular basis, usually making what she called “suggestions” to his ideas and plans for the organization. In essence, she

was helping to establish the direction for the Foundation's programs (Kirkland 2001). In a letter dated September 30, 1944, Ima "suggested" revisions to Sutherland's draft of the Hogg Foundation Community Health Program.

The draft of your Community Health Program is really so comprehensive and fine I don't think you need my comment. I suggested a few things to you on the phone which had come to my mind before I had read your paper and afterwards I still felt that some of the points could be emphasized a little more. (4W239, Folder 2, IHP)

Ima continued the letter with two pages of detailed suggestions for changes in the draft of the plan for the Community Health Program that Sutherland had sent her (4W239, Folder 2, IHP). A similar pattern was reflected in other correspondence between the two, especially in the first years of the organization, from 1940-1950 (4W239, Folder 2, IHP). In a 1970 retrospective history of the organization's first thirty years, Wayne Holtzman, the Foundation's Director after Sutherland retired, referred to Ima's role in the Hogg Foundation as the "chief creator," while Sutherland was depicted as the "architect and builder" (Holtzman 1970, 9). As shown above, correspondence from Ima to Sutherland between 1940 and 1950, does not always support that depiction.

One of Ima's main goals in the Child Guidance Clinic, the Hogg Foundation, and in her vision for mental health services across the state was training and education about mental health issues for those who work with children. In a 1962 draft of remarks to The University of Texas, Board of Regents, Ima explained her vision.

If achieving mental health is an important goal along with physical well-being, then the discoveries of how to do it, in other words the principle of good living, need to be incorporated in the family and neighborhood experience of the child and his educational development from nursery school to graduate study. (MAI 9/u1, Folder "Ima Hogg Correspondence, 1962, IHP)

In a 1961 interview, she described the issue as it pertained to teacher training. “If there were some way the state education, the Texas Education Agency, could emphasize the need for every teacher having a short course in psychiatry, social psychiatry, then they would know what a child needs. I think every educator should have it” (MAI 9/u1). Her advice in the matter of mental health issues and teacher training was sought after, as a letter to Ima from the president of Southwest Texas State Teachers College in San Marcos, in April 1943, asking for a meeting with Ima about teacher education and mental hygiene, attests (4W237, Folder 3, IHP).

Ima worked with leaders in higher education to establish programs in social work for graduate students at colleges and universities. In 1947, she supported the committee to establish a Graduate School of Social Work at The University of Texas, which received legislative approval in 1949 (Letter from Ima Hogg to Herman Jones, President, Texas Social Welfare Association, February 13, 1947, 4W237, Folder 1, IHP). The Hogg Foundation for Mental Health supported graduate study for those wishing to obtain advanced degrees in social work by establishing the Ima Hogg Scholarships in Mental Health in 1957. In 2008, five scholarships of \$5,000 each were awarded to individuals pursuing a Master in Social Work through an accredited Texas program (University of Texas, Hogg Foundation for Mental Health).

Ima kept government officials and members of the Texas informed of her views concerning mental health issues. For example, Governor Allan Shivers wrote to Ima in March of 1951, saying, “I am very grateful to you for giving me your views on the proposed reorganization of the Board for State Hospitals and Special Schools” (4W267,

Folder 1, IHP). Writing to State Senator Jimmy Phillips in April of 1947, Ima reminded him of the importance of certain bills pending in the legislature that dealt with a graduate school of social work, assistance to physically and mentally handicapped, and a psychopathic hospital. “They are measures which, I feel, deeply affect the future well-being of our citizens. I am recommending their passage to you and I trust you will see their value as I do and give them your hearty support” (4W267, Folder 1, IHP).

The Hogg Foundation continues to provide for education and services in mental health for children and adults across the state, the original vision of Ima based on her brother Will’s bequest. In 2008, the mission statement of the Hogg Foundation for Mental Health was “to promote improved mental health for the people of Texas through the support of health services, research, policies, and education” (University of Texas, Hogg Foundation for Mental Health). During the period 2006-2008, the Foundation awarded grants to support their three key priority areas: \$2.6 million for integrated health care initiatives, \$2.9 million for cultural competence, and \$500,000 for workforce development, according to Merrell Foote, Director of Communications for the Hogg Foundation for Mental Health (Conversation with author, August 11, 2008).

Ima Hogg’s leadership in mental health education and programs reflected the influence of informal education through family and personal experience. As a child, she was inspired by her father’s interest in the subject and his concern over patients’ treatment. As an adult she became knowledgeable about mental health through a program of self-directed study. Following a family tradition of public service to the community, she developed institutions that provided mental health resources to children

and families across the state. Kirkland (2001) noted “Through civic involvement, Hogg could be her father’s worthy daughter, but she could also forge her own identity as an independent visionary of the healthy community” (427). Ima’s support for education in mental health issues was incorporated into her vision of improving the overall education of Houston students when she took on another community leadership role as a member of the Houston ISD school board in 1943.

The Houston School Board

Ima Hogg was elected and served, as a member of the Houston ISD school board from 1943-1949. Public service on the Houston school board provided Ima the opportunity to demonstrate her leadership skills while working on community projects that involved education and mental health, music, and art. During her term as trustee, she took a leadership role in establishing a visiting teacher program for troubled youth, improving the music program in the district, establishing a traveling art program for all schools, and voting to increase salaries for teachers (Box 3B168, Folder 1, IHP). The leadership positions that she held during her time on the board were assistant secretary from 1944-1946, secretary from September 1946 to May 1947, and vice-president from 1947-1949. “During one typical week, Hogg’s schedule listed the board meeting, visits to nine schools, and activities with six other organizations” (Kirkland 1998, 465).

When explaining her reasons for running for the school board, Hogg talked about the importance of a “women’s point of view” in a speech before the Woman’s Club on March 23, 1943.

My reasons for running for a place on the Houston school board are very simple. First of all, I believe the citizens of Houston are entitled to have two women

representatives out of seven on the board of education. The women's point of view on problems of education and policies affecting schools would obviously not be amiss. I do not think the voters of Houston should overlook the justice of this claim. Position No. 3 was ably filled by a woman, Mrs. B. F. Coop, for many years until her resignation last Autumn. This is the position for which I have been asked to offer myself. (4W237, Folder 3, IHP)

She continued by describing her belief in public service, particularly at that time, during World War II.

The sacrifices which our men and women on the battlefield are making are a challenge to every man, woman, and child on the home front which can be met only through a willingness to serve wherever needed to the utmost of one's capacity, without thought of self. When my friends urged me to run, I felt this was no time to consider one's preference for some other form of service not in the public eye, or for duties perhaps less taxing and less time consuming. (4W237, Folder 3, IHP)

Discussing Ima's 'point of view' remark in the speech, Bernhard (1984) wrote "Ima Hogg was never a militant feminist" (90). Kirkland (1998), however, explained that there had been a tradition in Houston since 1917, that the Houston school board had two female trustees.

After she was elected and before she took office or attended her first meeting, Ima began a program of self-directed study. "She spent a month gathering information, reading, and visiting schools" (Kirkland 1998, 475). A letter to the superintendent of documents in Washington, D.C., dated April 20, 1943, requested several pamphlets, including *Know Your School Board*, *Know your Superintendent*, *Know Your School Principal*, and *How Schools are Financed* (4W237, Folder 4, IHP). In a letter setting up a meeting with Dr. Frank O'Brien, Associate Superintendent of New York Schools, Ima wrote, "It is going to be very interesting, but I am not unaware of the complex problems which the situation here presents" (4W237, Folder 4, IHP). After visiting classrooms in

New York City and meeting Dr. O'Brien, she wrote to him when she returned home. "It was nice to have had the talk with you in New York and I feel you helped me clarify a good many things in my own mind" (4W237, Folder 4, IHP).

During her first year on the board, Ima Hogg was placed on two of the four standing committees, the New School Properties and Future Construction Committee and the Lunch Room Committee, which oversaw all of the operations of all school lunchrooms. As chair of this last committee, she demonstrated her leadership ability in supervising business operations for one hundred cafeterias throughout the district.

Kirkland (1998) described the scope of Ima's duties.

The lunchrooms, which provided forty thousand meals each day, received no tax revenues and were expected to support their operations from meal sales. No detail escaped Hogg's attention: the cost of milk or ice cream, the contract with the meat dealer, absent employees caring for sick children, the cost of gas, health regulations, truck purchases, [and] desirable types of dishwashing machines. (Kirkland 1998, 481)

Kirkland (1998) continued her description by noting Ima's success as chair of the Lunch Room committee. "Hogg operated the lunchroom department with a surplus that was used to upgrade equipment, to improve salaries for employees, and to provide low-cost, healthy meals for all children" (481-482).

Ima's work as Chair of the Committee on Recommendations for a Visiting Teacher Program from 1944-1949, demonstrated both her leadership skills and her interest in mental health services. Visiting teachers were trained school social workers (Crow and Crow 1951). The Houston school district had employed two visiting teachers from 1930-1933, but the program was discontinued during the Depression years, according to the Visiting Teacher Program published September 14, 1953, by the Office

of the Superintendent (4W237, Folder 1, IHP). In helping to re-establish the visiting teacher program in the Houston school district, Ima demonstrated leadership skills in organizing, networking, and promoting a collaborative model.

First, after being appointed to the Visiting Teacher Committee by the Houston School Board on October 9, 1944, Ima began networking to research and gather the most up-to-date information, this time, not for her own self-directed learning, but to persuade the board to re-establish the visiting teacher program as a regular part of the school program (4W237, Folder 1, IHP). She sent out letters to districts all over the country and obtained information about visiting programs in cities such as Rochester, New York, Kansas City, El Paso, and New Orleans (4W237, Folder 1, IHP). She researched information from the American Association of Visiting Teachers bulletin, *Visiting Teacher Services Today*; the U.S. Office of Education Bulletin 1939, *Clinical Organization for Child Guidance Within the Schools* and from questionnaires sent to various cities by the Houston Council of Social Agencies (4W237, Folder 1, IHP).

Second, she brought the director of the New Orleans school district visiting teacher program, Carmelita Janvier, to Houston, and worked collaboratively with her in making recommendations in her final report to the school board. Kirkland (1998) wrote of Ima's collaborative 'use' of Janvier in the community.

[Ima] arranged meetings and dinners for this expert [Janvier] to share her knowledge of visiting teacher programs with public school staff and representatives from community agencies, with the Board of Education, and with the "colored Principals to discuss their needs and problems." Significantly, Hogg made sure that all constituencies were exposed to the expert's eloquence. (487)

Ima used a collaborative model in obtaining information from community resources as well as keeping different constituencies in the school district and in the community informed of the progress of her committee. Kirkland (1998) wrote “she interviewed school administrators and representatives of community agencies to see how a program could be implemented in Houston and met frequently with the superintendent to formulate recommendations” (487). Sometime late in October or early November 1944 (handwritten note at the top of the speech lists both months), Ima addressed the Houston Teachers Association, a group whose support would be vital in making the visiting Teacher Program a success. In her speech, she covered a range of topics pertaining to a Visiting Teachers Program. First, she explained the term “visiting teacher.”

What is a Visiting Teacher? She is an expertly trained psychiatric social worker, or school visitor, or counselor, or social case worker. She has a B.A. degree in social work in the field of psychiatric social work or social case work. So you see she has the point of view of the teacher as educator, and the social case worker with a community perspective. (4W237, Folder 1, IHP)

Next, she described the duties of the Visiting Teacher in relation to the classroom teacher.

She does not teach in the classroom, nor advise teachers concerning techniques of teaching subject matter, but she should have had classroom teaching experience. She is attached to the school, and it is her business to assist the teacher and principal in solving any problems which interfere with the child’s progress in any way. Her work is to aid and supplement that of the teacher, or any member of the school personnel who asks for her assistance. (4W237, Folder 1, IHP)

She continued, listing ten services and duties of visiting teachers and the kinds of problem children that might be referred to a visiting teacher. Next, she explained the

process that would happen when a child was referred. She also discussed the issue of possible salaries for visiting teachers as well as a brief overview of the history of visiting teacher programs in the United States citing information she had received from districts all over the country. She finished the speech by asking the following three questions. “How many of you are troubled with problems in your schoolroom? Do you feel the need for advice or assistance in adjusting your problems? How many of you have worked in school systems which have Visiting Teachers?” (4W237, Folder 1, IHP).

In the speech to the Teacher Association, Ima used the idea of collaboration, of school and community working together, with the visiting teacher as an integral part. In describing the responsibility of schools, she stated “Education is focused on salvaging as much human material as possible, and mobilizing every resource in the community to that end” (4W237, Folder 1, IHP). Later, she described the collaborative nature of schools, “She [the visiting teacher] is only part of a program in which all the personnel and departments in the schools cooperate in helping the individual child use what the school has to offer” (4W237, Folder 1, IHP). Finally, when discussing the services and duties of the visiting teacher she stated that the visiting teacher would “cooperate with all individuals or agencies concerned with the welfare of children, so that proper recognition is given to the function of other agencies in the community outside the school jurisdiction” (4W237, Folder 1, IHP). As Kirkland (1998) wrote, “After studying curricula from all over the country, Hogg concluded that such programs succeeded only when staff and teachers worked together” (487).

The final report of Ima Hogg and the Committee on Recommendations for a Visiting Teacher Program was entitled “Visiting Teacher Service: An Analysis of Theory and Practice,” and was presented to the Houston School Board at the November 27, 1944, board meeting. Sections of the report included: Functions of the Visiting Teacher, Administrative Relationships, Work Load and Salary, Training and Qualifications, Setting up the Program, two tables of information about visiting teacher programs in twenty-three cities across the country, and Ima’s four-page report of her activities and her recommendation as chair of the committee. Ima summarized the need for visiting teachers in the last two paragraphs of the report.

The teacher finds her efforts constantly being impaired by emotional and behavior problems in the classroom, which have a direct bearing upon the individual child’s scholastic achievement. The teacher knows that often the sources of the child’s difficulties lie in the home, or in the community, or perhaps within the child himself; but that the cooperation of a trained social worker, or Visiting Teacher, who has both time and skill, is needed to discover and alleviate the cause of his trouble. (4W237, Folder 1, IHP)

At the same board meeting, the Houston school board accepted the report and approved a motion to hire a director to set up a visiting teacher program (Houston Board of Education Meeting Folder, as quoted in Kirkland 1998).

During the remainder of her time on the board, Ima oversaw the work of the Visiting Teacher Program, reviewing applications for director of the program and for each visiting teacher, developing a long-term plan for the program, and, when the program was implemented, reviewing the monthly reports of services provided and the cases of each visiting teacher (4W237, Folder 1, IHP). In 1949, she promoted the idea of the hiring of a psychologist for the Department of Testing and Special Classes in

identifying troubled children (Kirkland 1998). She continued to support the visiting teacher program in HISD even after she was no longer a board member. In an editorial letter to the *Houston Post Sound Off* in June 1957, Ima wrote of her concern when she found out that the Houston district was cutting back on the visiting teacher program, describing the impact, she felt, that this would make on the children with behavior problems, “We pay in the long-run, either with our police courts, hospitals, reform schools, or prisons” (Box 3B168, Folder 2, IHP).

Kirkland (1998) described the leadership skills Ima Hogg used in establishing and guiding the visiting teacher program in the Houston school district.

In championing the visiting teacher program, Hogg demonstrated an approach to solving problems that had worked in the private sector: study the issue and marshal the facts, seek expert advice, work with other agencies, be sensitive to the natural fears a new project can cause, and make sure the public is supportive. (488)

Ima demonstrated her leadership skills in re-establishing the Visiting Teacher Program; in organizing the resources and people to support the proposal, in networking to research and identify both sources of information about visiting programs in other cities and local community resources, and in using a collaborative model in working with those in the field and with those who would be affected by the program. The next subject areas in which Ima demonstrated her leadership skills while on the Houston school board were music and art.

In supporting education in Houston schools, Ima felt that it was important that students have “a regard for the value of cultural experience along with general, vocational, and scientific education” (4W237, Folder 4, IHP). As someone who had

studied and appreciated art since childhood, Ima was instrumental in establishing a traveling art program for the Houston school district. In a letter to Mabel McBain, Supervisor of the Home Economics Department, and Mrs. Grace Smith, Supervisor of the Art Department, dated April 13, 1945, Ima detailed a possible plan.

Following a request for a picture to hang in the Home Demonstration room at Wheatley School, I have been thinking of a way in which all of the schools could share in the use of good pictures. First I had a hard time finding good prints in town, and now I have located three which I think suitable and which I should be happy to give to Wheatley. But I would prefer giving them to all the colored schools where they could be circulated from school to school, remaining for a period in one and then passing on to another. (4W237, Folder 4, IHP)

She continued by proposing that her plan might work for all schools in the district, both black and white. “Now it occurs to me that there might be found a way for establishing a circulating art collection for colored and white schools through your Department, and with the collaboration of the Art Department” (4W237, Folder 4, IHP). She mentioned that “Miss McBain, Mrs. Smith, and she could work something out that would be feasible and interesting” (4W237, Folder 4, IHP). A circulating art program was established in the Houston school district as a result, but, there is no mention of its duration or impact.

In the same letter, she described a way to encourage students to produce their own works of art, saying,

It would seem well to acquaint our boys and girls with various masterpieces of art by encouraging the use of good prints, but it would also seem worthwhile to stimulate young student artists by asking them to lend outstanding examples of their work to be used for a limited period of each year. Now that so many white and colored schools have their own Art Department, where excellent pictures are being made, maybe it could be arranged. (4W237, Folder 4, IHP)

Twenty years later, in 1968, a letter to Ima from Mrs. Thompson in the Houston school district asking for information on the “Paintings Inspired by Music” program prompted the following reply which not only explained the art and music program but described Ima’s perception of the founding purpose of the Houston Symphony as well.

The base theory upon which the Symphony was founded was that it should serve the best interests of all people in Houston, regardless of age, status, or religious faith. Talent in its own region was to be discovered and encouraged. Creative talent would be fostered. One way the Symphony has endeavored to fulfill its ideals is to encourage talent through the department of visual art in the public and parochial schools. While listening to music at concerts where programs are especially devised for young audiences, the students are asked to interpret their impression of some composition through painting. The response to this feature of the Symphony policy is gratifying and confidence in the creative talents of the young has been amply verified at the annual show of “Painting Inspired by Music.” (3B175, Folder 5, IHP)

Another way that Ima Hogg demonstrated her belief in the value of education was through her support for the education of disabled children. State requirements and funding for special education was not initiated until September 1945 (Kirkland 1998). In the 1930s, Hogg developed a private support group that advocated for the education of disabled children in the Houston schools, but neither the private group nor the school district had the funds to implement special classes and hire a teacher (Kirkland 1998). After a donation of \$1,000 by Mrs. Will Clayton in July 1943, the Houston school district opened two classes for disabled children in the fall of that year. Ima Hogg secured a teacher for one of these classes, writing to Miss Margaret Caillet, on August 4, 1943, “I have talked with Dr. Oberholtzer [HISD Superintendent] in regard to your willingness to come to Houston and help establish a special classroom for crippled children” (4W237, Folder 4, IHP).

After a tour of the special classrooms by the School Board in October 1943, a public relations plan to educate the public about the educational needs of disabled children was undertaken. As part of the information-gathering process, Ima visited institutions and classrooms for crippled children in New York City (Kirkland 1998). In a letter to Miss Hannah Scholtz, Board of Education, City of New York, dated November 4, 1953, Ima thanked her for a tour of Bellevue Hospital for Crippled children and for suggestions to start a new program in Houston (4W237, Folder 4, IHP). Kirkland (1998) summarized the collaborative model Ima employed in the matter of the education of disabled children. "Calling on her friends in the community, Hogg had forged an unusual private-public partnership that secured a much needed program" (492).

As early as 1946, Ima wrote about the possibility of resigning her position on the Houston school board because of increasing time commitments to district work and to the Houston Symphony. In a letter to a colleague in St. Louis, with whom she corresponded about school lunch room practices, she wrote, "I have taken on another job as President of the Houston Symphony Society. This is an old and I might say, first love and if I did not feel my obligation to the schools I would be tempted to resign from the School Board, but I am endeavoring to go on with both organizations" (4W237, Folder 4, IHP). In early 1949, Ima Hogg made it known that she would not run for re-election to the Houston school board. On January 8, 1949, she replied to Mrs. R. Rogers, who had inquired whether she is going to run again. "I regret that circumstances will make it impossible for me to give the attention necessary to the work involved. For two years, I have found it increasingly difficult to serve effectively on the Board, but, for many

reasons have felt reluctant to resign my post” (4W237, folder 4, IHP). In her retirement letter to the Board of Education, dated February 12, 1949, she used portions of the letter to Mrs. Rogers, expanding it to include a list of what she believed were the qualifications expected of a “good” school board member. She included “familiarity with the public school educational system and a philosophy of education based on study of present-day needs of humanity” (4W237, folder 4, IHP). She ended the letter by describing her belief in the importance of giving back to the community.

We should have as our aim the education of our children, not only as effective, robust wage earners, but as the kind of individuals who live well-rounded lives and who ardently desire to make an unselfish-seeking contribution to the spiritual growth of their community. (4W237, Folder 4, IHP)

Ima Hogg’s tenure on the Houston school board reflected the public service ideals of her father and brother, as well as the Progressive ideals of the age in which she had been educated. Describing Ima’s impact on education in the Houston district, Kirkland (1998) wrote:

Though in no way a radical, she championed progressive causes. In her fight to equalize pay for lunchroom workers; in her insistence that all schools, black or white, be given copies of fine art works for classroom display; and in her care for the disabled, she persistently pressured the school board to serve all its constituents. Her example of dedicated service to public education remains her legacy to the young children of Houston. (494)

Chapter Conclusion

Both formal and informal educational experiences helped define Ima Hogg’s role as a community leader. Family was the initial source of informal education as father, James, and brother, William, demonstrated the family tradition of service to community, through their roles as political and civic leaders. Family also played an educational role

by supporting and encouraging Ima in her education and her endeavors, enabling her to develop a sense of confidence and self-esteem. Her parents recognized the benefits of formal education and demonstrated this by funding Ima's educational experiences in private schools, at The University of Texas, and at the National Conservatory of Music in New York City. Through all of this, they demonstrated to Ima the value and benefits of education.

The informal educational experiences of Ima Hogg were vital to her success as a community leader. While her formal education provided her with basic knowledge and skills, especially in music and art, her lifelong pattern of self-directed learning brought her the expertise she needed for community leadership. These informal educational experiences, through self-study and observation, and networking and collaboration in organizations, provided the framework for continued personal growth in specific areas of interest such as art, mental health, antiques, and historic restoration. Ima Hogg's community leadership role was a direct result of her educational experiences.

In assessing the achievements of Ima Hogg, her wealth, her family background, and her social standing were all decided advantages of race and class that influenced her educational experiences that all women of her time period did not have. The wealth of the Hogg family played a significant role in financing her education in private schools and college, and in supporting her musical training in New York and Germany. Her wealth also influenced her informal education in that it enabled her to travel and learn more about art and architecture, to collect art and antiques, and to have substantial time to devote to organizational work. Her wealth also allowed her to purchase books and

magazines about art, architecture, and mental health, to attend meetings and conferences, and to talk to experts in different fields—all parts of her program of self-directed learning. Her social standing and community contacts enabled her to effectively network with both political and business leaders on a local and state level and worked to her advantage, whether raising funds for the symphony or establishing a school-community partnership as a school board member.

As an adult, Ima Hogg demonstrated her leadership abilities and used the wealth of her family to create and support civic and philanthropic causes in Houston and throughout the state of Texas. She was the primary moving force behind the establishment of the Houston Symphony and created the first organization to provide mental health services for children and adults in Houston, and in public schools. She helped establish the Houston Museum of Fine Arts and later donated her home and her extensive collection of decorative arts to the Museum. She instigated the first program for visiting teachers, school social workers, within the Houston Independent School District and was responsible for the establishment and direction of the Hogg Foundation for Mental Health to provide state-wide education and services for mental health. Her educational experiences provided her with the knowledge and skills to make these achievements possible.

CHAPTER V

CHRISTIA DANIELS ADAIR, 1893-1989:

EDUCATION AND CIVIL RIGHTS

I am of the opinion that my life belongs to the whole community
and, as long as I live, it is my privilege to do for it whatsoever I can.

Christia Daniels Adair 1978

Introduction

Christia Daniels Adair, civil rights activist and one of the first Texas women inducted into the Texas Women's Hall of Fame, died December 31, 1989, in Houston, at the age of 96. In 1918, she worked for woman's suffrage in Kingsville, Texas, and then was denied, based on her race, the opportunity to vote in the 1918 primary. After moving to Houston in 1925, she became involved in local political, religious, and civic organizations. She served as Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) from 1950-1959—a time when the Houston branch was involved in court cases that eventually opened white schools and universities to African American students. As a community leader for four decades, she helped African Americans in Houston gain equal access to bus and airport facilities, schools, libraries, and employment in city hall. In 1952, she helped found the first interracial political group in Houston, the Harris County Democrats, and served as a precinct judge for 20 years. The *Houston Chronicle* article which described Adair's memorial service in January 1990, quoted Harris County Commissioner El Franco Lee's reflection on Adair's influence,

She helped to make this city, state, and nation a better place for people of color.
With poise, grace and quite a bit of steely strength, she moved our dreams ahead.

That is why I'm here, and so many other black elected officials. She viewed politics as a way to right a historic wrong. (Karkabi 1990, 1D)

Lee's reflection mirrored the memories of Adair when, in a 1978 interview, she summed up her life saying,

My parents always said we might not have as much money as others but as long as we had our pride and our self-respect and kept the respect of others, that was what mattered and that's what I've held to as my philosophy. Don't worry over deprivation but take advantage of every opportunity for service to the community. Take advantage of every opportunity for education. Prepare yourselves for the moment to arrive when you can serve. And that moment will come. (Kane 1978, 31)

This chapter presents and provides connections between Christia Adair's informal and formal education and her contributions to improving the lives of African Americans in her community. Her informal educational experiences include the influence of parents and family and membership in civic and religious organizations. Her formal education occurred in the context of segregated schools for African Americans in early twentieth century Texas. The values and skills Christia Adair gained as a result of her educational experiences were identified as organizational themes that linked her education to her activities as a community leader and serve as the major sections of this chapter. These themes include service to the community and civic responsibility based on a sense of justice and fair play, a belief in the value of education, and the development of leadership skills, especially organization, networking, and collaboration.

The primary source of information for this chapter consisted of two separate interviews of Adair, both conducted when she was 83 years old. In 1977, Adair was selected to participate in the Black Women Oral History Project sponsored by the Schlesinger Library of Radcliff College. Dorothy Robinson, a retired African American

school teacher and historian of African American education in Texas, conducted the interview on April 25, 1977. This interview provided the personal perspective of Adair on a variety of subjects, especially the influence of her family in her life. Also, in 1977, a Houston student interviewed Adair for a National History Day paper that was subsequently published in the Texas Junior Historian magazine, the *Texas Historian* (Davis 1977, 1-7). The Christia Adair Papers in the Metropolitan Research Center, Houston Public Library, provided information on Adair's involvement in political, civic, and church activities, as well as correspondence between Adair and elected officials. Several newspaper interviews of Adair, conducted between 1972 and 1986, provided additional information on family as well as her role in the community.

The Theme of Service to Community

Christia Daniels was born October 22, 1893, in Victoria, Texas, to a family with strong religious beliefs and, as Christia described in a 1977 interview, a certain informal "status" within the African American community (Davis 1977, 10). She had an older step-sister, Althia Daniels, and two younger brothers, Webster Daniels and Gus Reed Daniels. After the death of Christia's grandfather, Augustus Daniels, in 1895, Christia's father moved the family from Victoria to Edna, Texas, and took over his father's hauling business, transporting everything from local farm products, such as cotton, to the personal belongings of families. The pattern of community service and leadership in Christia Adair's life began with the influence of her parents, Handy and Ada (Crosby) Daniels.

In the small town of Edna, Christia first experienced the beliefs and values taught and modeled by parents and reinforced by church and community. Adair described how her parents were respected within the African American community of Edna and how their influence in the town had an impact on her life.

The one thing that impressed me as a child was that my father and mother had a lot of influence in our little town. Nobody set them aside or looked up to them or put them on a pedestal or anything like that, but Mama always could get the hearing of other women and my daddy could get the hearing of other people. The fact that my parents held that kind of leadership status in our community, I think, had a bearing on me. (Adair 1978, 10)

Adair also commented on her father's influence within the context of the segregated society in which they lived.

White people feel like there's always some Negro person that they can use to put over other Negroes what they want to put over. Every once in a while, they would try that where my daddy was concerned because they knew that he had influence over people. Nobody thought he was better. He didn't act like he was better, but he just respected them and demanded respect for himself. (Adair 1978, 10)

Adair spoke of the influence of her father's values when asked about her role in integrating the fitting room of a Houston department store. She recalled how several Negro women came to her during the time when she was the Executive Secretary of the NAACP, from 1950 to 1959, complaining about a local department store.

Negro women began telling me that they couldn't try on hats and they couldn't try on girdles. I knew it because I couldn't. I would go in, pick out a hat and the sales lady would put it on her head and say, "I think it's pretty; don't you like it?" I'd say, "Well, I like it on you but I don't know if I'd like it on me or not." And so they would always have their foot on the chair so you couldn't sit down in front of the mirror to try on the hat. Of course, I never bought anything that I couldn't try on. I haven't been a bully in my lifetime, but I never compromised. My daddy didn't compromise for those things. (Adair 1978, 27)

Adair continued her story, illustrating the sense of justice and fair play her father had modeled. She described her actions in addressing the issue of segregated fitting rooms.

Some prominent [Negro] women came and told me that they would have to go into an alteration room to fit a girdle if they wanted to buy it at a popular store in town. So I went. I never did particularly need a girdle, especially back then because I was pretty skinny. But, I went to buy a girdle. And, I picked out a girdle. Then I went to have the girdle fitted. When they headed me toward the alteration room, I said, "I don't want anything done to it, I just want to try it on." They said, "Well, you go on in to the alteration room." I said "I don't want to try it on in the alteration room. I want to try it on in the fitting room. Let me see the manager of this department." And so they had no alternative but to produce the manager. The manager didn't want anybody to know that he was supporting that kind of attitude, so he put the woman on the spot and said to her, "Show the customer to the fitting room." When I got all fitted, I went to the counter, the girdle was \$29. (Adair 1978, 27)

Adair's final statement about this incident illustrated her belief about civic responsibility and her perception of her leadership role in promoting change.

And I didn't need any kind of girdle, but I couldn't fail. I had to pay for it because that would be carrying it too far, but that was the kind of experience you had to suffer for the cause if you wanted to master the situation. (Adair 1978, 27)

As part of her role as Executive Secretary of the Houston NAACP, Adair was perceived to be a leader in the African American community in that members of that community could and did turn to her for help in addressing problems in the community such as the segregated fitting rooms in the Houston department store.

The African American Church: Service and Leadership

Christia's parents demonstrated their leadership role in the community, as well as their strong religious beliefs, through the local Methodist Church. According to Itasca Hazley Stafford, a member of Scruggs United Methodist Church since 1935 who has compiled the church history, the original Scruggs Methodist Episcopal Church was

founded in October 1883 in Edna, Texas, by Handy and Ada Daniels and five other African American families (Telephone interview with author, 2 May 2006). Church services were initially held in the homes of these six families or what the church history referred to as “House Churches” (Stafford n.d., 1). The Scruggs Methodist Episcopal Church was affiliated with the African Methodist Episcopal Church, founded in 1817 in Philadelphia by Richard Allen, a former slave (McClain 1984; Richardson 1976). Adair explained that, as a child, the Scruggs Methodist Episcopal Church played a significant educative role in her life, especially informing ideas about public service.

In a small town like Edna, church was a paramount issue in the life of people who believed in God. And my mama exposed her children to church activities and we were taught, wherever the need was, to always be available to fill the need. So people didn't mind putting Mama's [variation in spelling in transcript] children on a program or giving Mama's children responsibilities. Other people didn't mind calling on Mama's children to run errands for them, things like that, because they knew what her idea was about. So I became active in my church as a very small girl, doing whatever was to be done [when] they called on me. Everything and anything that happened, my interest and my time, turns back to my church because that was my starting point. That's where I learned to serve. (Adair 1978, 5-6)

This idea of public service was part of the teachings of both the African Methodist Episcopal Church and the original Methodist Church, founded by John Wesley (Campbell 1999; McClain 1984; Richardson 1976). Part of original Methodist Church doctrine was social outreach, what Campbell (1999) described as “concrete, face-to-face involvement with the poor, the sick, the dying, the exploited, and the suffering” (93). Furthermore, the original *Doctrines and Disciplines of the African Methodist Episcopal Church*, published in 1817, specified that members were to

demonstrate their faith by “giving food to the hungry, by clothing the naked [and] by visiting or helping them that are sick, or in prison” (Allen and Tapisco 1817, 100).

Historically, the local church played a significant role in the African American community (Dulaney 1988; Gilkes 1986; Higginbotham 1993; Montgomery 1993; Reuther and Keller 1986; Winegarten 1995). Winegarten (1995) described specific opportunities that churches provided for African Americans in the racially segregated Texas of late 19th and early 20th centuries:

The church afforded black communities some autonomy and, simultaneously, opportunities for service and influence. From their rudimentary beginnings after the Civil War, black Texas churches evolved in the twentieth century into complex social and political institutions. Members organized into groups for Bible Study, music, missionary work, and community service. (129-130)

Women constituted a majority of the membership in African American churches (Lincoln and Mamiya 1990; Montgomery 1993). Although they were usually limited to non-ministerial positions, Montgomery (1993) wrote “women were a powerful element in the church,” planning district and state meetings and conventions and dominating the areas of missionary work, Sunday school activity, and care for the needy within the community. In describing opportunities for Texas women in African American church organizations, Winegarten (1995) wrote:

As African American churches grew in size and developed into more complex institutions, women carved out new roles that extended their influence into the broader community. After the departure of the Freedmen’s Bureau and a decline in northern philanthropy, black women continued organizing to address community needs, such as homes for the aged, orphanages, feeding the hungry, and nursing the sick. In the 1880s and 1890s, church women [both black and white] founded benevolent aid societies to nurse the sick and care for orphans and the elderly. (62)

Adair first began to develop her leadership skills in her local church community.

She recounted the story of being asked to become the Church's Sunday School

Superintendent at the age of sixteen:

When I left home to go to school, I was between 15 and 16 years old, which meant that I was still a little girl. But I had been active in my Sunday School and things like that, and my Sunday School Superintendent fell ill with tuberculosis and she, after so long a time, wanted to talk to me. But anyhow, as soon as I came home for vacation period, Mama told me about it and had me go and talk with her. This woman was a very highly cultured and very well prepared woman. She said "I wanted you to be the Superintendent of the Sunday School." Well, it just took the breath out of me because I couldn't understand how she could ask that of me and I said, "Oh, Miss Beulah, I don't know how to be a Superintendent." [She replied] "You can learn. I know that's what I want to happen to the Sunday School, when I go. I want you to be the Superintendent of the Sunday school." And she kept plugging after me about it and pressing me and she said, "Will you promise me that you'll be the Sunday School Superintendent?" And I said, "Yes, Miss Beulah." (Adair 1978, 6)

When Adair informed her mother of the request, she recalled her mother's statement about the value of promises.

When I got home and told mama about it, Mama said, "Well, what did you say?" I said "I couldn't do anything but say yes. She's a dying woman." Mama said, "All right, if you told her yes, you would be Sunday School Superintendent, you are Sunday School Superintendent. You made a promise that you can't break." And so, that meant that at 16 years old, I was Sunday School Superintendent of Scruggs Chapel Methodist Church in Edna, Texas. (Adair 1978, 6)

Adair described another church-related situation when, after marrying and moving to Kingsville, Texas, in 1918, she took the initiative to organize Sunday School classes for the children of the community. In the passage, she specifically addressed the issue of personal leadership through her perception of both community needs and her role in meeting those needs.

When I got to Kingsville, I found out what the people needed were example and leadership. There were no Sunday Schools. I was unhappy, the fact that there

were no Sunday Schools. I began getting hold of the children, anybody's children, I could get to me. Then I organized a Sunday School and these children came regardless of their parents' affiliation. They were my Sunday School children. (Adair 1978, 13)

When Adair found that the community also lacked a Methodist minister, she again took the initiative by using her networking skills, informing the state's Methodist Bishop of the community's need, and inviting him for a visit.

I had been active as a little girl and young woman in the Methodist Church and was pretty well known and had some influence with the higher officials. And the Bishop listened to me when I told him that the conditions were with the Methodist Church in Kingsville, how unhappy I was like that. And he took it upon himself to come down there to see what the conditions were, and when annual conference time came, he sent us another pastor who had been a schoolmate of mine at Sam Huston College. So, I had two young ministers whom I knew and they knew me, and we together did, I thought, a grand piece of work. (Adair 1978, 13)

Thus, the pattern of community leadership initially modeled by Adair's parents, and reinforced by the Methodist Church, provided opportunities for Christia to exert influence in the community in a leadership capacity. And, because of the importance of the church in African American communities, the experiences of African American women like Christia Adair in organizing Sunday Schools or community service programs, produced "adults who were already adept at organizing, public speaking, and fund-raising" (Winegarten 1995, 131).

Handy and Ada Daniels provided Christia with the initial models of leadership and a commitment to community; they also had expectations for her, expectations of success and leadership. In a 1978 interview, she spoke of how her parents enabled her to feel like she could accomplish anything she wanted to even though "they kept a standard that she had to stretch to reach" (Kane, 1978, 1). Although Adair did not elaborate on

this standard, she described her perception of her parents' expectations and how it involved a responsibility to community and a leadership role.

I always felt that I owed it to my parents and I owed it to myself. I can't do such and so because I'm a Daniels. Well, the feeling that caused this was that I owe this to my family. I've got to reach their expectations and I think that their influence in the community had a lot to do with making me know in my life I owed it to my public to have influence. (Adair 1978, 11)

Historically Black Colleges: Service and Leadership

The pattern of service and community leadership that Adair's parents and the Methodist Church provided Christia as a young girl were reinforced when Adair attended Samuel Huston College [now Huston-Tillotson University in Austin, Texas] and Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College [now Prairie View A&M University], as both institutions promoted these values and skills as goals for their students. The 1907 *Student Handbook* from Samuel Huston College listed one of the aims of the college "to prepare leaders who will serve the people and cooperate in the community" (quoted in Heintze 1981, 105), while the *Samuel Huston College Weekly Bulletin, Annual Catalogue Edition* (1905) for 1905-1906, stated that, "The truly educated man becomes a leader on the farm, in the shop, in the school room, in moral reforms, in everything good and great" (26). Later, the 1914-1915 *Samuel Huston Weekly Bulletin, Annual Catalogue Edition* expanded this goal by admonishing students to become "first class farmers, artisans, teachers, ministers or merchants," (28) while also addressing the context of the times for African Americans by stating:

These are critical times so far as the colored people are concerned and they must strive to be the best laborers, the best hack drivers, the best nurses, the best teachers, the best preachers, the best in the professions. They must be patriotic

always ready to do all in their power for the social, moral, and industrial welfare of the city, country and State where they live. (76)

One specific type of community service required by Samuel Huston College was what the 1914-1915 *Weekly Bulletin, Annual Catalogue Edition* (1914) referred as college extension or social settlement work and involved students working within their home community.

The effort is first to improve the home-life of the people. The work is begun in each student's home. Each student is requested to do something to improve his own home. Then, the matter is carried further. Each student is required to report the condition of his community and mark the improvements. Hereafter blanks are to be furnished each student, and he will be required to make a report of his work along this line, with other statistics of the social, moral, and material conditions of the people. (28)

The earliest Prairie View College catalogues that were located, dating from 1921-1924, also listed leadership as a significant goal in the Education Department, which included both the Domestic Science and Industrial Arts Departments. The aim of the department remained the same in all three catalogues, to "select those things which will help in the preparation of educational leaders" (*Annual Catalogue of the Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College of the School Year 1921-1922* 1921, 25; *Annual Catalogue of the Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College of the School Year 1922-1923* 1922, 32; *Annual Catalogue of the Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College of the School Year 1923-1924* 1923, 35). Leadership and a commitment to community were specifically identified as part of the Industrial Arts program in the same catalogues. "The whole course is outlined so as to make not only an intelligent leader in the industrial lines, but also a man that will be able to take an active part in the development of the community in which he lives" (25, 32, 35).

Samuel Huston and Prairie View Colleges were not unique in their goals of service and leadership in that, historically, African American colleges throughout the country placed an emphasis on community service and outreach programs as well as academic and vocational coursework (Heintze 1985; Montgomery 1944; Willie and Edmonds 1978). The importance of the relationship between the college and the community was noted by Evans (2007):

Black schools depended on a significant positive relationship with the community. Racial segregation, however, made the African American school-community relationship even more essential for group survival. Despite, or perhaps because of, the barriers presented to African Americans' educational attainment, college attendance was inseparable from community engagement and social responsibility. (51-52)

Addressing the issue of community service in African American colleges in Texas,

Heintze (1985) wrote:

The nation's black colleges always placed a strong emphasis upon the concept of service. To learn and go forth and serve was a common formulation of the goals of these institutions. Black colleges, historically, viewed academic excellence and community service as one, providing an appreciation of the relationship between the curriculum and the world beyond the campus. All of the private and public black colleges in Texas developed programs that brought them into effective interaction with their communities. (81)

In describing the community service and outreach programs of black colleges in Texas in the period 1900-1930, Heintze (1985) recognized the community outreach and extension program of Prairie View College, in particular, stating that "there is little doubt that the service programs of the private black colleges made a significant contribution to their students and communities, although they did not individually possess the resources to operate community service programs as large as that of Prairie View" (84).

Anderson (1988) explained that the educational values of the African American community as a whole reinforced the goal of promoting leadership training specifically in African American schools and colleges. This goal was, as Anderson (1988) noted, a significant objective for African Americans after the Civil War, as they “pursued their educational objectives, especially leadership training. They believed that the masses could not achieve political and economic independence or self-determination without first becoming organized and organizations were impossible without well-trained intellectuals—teachers, ministers, politicians, managers, administrators, and businessmen” (28).

African American women played a vital part in the context of these school-community relationships in the period 1880-1920. “Black women were educated to be levers of service to society regardless of the type of institution they attended” (Shaw 1996, 51). “Because of the skills she possessed, the educated female was thought to have special responsibilities to the race” (Neverdon-Morton 1982, 209). Shaw (1996) cited a 1894 statement by L. B. Tefft, principal of Hartshorn Memorial College in Virginia, which described this responsibility. “The student is educated not for her own sake only, not for her own sake chiefly, but for the thousands who will feel her uplifting influence through the years to come” (283).

Connecting Education to Service and Leadership: Women’s Organizations

One way Adair demonstrated the concept of “uplifting the race” was through her community work for girls and women. Shortly after moving to Houston in 1925, Adair joined The 1906 Art, Literary, and Charity Club of Houston. In a 1977 interview, she

recounted her first experience as a member of this organization and working with African American girls who had been placed, by the courts, in a delinquent center.

The project that we were concerned with right then was a home for delinquent girls, located in Acreage Home area. I was very much going out there once or twice [a week] and saw girls—I hadn't ever seen that before, I had seen women prisoners—but I saw girls who were dressed like prisoners and treated like prisoners and that was the project that the club was doing. We would go out there and take them nice little goodies and things like that. (Adair 1978, 17)

Adair voiced her frustration over the final turn of events described below and found her early voice for commenting about the state of politics in Houston, foreshadowing her eventual leadership role in the African American community.

That was material things, but I don't know that we did anything to help with the cultural side of it. But anyhow, when the building became condemned or was inadequate, they moved the school out of Harris County. Well, I felt like the club should have protested that. We should have found some way to keep them from moving it. But at that time, Bob Casey was the county judge in this town and there was little you could do with his ideas about things and the commissioners that he was surrounded with. So they moved it. (Adair 1978, 17)

The 1906 Art, Literary and Charity Club was affiliated with the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs. Adair explained how the goals and actions of this association, of which she was an active member for over six decades, illustrated the commitment of service and leadership to the community demonstrated by her work with the delinquent girls center and reflective of the idea of "uplifting the race."

This organization is a group that has never had any barriers. Our motto is 'Lifting As We Climb,' which means that we have not tried to major [focus?] on the woman who has already reached her zenith, who has had all kinds of opportunities and advantages, but the woman who needs us, the woman who hasn't had advantages, the woman who is down and needs to be lifted. (Adair 1978, 33-34)

Adair continued her explanation of the NACW motto, describing the need to provide leadership, or what she referred to as influence, in order to gain women's acceptance.

We need to climb. We also know that in order to climb, we have to have strength and we have to have enough influence if we want her to follow us. So we major [focus?] our interest on the woman that perhaps is sometimes not recognized by her church. But we feel like if it takes recognition to give her a push and a start in life, we give it. (Adair 1978, 34)

Adair's perception of "women not recognized by the church" was a perspective that Harley (1982) described as part of middle-class African-American society of the time, a view that held "a woman's level of educational attainment and professional success was supposedly indicative of her cultural, moral, and social standing while those who were uneducated did not possess culture and morality" (258). Although Gaines (1991) characterized this type of attitude as "paternalistic and grounded on cultural assumptions" (24), Johnson (2000) noted that middle-class women's experiences with racial prejudice and oppression, still "linked the middle class African-American women more intimately to their lowly, illiterate brothers and sisters" and, because of this perceived "link," members of these organizations felt that it was their duty to provide support for other African Americans, no matter their social or economic standing (137). For Adair, another avenue for meeting the needs of the African American community was through her involvement in the Methodist Church.

Service and Leadership Through the Church

After moving to Houston in 1925, Adair and her husband joined Trinity Methodist Church, the oldest black church in the city and one that, according to Beeth and Wintz (1992) and Gay (2007), exerted considerable influence in the African

American community. In 1955, the Adair family moved their membership to Boynton United Methodist Church where they remained members the rest of their lives (Gay 2007). At Boynton, Adair was chairperson of the Christian Social Concern program working with different Methodist church organizations for community causes, including projects to alleviate conditions for the poor, for orphans and widows, and for community projects to educate children and working mothers (Box 2, Folder 1, CAP). For her accomplishments in the community as well as her recognition by the Schlesinger Library at Radcliffe College as a participant in the Black Women Oral History Project, Boynton United Methodist Church honored Adair in February of 1979, with a program that celebrated her life entitled *Decades of Service, Recognition of Living: Mrs. Christia Adair* (Program from the Christia Adair vertical file, MRC).

The Methodist Church provided Adair with opportunities to refine her leadership skills by working in women's organizations in the church. In 1984, the Texas Conference of the United Methodist Church, published *Historical Pictorial Souvenir Book*, celebrating the bicentennial of African American Methodism, 1784-1984. A committee of eight African American women, including Adair, compiled the chapter on the history of African American women's involvement in church work in Texas from 1930-1984. Adair wrote the first article in the chapter, "An Overview: Methodist Women's Work from the Early Thirties to the Late Forties," which detailed the work of Texas women in three areas of service in the African American Methodist Church.

For many years women worked according to their chosen interests of service. Some addressed themselves to the promotion of missions in America, Women's Home Mission, some to the concern of missions in the foreign fields and some concerned themselves with problems of the Ladies Aid Society. In general, these

three groups worked separately but with concern for the other two. (Adair 1984, no page number)

As the northern and Southern Methodist Churches united under the Plan of Union in 1935, the three national African American Methodist denominations merged into their own racially separate administrative department, the Central Jurisdiction, as part of the white Methodist Church organization (Richardson 1976). The three departments of service in which women had been involved were also merged into the Women's Division of the Department of Christian Social Relations (Adair, 1984; McClain 1984; Richardson 1976). Adair, who had been the Houston area district president of one of the departments of service, the Ladies Aid Society, was appointed to help organize the new Women's Division of the Texas and West Texas Conferences and was asked to serve on the Board of Tellers during the organization of the Central Jurisdiction. She was the first African American woman named by the Women's Division of Christian Service to serve on the national board of the Christian Social Relations Department, serving for eight years (Adair 1984).

The goal of the Department of Christian Social Relations focused on the issue of service and community need (United Methodist Church 1984). This department provided church women with other benefits such as the development of leadership skills through collaboration, networking, and through training by other female leaders in the church.

The Dept. of Christian Social Relations helped local churches to become involved in their communities by studying community needs and improving human relations. The annual conference was composed of five districts which were organized in the conference to carry out the program as designed by the division. Each conference officer who was elected was given some training by the Division and Jurisdiction officers. This also helped to strengthen the cause. Needless to say, all of these women are members of local churches. The training

of conference and district officers strengthened those local societies who had officers as members. (United Methodist Church 1984, 7)

Included in Adair's personal papers were copies of the minutes from several meetings of the Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church when Adair served as recording secretary, as well as Adair's 1940 membership card as a Charter Member (Box 3, Folder 1, CAP). Listed on the back side of the card was the purpose of the organization, a purpose that reflected of Adair's activities in the Methodist Church.

The purpose of the Woman's Society of Christian Service shall be to unite all the women of the church in Christian living and service; to study the needs of the world; and to take part in such service activities as will strengthen the local church, and improve civic, community and world conditions. (Box 3, Folder 1, CAP)

The Methodist Church was a significant educative influence in Adair's life, a place of learning that reinforced family beliefs of respect for African Americans as well as community goals of service to the African American community and a place where Adair herself stated she had "first learned to serve" (Adair 1978, 6). Not only did the church promote a belief system based in service to humanity, it also provided the means and the opportunity to develop leadership skills for women within the context of church organizations that would serve as training for the organization, networking, and collaboration skills Adair would later use in working for civil rights for African Americans in Houston. Winegarten (1995) described the benefits to young women of working in church and community organizations at a young age, using Christia Adair as an example:

Some girls began coordinating religious education and community service programs as youths, so that as adults they were already adept at organizing, public speaking, and fundraising. Christia Adair exemplified the many young women groomed to become organizers in church women's organizations, religious education, or community service who then applied their insights and experience to secular campaigns for racial equality. (131-132)

Service, Leadership, and Civic Responsibility

In working to achieve civil rights for African Americans in Houston, Adair volunteered her service as assistant secretary when she first joined the Houston branch of the NAACP “shortly after moving to Houston in 1925” (Adair 1978, 13). She continued to volunteer in various capacities for the next twenty years, until she was officially hired as assistant to the Executive Secretary in 1945 (Caudill 1972; Davis 1977; Grissom 1977; Lanterman 1984; Obbie 1986). She demonstrated her commitment to community and her belief in civic responsibility through volunteer service in the local political process as a precinct judge. Her first appointment came in 1925 as one of the first African American precinct judges in the country (Caudill 1972; Paternoster 1981). She later served as a precinct judge for twenty years, from 1950-1970, retiring from that position at age 77 (Adair 1978; Karkabi 1980).

In 1981, at the age of 88, Adair was hired by the Harris County Commissioner's Court as an absentee election deputy. In discussing her appointment, Adair reflected on the value of service saying, “I think every woman, elderly or not, who has any kind of energy at her disposal should use it and take every opportunity to serve (Adair quoted in Paternoster 1981, 10). Gay (2007) related that Adair summarized her belief about service when she told her that, “I didn't have any money, but I always gave my time”

(7). Adair's final gift of service to the community was her request that her body be donated to science after her death, which it was in 1989. In fact, Adair placed a handwritten paper on the wall of her home specifying this wish for anyone who "picked up her body" (Gay 2007, 11). According to Gay (2007), Adair stated that, "I want to be totally used up when I die serving mankind" (11).

Section Summary

The connection between the formal and informal educational experiences of Christia Adair and her commitment to community parallels the experiences of other African American women during the period 1880-1920. Shaw (1996) described the connection between the informal and formal education of African American women during the period 1880-1920 and their community service as adults.

They were [all] designed to cultivate or further develop a Christian communal spirit in the students; to instill leadership qualities in them; and to prepare them to use their training-moral, mental, and manual-to go into any community and establish themselves as useful members. In one way, all the schools prepared young black women for public work and reinforced family and community interests related to self-development and social responsibility. (69)

The belief in service to the community was a continuing theme throughout Adair's life, a value originally taught and modeled by Handy and Ada Daniels and reinforced by church, school, and community. This belief became a part of Adair's perceived purpose in life and provided her with opportunities to develop and demonstrate leadership skills as well. Moreover, both Samuel Huston and Prairie View Colleges promoted these same values and skills. These formal and informal educative experiences, reflected in her actions as a community leader, helped produce a socially responsible adult with a service commitment to community. This commitment to serve

was a significant part of Christia Adair's adult identity, as Davis (1977) described when she entitled her journal article about Adair, "Christia V. Adair: A Servant to Humanity."

The Theme of Justice, Fair Play, and Civic Responsibility

The Influence of Parents

Adair credited her parents with instilling in her the beliefs and values upon which she acted in many situations in her life (Adair 1978; Davis 1977; Gay 2007). For example, Adair (1978) stated that the sense of justice and fair play that she demonstrated in working for civil rights for African Americans as an adult began with the actions of her parents. At one time, Adair's father ran a hauling business that employed several men. Adair recalled how her parents treated these employees, especially the fact that they fed them breakfast and dinner, and provided them with work clothes.

He and my mother kind of team-worked together and my mother gave the men breakfast and dinner. It was my mother's contribution to the job to also buy some kind of gingham and make jumpers. And every man who left that yard in the morning left with a clean jumper. My mama would wash and iron those jumpers, hang them on a post around the barn where they could get them. (Adair 1978, 8)

Adair also stated that it was the manner in which these men were treated that spoke directly to the issue of fair play.

Mama and papa never did want us to feel like there were barriers between us and other people. Mama didn't feed those men at a separate table. Those men sat down to the table with her children and ate breakfast and dinner. And we had to respect them and they had to respect us. (Adair 1978, 8)

Adair stated that it was her father, in particular, who provided her with "a sense of justice and courage" and that he modeled these traits by his actions in the community (Caudill 1972; Davis 1977). When asked about her involvement in a controversy at the

1966 state Democratic convention, Adair described how her response to the incident reflected her father's values. She explained that as a member of the Harris County Democrats, she had been elected as one of the first two African American members of the Harris County Democratic Executive Committee in 1962 to represent their senatorial districts at the state Democratic convention and that she served in that position until 1968 (Box 5, Folder 2, CAP; Box 3, Folder 6, FRP). When the conservative members of the Texas Democratic Party refused to seat the Harris County Democrat delegation at the state Democratic convention in 1966, Adair described her response.

Judson Robinson, Jr. and I were nominated from our senatorial districts to the state [Democratic] convention from Harris County. At the state convention, they would not seat the Harris County Democrats, but they went into a caucus and decided that only Judson Robinson and I would be admitted and be seated. And they came out to inform us that that had happened. I said, "Is the Harris County Democrat delegation going to be seated?" And they said, "No, just you and Judson." I said, "Well, no. We won't either. I'm here as a representative from the Harris County Democrats. They're the ones that nominated me and I won't be seated unless the whole organization can be seated, all the delegates." (Adair 1978, 32)

Adair and the rest of the Harris County Democrat delegation were never seated.

Efforts to persuade her to return to the convention continued, even after she returned home. Adair described her reaction to this turn of events.

Even after I returned to Houston, all the next day at the office, Mr. Blanton, who was then the country chairman of the Democratic Party and some of the state officials, kept calling long distance and sending telegrams. They thought it would be such an honor for me to accept. And so, I had to excuse myself of the language of the streets, and I said to them, "I've been a lot of things in my life, but I'll never be a good nigger." (Adair 1978, 32)

Then Adair described an incident similar in nature that happened to her father and the influence of her father's values on her own character.

I'm sure that if it's spunk or courage or whatever it is, I think I got that trait from my daddy also. I remember that at one time some official in Edna wanted my daddy to use his influence on Negroes to help them make a decision that he knew would not be for the good of all the people. [My daddy] said, "No, I can't do that because I don't believe in it myself. I wouldn't tell my friends anything I don't believe." The official replied, "Well, Handy, now if you can't follow through with what we want and follow our decisions, it looks like we're going to have to get somebody else to do our work." [My daddy] reached and took off his hat and slammed it down on the ground and said, "You take your damn job and your hauling and go to hell with it, because before I would sell my soul and my principle, and influence people of my race wrong, I don't care what you do with your job." (Adair 1978, 32)

Finally, Adair compared her father's actions in this incident to her own at the state convention. "So I felt just like that about this case. If I conceded to go into that place, it would mean that I was leaving not only the Negroes all out, but white people who believed like I believed" (Adair 1978, 32).

Politics and Fair Play

Christia recalled another incident while living in Kingsville in 1920 that she said had a profound impact on her life and her politics and further illustrated her sense of justice and fair play. Her initial remarks in one 1977 account also described her perception of Negro involvement in the Republican Party.

Because Abraham Lincoln was a Republican, well all Negroes, I think nearly everywhere were Republicans. When Harding, a Republican, was running for President, the railroad company always sent special trains to bring special people down into that section. Because of my husband's seniority, he was always one of the brakemen that on the train that would go to bring these officials. And so my husband went on the train that went to bring Mr. Harding down. (Adair 1978, 17)

She continued the story, describing her actions in working with children in local schools, something she would continue to do throughout her life (Adair 1978; Davis 1977; Ford 2007; Gay 2007).

Somewhere between Washington and Kingsville, my husband observed that people were bringing school children to the train to shake hands with the candidate. And so he called me long distance and told me what was going on. I went over to the [African American] school and asked the teachers if they would take their children [to see Mr. Harding]. And, when they didn't have time, or didn't want to, I asked them, if the parents consented, could I take some of their children? And I had eleven or twelve children and I took them to the train. (Adair 1978, 17)

The final part of the story illustrated Adair's sense of justice and fair play and her perception of the educational significance of this moment in her life.

Meeting the trains to get my husband, I knew just about where the trains stopped and where the location of cars would be, so I knew where to place my children to get the best attention. And so my children were right at the steps. Some white children were there with white teachers and parents, and he—Mr. Harding—reached over my children's heads to shake hands with the white children and never did pay any attention to my children. I pulled my children out, hurt and disappointed and I was sorry for the children. But, in my own heart, I said, "If that's what Republicans do, I cannot be a Republican. I'll have to change parties. From here on out I'll have to work for Democratic presidents." (Adair 1978, 17)

Adair's account of this story was published in different newspaper articles between 1972 and 1999. In these articles, the basic story remained the same, but Adair's comments on the significance of the incident varied (Adair 1978; Bernstein 1999; Caudill 1972; Davis 1977; Karkabi 1980, 1990; Robinson 1990; Sallee 1977). In a 1972 interview she described the impact of the incident by reflecting on the reality of racial prejudice for African Americans, "I began right then teaching my children what it's like to be a Negro" (Caudill 1972, 1). In a 1980 interview, she stated that she "was offended and insulted at what he [Harding] did" to her children (Karkabi 1980, section 5, 1). As a result of this incident, Adair "felt that she had to do something, but she didn't know what," until a move to Houston in 1925 presented the opportunity to join the newly re-

organized Houston branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1926 (Karkabi 1980, section 5, 1).

Political Activism and Civic Responsibility

Adair recounted stories of the educative influence of her parents, but it was mainly her father, Handy Daniels, of whom she spoke and the lessons that he taught her (Caudill 1972; Davis 1977; Grissom 1977; Kane 1978). The educative influence of her father can be seen in the instructive nature of his relationship with his children, particularly his impact on Adair's belief in civic responsibility through political activism. Much of her interest and active involvement in local politics as an adult she credited to her father's interests in community politics (Adair 1978; Davis 1977; Grissom 1977; Sallee 1977). She explained that her father's hauling business kept him in contact with events in the community, especially local politics. As Adair recalled, her father enjoyed discussing these events with his family, especially if they concerned politics.

Every night around eight o'clock at the Daniels' house, the children were expected to be around the table. This was almost an unwritten law. After praying, our father would begin his discussion. He would tell us about the things that he had heard—about politicians and law enforcement. (Adair 1978, 2)

As Adair recounted, "Mother used to make us listen even if we didn't want to. It was boring to me then, but it took root" (Grissom 1977, section 4, 1). In 1977, when interviewed by a junior high student for a history paper, Adair reflected on her father's nightly discussions on politics saying that she was "glad that she had listened to her father, because she learned the value of political knowledge," something that she would later use as a political activist in Houston (Davis 1977, 2).

Reflecting on her career as a political activist in a 1975 newspaper interview, the 81-year-old Adair discussed the importance of education within the family (informal education) and the link to politics. “If you can organize and assist the spiritual and educational development of a child, you’ve covered the total early development of the child. And, a political education is just as important if not more than an academic education” (Goffney 1975, section 4, 1).

Leadership in the Political Arena

As a political activist working for the civil rights of African Americans in Houston, Adair demonstrated her sense of justice and fair play by her actions in the NAACP, both as a member from 1925-1989, and as the Executive Secretary from 1950-1959. However, she was actively involved in other political organizations as well, such as the Harris County Council of Organizations. This organization was formed after the 1944 Supreme Court decision in *Smith v. Allwright* which allowed African Americans the right to vote in the Democratic primary. Davidson (1968) wrote that the 1946 election “marked the first time that Negroes [in Houston] began to come into their own as a force to be reckoned with in electoral politics” with the resulting problem that “some white politicians began encouraging self-appointed Negro leaders to take money to deliver the Negro vote” (45). M. L. Ward, an African American businessman, took the lead in 1949, in the formation of the Harris County Council of Organizations, “an amalgam of black business, labor, religious and political organizations” (Sallee 1977) whose purpose was to increase African American voter registration and to push for improved services for African American neighborhoods (Kellar 1999). In a 1977

interview, Adair stated that she helped in the formation of the Harris County Council of Organizations in order to “help to bring a halt to the practice of buying Negro votes” (Davis 1977, 5).

According to the History of the Harris County Democrats (Box 4, Folder 10, BCP) and to Adair’s own account, she also helped found the first interracial political organization in Houston in 1953, the Harris County Democrats, as an alternative to the traditionally conservative Democratic Party (Adair 1978; Caudill 1972; Chatham 1974; Davis 1977). When asked about her role in the creation of the Harris County Democrats, Adair began by giving her analysis of whites buying black votes.

When we first won the franchise, the right to vote in the primary, the same people that had tried to keep us from getting the franchise would get hold of the gullible Negro and the ignorant Negro, the illiterate Negro, anybody that was weak enough to listen or afraid of something, and give them a bottle of wine or beer or some money in order to carry the crowd and get out the vote for their choice of candidate. (Adair 1978, 29)

Also concerned with the “buying of votes” was a group of liberal Democrats. In December 1952, thirteen long-time Democrats, angry over the endorsement of Republican Dwight Eisenhower by the Harris County Democratic Party and The Democratic Party of Texas, organized to, in their words, “rebuild the Party of Jefferson, Jackson, Wilson, Roosevelt and Truman after Adlai Stevenson’s defeat” (Box 4, Folder 10, BCP). Another goal of this group was a more inclusive type of Democratic Party, one that would include both African American and Mexican American members in the decision-making process of the party (Box 4, Folder 10, BCP). According to the history of the Harris County Democrats posted on its website, “instead of just the elite group

who had been running the party, all kinds of Democrats, minorities, working class, union people and progressives began to participate” (Harris County Democrats, para. 2).

This group of liberal Democrats included longtime Democratic Party supporter and organizer, Mrs. Frankie Randolph, who, according to the biographical note attached to her papers at the Woodson Research Center at Rice University, was the first white person in Houston to join the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (MS 372, FRP). In a 1977 interview, Adair related her conversation with Mrs. Randolph about the practice of “buying votes” in their initial meeting in January of 1953.

Mrs. Randolph came to the NAACP office to talk with me about [a possible] organization. She said, “Do you think you could get other Negroes who would be concerned about this practice?” And I said, “I’m sure I could.” So she said, “Well, would you get them together and let’s see if we can have a meeting.” (Adair 1978, 29)

Adair then described her role in the planning meetings between a small group of whites and a small group of African Americans that eventually led to the formation of the Harris County Democrats.

I was able to get about seven or eight other Negroes and we would have these meetings at night. And we would discuss how we would do it, and with whom we could do it, and finally, we thought we had it just about solid enough that we could see the idea. And everybody left the meeting with the promise, the commitment that they would get some other people. (Adair 1978, 29)

The result of these initial private planning meetings was a county-wide public meeting held March 2, 1953, the first integrated political meeting ever held in Houston (Box 4, Folder 10, BCP). Adair described the meeting in a 1972 interview saying, “It was a full house, a League of Nations” (Caudill 1972, section B, 5). A constitution was

written and officers were elected for the newly-formed Harris County Democrats. According to printed copies of the history of the organization found in both the archives of the organization and in Adair's papers, it "was integrated from the beginning and had an open-door policy from inception" (Box 4, Folder 10, BCP; Box 1, Folder 2, CAP). The Harris County Democrats have challenged the conservative Democratic Party by organizing and supporting liberal issues and endorsing liberal Democratic candidates for office from the local to the state level since 1953. Still an active political organization in 2008, the Harris County Democrats endorsed a slate of candidates for the March 2008 Texas Democratic primary and the November 2008 elections (Harris County Democrats). Adair became an active member in the Harris County Democrats, even working for the organization for ten months in 1957 when the NAACP in Texas was involved in litigation with the state attorney general's office and legally could not do business (Box 4, Folder 9, CAP). In a letter to the membership of the Harris County Democrats dated April 12, 1957, Mrs. Frankie Randolph wrote, "I am sure you will be happy, as I am to know that Mrs. C. V. Adair is now a regular member of our staff at Democratic Headquarters" (Box 4, Folder 9, CAP).

Evaluating the effectiveness of the Harris Country Democrat organization from 1953-1968 and, especially, its value to the black community, Davidson (1968) wrote:

Although few Negroes have occupied top decision-making posts in Harris County Democrats, their relations with the white liberals have remained closer than with any other groups of whites in the county. In the last 15 years, Harris County Democrats have infused new life and organization into the local liberal forces. Its block-worker plan, involving intensive cultivation of voters at the precinct level, has benefited Negro precincts as well as white ones. (49, 128)

In a 1980 interview, Adair credited the Harris County Democrats with being one of the reasons why Houston's integration in the 1960s was less violent than other Southern cities (Karkabi 1980).

Civic Responsibility and Leadership in the Political Process

Though Adair resigned as Executive Secretary of the Houston NAACP in 1959 at age 65, she remained politically active in other ways, until just a few years before her death in 1989 (Gay 2007). She remained a precinct judge until 1970 and stated in 1980 that she was "proud of the fact that she always had 85 percent of her precinct turn out for elections" (Karkabi 1980, section 5, 4). In June 1970, Adair explained her new duties as a volunteer appointed by the Executive Board of the Harris County Democrats in a letter she wrote to a new precinct judge appointed in her precinct.

We are to carry on activities with precinct workers and any voter who is interested in the program of Harris County Democrats. The Harris County Democrats was organized to make it possible for all people of Harris County to have an equal chance in political action and to make their personal contribution to same through whatever sources they had to offer. (Box 4, Folder 9, CAP)

The next section of the letter described Adair's plan for training new judges and precinct workers and, in so doing, described the informal educative influence of her actions within this organization, something that reflected on the educative nature of other organizations of which she was a member throughout her life.

Will you figure a time of day on a Wednesday when you can spend some time at the headquarters with me and other judges or workers discussing our common problems and making plans by which we can overcome same? We can plan for clinics or workshops this fall which should be conducted in all our sections. I am interested in the young and newly elected judges. They have much to offer and of course, they need the experience of those of us who came into the program of action with the organization. (Box 4, Folder 9, CAP)

Adair felt that part of her responsibility as a precinct judge was to communicate with county and state officials when she perceived there were problems with the precinct process that needed to be addressed. In February of 1961, she wrote to State Representative Charles Whitfield and State Senator Bob Eckhart asking them to not support a bill that would have increased the number of hours that the election polls were open. Despite the fact that the bill seemed to address the recent problem of voters waiting in line for four to five hours to vote, Adair explained what she perceived as the real problem saying,

In some precincts, large buildings are not available for holding elections which means overcrowded conditions. And, no matter how many hours are allowed, if there are also not enough voting machines, we will still have a line of people waiting to be served. (Box 4, Folder 9, CAP)

Her idea of civic responsibility was not only concerned with process of voting from the citizen's perspective, but also dealt with the concerns of the volunteer precinct workers.

Aside from overworking the precinct judge and clerks with long hours, there should be some consideration given to their pay; \$10.00 is a mighty little to pay for the 13 or 14 hours we work now and to add to these without increase of pay would make it impossible for the judges to get efficient people to work with them. No matter how willing we are to give volunteer service the responsibility of holding elections is a full day's job and should be treated as such. (Box 4, Folder 9, CAP)

In other words, Adair was concerned that the entire voting process, including the tabulation and certification, be handled in a timely and efficient manner using precinct workers that, according to her opinion, should be paid fair wages.

Adair also demonstrated political activism through communication with local politicians and state legislators. Letters in the Adair papers illustrate her communication

with local and state government officials on a variety of subjects, sometimes encouraging, sometimes commenting, but always making known her political views. In April 1959, State Representative J. E. Winfree thanked Adair for her “supportive and encouraging letter,” while State Representative Roger Daily acknowledged her letter of March 31, 1959, concerning his “conduct in the Texas House of Representatives” (Box 4, Folder 9, CAP). Houston Mayor Louis Cutrer wrote to Adair in March 1962, thanking her for her wire “approving his actions in integrating city buildings” (Box 5, Scrapbook, CAP).

Even after Adair left her position with the NAACP in 1959, her opinion was valued and she was contacted by local and state officials. Writing to Adair in February 1967, State Representative Tom Bass stated:

As a recognized Democratic leader in your precinct, you are in a position to know how your neighbors feel on various political issues. On the other hand, it is very easy for the legislators in Austin to fail to realize the “grass roots” sentiment. As officers of the Harris County Delegation, we are going to ask you to do us a favor. Any time that you, or your neighbors, feel strongly about any particular issue we would certainly appreciate your letting us know your position on that issue. (Box 5, Scrapbook, CAP)

In May 1974, Mayor Fred Hofheinz invited an 80-year old Adair to a private meeting about women’s rights.

Knowing of your interest in what the City of Houston is doing in regard to women’s rights, I would like for you to join me for breakfast at 8 a.m., Tuesday, June 4, to discuss some of our current programs and plans. Poppy Northcutt, our Women’s Advocate, and Vince Rachel, Civil Service Director, also will be with us for this informal meeting. (Box 5, Scrapbook, CAP)

When asked about her role in the desegregation of public facilities in Houston, Adair first described the segregated library system.

I'd like to say that up to that time [1955], we [African Americans] couldn't get a book from the library. We were not allowed in the libraries. They had a branch building over in the Fourth Ward, just behind the old high school and that was [our library]. The only books we could get would be from there. And material was very short. (Adair 1978, 23)

She then recounted her role in the incident that opened the library to African Americans.

This new mayor, Roy Hofheinz, called the NAACP office early one morning and said, "Mrs. Adair, this is not healthy news for publication so I would like for you, the first thing you do, I would like for you to notify your high school principals and your reading public to go to the library and get their library cards. Mrs. Adair, the city libraries are open to everybody." (Adair 1978, 23)

The opening of the library was facilitated by Adair's relationship with white city officials, particularly a well-known political family, the Hofheinz. Roy Hofheinz, was mayor of Houston from 1953-1955, and his son, Fred Hofheinz, was mayor of Houston from 1974-1977. Both men were involved in desegregation in Houston and both involved Adair in their actions. Although specific references to Adair's perception of her relationship with the Hofheinz family were not found, her reflection of another incident illustrates the confidence she had in her leadership position.

During Mr. Hofheinz' administration, a housing bill was passed to break discrimination. Where Dallas and other southern cities were having fires and bombings and murders, we only had one incident. An [African American] man named Jack Caesar bought and moved into a home in an area that had formerly been all-white. Somebody threw a bomb into his house and set it afire. Somebody called me in the morning around 2 am and [told me]. I called the mayor's home. I said to his wife who answered the phone, "Mrs. Hofheinz, I want Mr. Hofheinz to know that somebody has set fire to Jack Caesar's home" and I gave the location and the address. (Adair 1978, 24)

Adair (1978) continued the story explaining that the mayor and the Chief of Police went to the scene, where the mayor told the chief "he didn't want the sun to go down without the culprits apprehended (24). According to Adair, the suspects were caught that very

day and later tried and convicted (Adair 1978). These incidents demonstrated Adair's sense of justice and the leadership role she played in desegregating Houston society.

Adair's opinion as well as her friendship was valued by certain officials. In a letter dated January 25, 1967, State Senator Barbara Jordan wrote to Adair recognizing her support in helping Jordan in her election as the first African American woman elected to the Texas State Senate.

Your presence on Tuesday, January 10, made it one of the most memorable days of my life. My path to the Texas Senate has been long and at times very lonely. But, as I took the oath of office and officially became the Senator of the 11th Senatorial District, I knew that my path would never again be lonely. You were here with me and I felt that I could always count on your being there when I need you. Sincerely your friend, Barbara Jordan. (Box 5, Scrapbook, CAP)

Adair's belief in civic responsibility also extended to her own actions as a voter. Having fought for so many years for the right to vote, both as a woman and as an African American, the act of voting was a significant part of her life. In 1977, at the age of 84, she was hospitalized for a broken knee and was afraid that she would not be able to vote (Karkabi 1980). "I worried the hospital staff so much they let me call a minister who took me to vote in a wheelchair" (Paternoster 1981, 10). In a 1999 newspaper interview, State Representative Harold Dutton spoke of Adair's strong belief in the importance of voting. "The thing that made her mad the most, just outraged her, was when she'd look back at all the things she did and then find out some people still don't vote" (Bernstein 1999, H3). In describing how important the act of voting was to Adair, Willie Lee Gay, retired Texas history teacher and friend of Adair, described Adair's final act of civic responsibility.

She was a true voter to the end. She believed in voting. In her later years, she was mostly bedridden. The last thing she did before her death was vote. Some men came from the office of Rodney Ellis and took her to vote in November. She died the next month in December. (Bernstein 1999, H3)

Section Summary

Adair's sense of justice and fair play was a continuing theme throughout her life, a value taught and modeled by Handy and Ada Daniels and reinforced by informal educational experiences in the community. As a political activist fighting for the rights of African Americans for over six decades, she demonstrated her sense of justice and fair play by her own individual acts of civic responsibility and through her work as precinct judge and as a leader in political organizations such as the NAACP, the Harris County Council of Organizations, and the Harris County Democrats.

The Theme of Valuing Education: Formal Education

Family, church, and community provided initial values and opportunities for Adair; her formal education reinforced these values and provided additional knowledge and skills. Adair came from what she described as a financially "poor" family (Adair 1978, 3), but, through family support, had the opportunity for a formal education in elementary and high school, as well as teacher training and certification, something her parents, and many in Texas in the early twentieth century, white or black, never experienced. In describing her family's support for education, Adair recalled that her parents realized the value of a formal education for their children. "Now, my mother and my father were, when you think of academic-wise, both illiterate, but they both had high ideals. And both had an interest in education" (Adair 1978, 3, 11).

Adair recounted that her formal educational experience began in a small, segregated, elementary school in Edna, Texas, that had a principal and two women assistants (Davis 1977, 1). The date when she first entered school is unclear. Several interviews with Adair and newspaper articles about her during the period 1972-1986 did not give this information (Adair 1978; Caudill 1972; Chatham 1974; Davis 1977, Grissom 1977; Kane 1978; Karkabi 1980, 1984; Obbie 1986; Paternoster 1981; Sallee 1977). In addition, records of the segregated African American schools in Edna ISD are not available because they were destroyed in a fire, according to Edna ISD spokesperson Debbie Springer (Telephone conversation with author, May 6, 2006). Census data about the Daniels family, recorded July 12, 1900, indicated that six-year old Christia did not attend school for the scholastic year that began September 1899, but, by the April 1910 census, was listed as attending school in the current scholastic year and as being able to read and write (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1900, 1910).

Another family member, John W. Frazier, Christia's godfather, demonstrated his belief in the value of an education when he voiced his dissatisfaction with the quality of education offered African American children in the Edna schools. Frazier, educated at Bennett Seminary in Greensboro, North Carolina, and Wiley University in Marshall, Texas, taught school in Victoria, Texas, where he met the Daniels family and became Christia's godfather at her birth in 1893 (Adair 1978; Brewer 1940; Heintze 1985). Frazier and his wife moved to Austin in 1900 where he and Reuben S. Lovinggood, founded Samuel Huston College, a private elementary and secondary institution for African American students (Adair 1978; Brewer 1940; Heintze 1985; *Samuel Huston*

College Weekly Bulletin, Annual Catalogue Edition 1905 and 1914). Frazier served as professor of mathematics and librarian during the time of Adair's attendance from 1908-1913, as Interim President of the College from 1916-1917, and as assistant to the President from 1919-1921 (Adair 1978; Brewer 1940; Heintze 1985; *Samuel Huston College Weekly Bulletin, Annual Catalogue Edition 1905 and 1914; Bulletin-Echo, Catalogue Edition 1920, Samuel Huston College; Huston-Tillotson College Bulletin*, 1991).

By the time she was in sixth grade, in 1907, Adair stated that Frazier complained to her parents about "the overcrowded and ill-equipped schools" for African American children in Edna and wanted her parents to let her go to Samuel Huston College in Austin where he currently taught (Adair 1978, 1). According to Adair, her father's views of the segregated Edna schools were similar to those of Frazier. "My father had an interest in education and he knew that Edna's schools were not the type of schools for his children" (Adair 1978, 11).

Segregated Schools

Several sources note the limited number and poor quality of segregated public schools for African Americans in the South and in Texas: Campbell (1983), Davis (1934), Hine and Thompson (1998), Neverdon-Morton (1989), Rice (1971), Robinson (1978), Sterling (1984), and Winegarten (1996). Using data compiled from the *Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction for 1907-1908* (Cousins 1909), conditions for African American students were compared to conditions for white students in the segregated Edna schools during the final scholastic year in which Christia attended

school in Edna and is shown in Table 1. First, the colored school had a student to teacher ratio of 58:1, as compared to the student to teacher ratio of approximately 26:1 in the white school. Second, the number of desks provided for colored students was less than the number of colored students. Adair described the problem of overcrowding in the Edna schools when she wrote the following on the back of a photograph of her sister's classroom, "This was my sister's room in the Colored Public School building. The first row standing is my class which had to sit in my sister's room because our room was too crowded" (Box 6, Folder 1, CAP). Finally, there was a difference in total value of school property for colored and white schools.

Table 1. Schools in Edna Independent School District, Texas, 1907-1908, by Race

	Student Enrollment	Number of Schools/ Rooms	Number of Teachers	Number of Desks Single/ Double	Condition of School Houses Good/Fair/Bad	Total Value of All School Property
White	170	1/8	6	200/0	1/0/0	\$15,700
Colored	116	1/4	2	50/0	0/1/0	\$ 1,600

Source: R. B. Cousins, *Sixteenth Biennial Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Scholastic Years Ending August 31, 1907, and August 31, 1908*, (Austin, TX: Von Boeckmann-Jones, 1909), 369, 410, 435, 459, 490.

While this data do not address all issues involved in evaluating the quality of education provided African American children in Edna schools at the time, for example, teacher training and curriculum, it does provide information about certain conditions in the Edna schools in 1907-1908, the last year of Christia's attendance.

Samuel Huston College

In 1908, Handy Daniels demonstrated his support for the education of his children by paying the tuition for Christia and her brother Webster to attend Samuel Huston College in Austin. Adair entered seventh grade at Samuel Huston College at the age of fifteen.

I had a brother, there's seventeen months difference in our ages, and our parents didn't want us separated. So my godfather admonished them to let both of us go. My daddy was pretty worried. It was quite a struggle for him as a poor man, but he let us both go to Austin to go to school at Sam Huston. We did our elementary and high school work at Sam Huston. (Davis 1977, 3)

Samuel Huston College originated as a Freedman Aid school in 1900, supported by the Methodist Church (*Samuel Huston College Bulletin, Catalogue Edition, 1900-1901* 1900). Information published in the *Report of the Commissioner of Education* for 1910, the year Christia Daniels graduated from 8th grade at Samuel Huston College, described an enrollment of 262 elementary students, 95 secondary students, 16 college-level students, and a faculty of 19. The library was valued at \$3,000 and the total value of grounds, buildings, furniture, and scientific apparatus was \$75,700 (U.S. Department of the Interior 1911, 1272-1273).

At the time of Adair's attendance, the school offered first through eighth grades and secondary classes consisting of normal school courses and secondary college preparatory classes. This organizational pattern of having elementary grades and then dividing the secondary courses into college preparatory and normal school courses of study, was seen in both black and white secondary institutions throughout the south by

1880. Samuel Huston College and Prairie View College were no exception (Heintze, 1985).

Even though Samuel Huston College was a private school, the course of study included subjects similar to those required in the public schools by the Texas School Law of 1884, which stated that, “All the public schools in this State shall be required to have taught in them orthography (spelling), reading in English, penmanship, arithmetic, English grammar, modern geography, and composition” (Eby 1918, 809). The *Samuel Huston College Weekly Bulletin, Annual Catalogue Edition, 1905-1906*, described the course offerings for seventh grade as Texas History, English grammar, composition, and spelling, arithmetic, geography, physiology, music, and art, and similar courses for eighth grade with the addition of American literature and civil government, and United States history instead of Texas history (1905, 33). A footnote in the same edition explained the relationship of the school to its financial and religious base in that the whole school was instructed in the English Bible two hours each week and students had to bring a Bible and song book to chapel each morning (*Samuel Huston College Bulletin* 1905, 32).

After Adair graduated from eighth grade at Samuel Huston College in 1911, she stated that she continued there for two more years to finish what she referred to as her “high school work.”² Adair did not state whether those courses involved the normal school course of study or the college preparatory. In examining the courses listed in the

² Although Huston-Tillotson University does not have records for Samuel Huston College students from this time period, there is a copy of Adair’s original eighth grade diploma in the Adair Papers, Houston Metropolitan Research Center, Houston Public Library.

Samuel Huston College Weekly Bulletin, Annual Catalogue edition, 1905-1906 for both the normal school and the college preparatory tracks, similarities can be found. Both included courses of study in English composition, American literature, Latin, algebra and geometry, rhetoric, physiology, botany, and bookkeeping (1905). The courses of study differed in that the college preparatory course of study included the study of physics, chemistry, ethics, and French, German, or Greek, while the normal school course of study included biology and psychology as well as teacher preparation courses such as pedagogy, methods of instruction, history of education, and school management (*Sam Huston College Bulletin* 1905).

In describing both the curriculum and academic support at Samuel Huston College, Adair (1978) stated that,

It was a vast difference in curriculum [from Edna], but we had the usual grade system. And we did have some vocation. Girls studied sewing and cooking and home economics and the boys learned a little shop. The school was small and the people had plenty of time to give to the students. (11)

Adair elaborated on her support system at Samuel Huston College, particularly the role of her godparents' and the relationship with the President's family, by saying, "Sam Huston College was just a great big family. I left my own family and went into the influence of another family, Dr. Lovinggood and my godparents [the Fraziers]" (Adair 1978, 11).

One incident that illustrated the connection between family, community, and school, the link between informal and formal educative experiences, was when Adair described the reaction to her new position of Sunday school superintendent. According to Adair, when she returned to school in Austin in September of 1909, she informed her

classmates and her religious education director at Samuel Huston College, Professor McNealy, of her new Sunday school leadership position. She recalled the support and encouragement she received saying that McNealy responded with the statement, “All right. We’re going to put a lot of time in our class work when we go back after vacation. Edna’s going to have a good superintendent” (Adair 1978, 6). Her classmates, she recalled, “became interested and were leaning toward helping me be a good superintendent” (Adair 1978, 6).

Adair stated that in 1913 she was admitted to Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College with junior standing and explained the reason for this.

At that time if you were a graduate of Sam Huston College or Wiley, one of those secondary schools, you could go to Prairie View and take an examination which would have been the sophomore class. If you could pass the examination, then you could go into the junior class. You wouldn’t have to spend but two years. Other than that, you would be there three or four years. So I took the examination and I spent my junior and senior year of academic work at Prairie View. (Adair 1978, 12)

Although the expected role for women of the time was one of wife and mother, and the reality for African American women was one of agricultural or domestic work, Handy Daniels supported his daughter in furthering her education.

Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College

After Adair completed work at Samuel Huston College at the age of twenty, her father felt “she was too young to come out of school and go to work,” so he encouraged her to attend Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College near Houston (Adair 1978, 12). The decision by Handy Daniels illustrated what Lerner (1979) noted was a necessity for African American families:

Ever since slavery days black women have had to work for their own support and for the support of their families. Rigid discrimination bars against black men and the low and insecure wages they could earn forced the majority of black women, even mothers of small children, to work for pay outside the home. In this they differed from white married women, who entered the labor force in large numbers only in the twentieth century. One of the adaptations black families made to this reality was to educate their daughters to self-dependency. (57)

Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College in Waller County, Texas, northwest of Houston, was created in 1876 by the Fifteenth Texas Legislature as the first state-supported college in Texas for African Americans and was originally known as Alta Vista Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas for Colored Youth (Woolfolk 1962). The original curriculum designated by the Texas legislature in 1879 was that of a normal school for the preparation and training of teachers and offered thirteen subjects on the elementary and secondary levels. According to the Prairie View A&M University website on the “History of Prairie View A&M University,” this curriculum was expanded in 1901 by the Twenty-Seventh Legislature to include “the arts and sciences, home economics, agriculture, mechanical arts, and nursing.” Winegarten (1995) described Prairie View College in the early 1900s as a “multipurpose institution which served as the state’s agricultural college, normal school, college of industrial arts, and university for blacks” (110).

According to the Prairie View Commencement Program of 1913, female graduates comprised one-half of the total graduates that year and “their major subjects were sewing, millinery, cooking, dairying, and normal school courses, but they also studied Latin, Greek, civics, and geometry” (quoted in Winegarten 1995, 112). Christia Daniels attended Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College from 1913-1915,

with a major in domestic science. Specific Prairie View course records for Christia Daniels are not available from the university. According to Solaria Pearson, Assistant to the Registrar at Prairie View A&M University, official transcripts of students who attended Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College in the first two decades of the twentieth century when Adair was a student, were destroyed when an attempt was made in the 1970s to transfer them to new technology (Conversation with author, April 2006). Copies of Christia Daniels' diploma and teaching certificate from Prairie View are in the Adair Papers, Houston Metropolitan Research Center, Houston Public Library.

The Prairie View College *Abridged Annual Catalogue* (1920), four years after Adair graduated, listed general courses for all juniors and seniors as English, mathematics, history, psychology, chemistry, psychology, and physiology. Courses that were specific to a teaching degree in domestic science or home economics, which Adair would eventually receive, included laundering, foods and cooking, clothing and textiles, home nursing, household chemistry and physics, household management, dietetics, dressmaking, child care, millinery, methods of teaching, and practice teaching (20).

To compare courses requirements for a teaching certificate in domestic science in Texas normal schools in the second decade of the twentieth century, information about the segregated African American normal school, Prairie View State Normal, and information about the white normal school, Sam Houston Normal Institute, were examined. The schools were similar in that both Sam Houston and Prairie View offered courses in agriculture and manual training for men and courses in domestic economy or science for women, and both had similar courses requirements. In comparing the

required course of study in domestic science in both colleges, the Report of the Commissioner of Education of 1910 stated that students in both colleges were required to take cooking, sewing, and dress-making. Sam Houston Normal Institute also required household management, while Prairie View required a course in millinery (U.S. Department of the Interior 1911, 1102). Science courses required of students at both colleges included botany, zoology, chemistry, and physics, while Sam Houston also required physiography³ and Prairie View required geology (U.S. Department of the Interior 1911, 1102).

In examining interviews with Adair from 1972-1986, few specific statements were found as to her perception of her own formal education at Samuel Huston and Prairie View Colleges. In one 1977 interview, Adair reflected on the influence of two of her Prairie View teachers. One teacher, a Mrs. Williams, she described as “a very thorough government teacher,” (Davis 1977, 2) a subject which reinforced her father’s nightly discussions of local politics earlier in her life. The other teacher was a Professor Walton, an agriculture teacher. Adair commented on the long-term impact of this subject saying, “Something about the things he taught about the soil and food and things like that fascinated me. Until this day, I put into practice some of the things I learned in agriculture” (Davis 1977, 2).

However sparse published comments about her college career were, Adair’s actions over time demonstrated a belief in the value of education. In a 1977 interview, Adair related that while living in Kingsville, she had not only organized Sunday school

³ According to Webster’s 1913 Dictionary, physiography was defined as physical geography (<http://www.webster-dictionary.org/definition/physiography>).

classes for local African American children, but also encouraged parents to send their children to college.

Parents began catching the spirit of furthering their children's education and people began sending their boys and girls to school, to colleges. I think we got some very good results from those boys and girls whose lives we reached when they were little children. (Adair 1978, 14)

She also related how she described her own formal education to the children in an apparent effort to inspire them. "I had to climb—you can't lift if you can't climb. I had to keep climbing to make womanhood—noble and interesting womanhood—attractive to them" (Karkabi 1980, Section 5, 1).

Valuing Education: A Teaching Career

In May of 1914, Adair received a teaching certificate, First Grade, and a certificate to teach Domestic Science. In May of 1915, she graduated from Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College at the age of twenty-two and returned to teach, first in her hometown of Edna, and then, in the rural area surrounding Edna. According to close friend, Mrs. Willie Lee Gay, Adair related that she wanted to become a teacher and work with children (Gay 2007). And, in so doing, Adair followed the increasing feminization of the teaching profession in that time period and a tradition for African American women that, in particular, dating back to the post-Civil War period (Neverdon-Morton 1989; Winegarten 1995).

Between 1880 and 1918, there was a steady increase in the United States in the percentage of female teachers in the teaching profession, both in elementary and secondary schools. Woody (1929) quoted the *Biennial Survey of Education, 1916-1918*, "in 1880, 57.2% of all teachers in the United States were women and 42.8% men; in

1890, 65.5% women and 34.5% men; in 1900, 70.1% women and 29.9% men; in 1910, 78.9% women and 21.1% men; and in 1918, women constituted 83.9% and men 16.1% of teachers” (499). Texas reflected this national trend; in 1900, female teachers outnumbered male teachers, 8,239 to 7,135 (Lefevre 1902, 73). By 1920, women comprised 86.2% and men 13.8% of the teachers in Texas (Blanton 1922, 202). Cottrell (1993b) described certain reasons for this trend saying,

Advocates of teaching as women’s “true” profession believed that women were well-suited to the classroom because of their special nurturing skills and their ability to set a moral tone in communities. They also argued that teaching provided a respectable alternative to marriage, as well as some sense of independence for women without threatening the proper boundaries of femininity. Economically, schools could pay women less because it was understood that they worked temporarily, only until they married, and because they had no family to support. Demographically, the growing population in the United States, coupled with the movement of increasing numbers of males into industrial and commercial work, opened teaching positions for women. (12)

Statistics for African American teachers demonstrated a similar trend. According to the State Superintendent’s Report for 1901-1902, there were 1,640 African American male teachers in Texas public schools as compared to 1,546 female teachers (Lefevre 1902, 242). By 1908, the number of female African American teachers had exceeded the number of male African American teachers, 1,836 to 1,293 (Cousins 1909, 421), and by 1920, there were 711 African American male teachers and 3,008 African American female teachers in Texas (Blanton 1922, 198).

Valuing Education: African American Women

For young African American women, education and professional training were particularly significant avenues of mobility, enabling them to escape lives of poverty perpetuated by work in the fields or the low-paying occupations of laundry and domestic

service (Hine 1994; McCluskey 1997; Neverdon-Morton 1989; Winegarten 1995). Teaching provided benefits such as higher pay and increased status and leadership within the community where teachers were considered “important members of the community, serving as a combination social worker, public health nurse, role model, and chief motivator of the young” (Winegarten 1995). The *Proceedings of the Hampton Negro Conference*, July 1905, and the *Report of the Committee on Business and Labor Conditions*, July 1905, reported that female domestics in the South received an average of only \$8.00 a month (26), while the average pay of an African American female teacher in rural Texas in 1906-1907 was \$40.90 a month, according to the 1909 State Superintendent’s Report (Cousins 1909, 31).

Teaching provided relative security for African American families given the low wages and seasonal employment of many African American men (Hine 1994; Neverdon-Morton 1989; Winegarten 1995). As explained by African American teacher Robinson (1978), in writing about her own career as a teacher, “Through me the family was pushing through their boundaries farther from the field work and domestic chores, which, to my parent’s generation, still held deep connotations of slavery” (3).

In 1977, Adair spoke of her brief teaching career and her father’s influence in this matter.

I taught school three years in my little home town. The first two years I taught in the independent school district of Edna. After that, the country superintendent asked my daddy if I could teach in the county. Papa said if I wanted to. But my papa told me to ask for more money, because the first year I was teaching, I was getting \$35 a month which was a lot of money to me. But, anyway, I did go to the rural area and it’s still in our county, but a little railroad terminal community, and they did give me \$40, a \$5 raise. So, I taught those two years. (Adair 1978, 12)

Although her statement illustrated the traditional patriarchal society, black or white, of which she was a part, it also spoke to Adair's close relationship with her father and his continuing influence in her life.

In 1918, Christia resigned her teaching position after she met and later married Elbert H. Adair, a brakeman for the Missouri Pacific Railroad. Elbert Adair's initial reaction to Christia's career as a teacher reflected the traditional patriarchal society of early twentieth century America (Neverdon-Morton 1989). Adair explained the reasons for her decision, saying:

I met him in October and in May [1918], the next spring, we married. And he asked what I was going to do about my school and I told him I didn't know. I hadn't done anything and asked what did he think? And he said, "Well, I don't have any school. I don't need any teachers. But I do have a home and I need a wife." So that ended a teacher's career and I went into different fields of thinking then. (Adair 1978, 12)

Elbert Adair's request that his wife relinquish her teaching career after their marriage was, perhaps, unusual for the time period in that the financial reality for most African American women was that their income, usually from domestic service or agricultural work, was needed for the family's survival (Johnson 2000). This fact might have been related to the ability of Elbert Adair to support his family through his job with the railroad. Adair (1978) described her husband's job saying, "My husband was a brakeman. He had seniority enough to get most any job he wanted on the road in the transportation department" (12).

Although Adair only taught for three years, subsequent actions as a community leader and activist in Kingsville and Houston, illustrated her belief in the value of education. She continued to volunteer her time in the public schools in Kingsville and

Houston throughout her life (Adair 1978; Davis 1977; Gay 2007). Willie Lee Gay (2007), Houston ISD history teacher and the first African American appointed to the Texas State Historical Commission, related that Adair worked with students in the Houston ISD on various history and civics projects, including programs to promote voting, to teach African American youth about the achievements of African Americans in Houston, and in community efforts to maintain historically significant African American sites in Houston, such as the cemeteries of former slaves and homes of early African American settlers.

Adair also worked with organizations such as the Girls Club that actively provided both formal and informal educational experiences for young African American females. Houston business woman Jean Ford (2007) related her experience from 1972-1975 as a member of the Houston Girls Club branch that was named for Christia Adair.

In 1972, I was thirteen years of age. My mom was friends with a lady named Vietta Fair, a school teacher in HISD. My parents were a young couple with five children and they didn't have the money to spend on us to be in activities. And, by being friends with Mrs. Fair, she told my mom about a girls club that was geared towards young black African American females to encourage us to build our speaking skills, different aspects of being a young lady, and empowering us to move forward and be proud of who we were. When I joined, we didn't have a name for our branch. Mrs. Fair was good friends with Mrs. Adair and she decided to name it Christia V. Adair Girls Club. (3)

When asked about the significance of her experience in the Girls Club, Ford described the specific activities in which she engaged and the impact on her career.

We had sewing, speech contests, talent contests and did community service. We learned to raise money to help fund our trips because she [Adair] was big on networking and meeting other black females across the country. I learned to compete in speaking contests. We traveled to different cities in Texas—Abilene, Dallas, Marshall—and competed against other young ladies and Mrs. Adair traveled with us. I will say to this day I have no problem speaking in front of

people. In fact, I teach classes in telecommunications for companies like Siemens and Academy Sports. And that was my foundation and my starting point. I have never had any formal training in speaking, other than that club. (3)

When asked about the specific role that Adair played in working with the girls in the club, Ford (2007) spoke of the encouragement and advice Adair gave the girls on various topics.

She always encouraged us and told us about different things that black women had had to go through. She would tell us different things about being a black young lady—that you could be whatever you want. She told us to “get your education. Strive to be the best you can be. Never quit. Don’t give up.” (4)

Speaking specifically about education, Ford (2007) related Adair’s discussions with the girls in the club about the importance of continuing their education.

She always told us that, to paraphrase, education was what was going to propel you forward in your life. You didn’t just have to be a housewife or stay at home mommy. You could be a mommy plus. She always told us to get more education. (4)

While Adair worked in community and church organizations to encourage young people to continue their education, she also realized that, for African American students in Houston and throughout Texas, the quality of their formal education was shaped by the segregated society in which they lived.

Valuing Education: Leadership in the Struggle for Integrated Schools

In June 1937, African American leaders from several local Texas NAACP chapters formed a statewide organization, the Texas State Conference of Branches of NAACP (Davidson 1968; Gillette 1984). Over the next thirty years, the Texas Conference, in coordination with the national NAACP office, “planned and initiated lawsuits against racial discrimination in the areas of voting rights, jury service,

employment, housing, education, and public accommodations” (Gillette 1984, 400). During the 1930s and 1940s, the Texas Conference concentrated on ending the white-only Democratic primary, succeeding in April 1944, with the Supreme Court decision in *Smith v. Allwright* declaring the white primary unconstitutional (Gillette 1984; Hine 1979; Kellar 1999; Pitre 1999; Zelden 2004). The plans for the case were developed under the supervision of the national NAACP’s Legal Defense and Education Fund (LDF) team led by chief counsel, Thurgood Marshall. Although Adair was not yet working for the Houston NAACP at the time of this case, the Houston branch provided the plaintiff for the case, Lonnie Smith, a local dentist and NAACP member, who had attempted to vote in the Democratic primary in his precinct and had been denied (Hine 1979; Kellar 1999; Pitre 1999).

In looking at the impact of *Smith v. Allwright*, Kellar (1999) wrote “the decision established both a precedent and a template for NAACP lawyers’ future legal battles against racial segregation, particularly in public schools” (10). Zelden (2004) described the case:

Smith’s importance goes beyond simply voting. The victory in *Smith* was the first in a series of legal victories in the late 1940s and early 1950s—including 1946’s *Morgan v. Virginia* (desegregation in interstate bus travel), 1948’s *Shelley v. Kraemer* (barring restrictive covenants for housing), and 1950’s *Sweatt v. Painter* (requiring that separate graduate education facilities had to be equal in fact, not just in name)—all of which laid the groundwork for the LDF’s 1954 victory over segregated Education in *Brown v. Board of Education*. (3)

In 1946, the NAACP national office and the Texas Conference turned their attention to the issue of segregated public education, this time at the university level. “The Texas NAACP raised funds in advance for a desegregation case aimed at this

effort, developed the legal arguments for the case even before it had one, sought and identified a plaintiff for the case, and sponsored the lawsuit” (Houston 2000, 42). Again, the Houston branch provided the plaintiff, Heman Sweatt, who filed suit in May 1946, to secure admission to the segregated University of Texas Law School (Burns 1996; Gillette 1981; Pitre 1999). Sweatt was a graduate of Wiley College, in Marshall, Texas, and had taken a job as a letter carrier in Houston. He was active in the Houston NAACP and also in the National Alliance of Postal Workers (Gillette 1981; Kellar 1999). According to Kellar (1999), “This organization had been fighting against racial discrimination against postal workers and Sweatt’s involvement inspired him with the wish to become an attorney” (42).

The State of Texas attempted to offer Sweatt a newly established alternate law school in Austin, but Sweatt, advised by the NAACP legal team, declined and the case proceeded through the courts (Burns 1996; Gillette 1981). NAACP counsel Marshall argued *Sweatt v. Painter* before the Supreme Court in late 1949 (Burns 1996; Gillette 1981; Kellar 1999; Zelden 2004). In June 1950, the Supreme Court “concluded that black law students were not offered substantial quality in educational opportunities and that Sweatt could therefore not receive an equal education in a separate law school” (Burns 1996, 168) and ruled that The University of Texas had to admit Sweatt to law school and that similar state universities must also admit blacks to their graduate programs (Kellar 1999).

When asked about her role in the Sweatt case, Adair replied,

The Sweatt case started under the administration of Mrs. White, but it did not culminate until I went in as the administrator. So I had a lot to do in helping with it both as an assistant and then as Executive Secretary. (Adair 1978, 26)

During the case, Adair was responsible for the correspondence between the local office and the national legal defense team, as well as keeping local members aware of the progress of the case (Adair 1978; Davis 1977). Adair's remarks about her involvement in the Sweatt case included her explanation of barratry, the practice of soliciting cases for potential lawsuits that would become a legal issue for the NAACP in 1956.

You don't get NAACP's assistance just by them looking you up and bringing it to you. You have to go and ask them to help you with a case that you have, and assure them of your cooperation and let the legal department of the NAACP, beginning with the local branch, the state branch, the regional and the national study it to make the decision whether there are NAACP merits in the case or not. There is never a local branch case—it is always the NAACP case. Because when Thurgood Marshall was our legal advisor, he always said, "Never go to interview or negotiate alone. Always have a witness and if possible always get the decision in black and white." That protected the NAACP from the accusation of barratry. (Adair 1978, 26)

Working with the Houston branch of the NAACP from 1945-1959, Adair focused on improving the quality of education for African American children in Houston and for the eventual desegregation of public schools of the Houston Independent School District (HISD) (Adair 1978; Davis; 1977). In describing the history of the public school system in the city of Houston, Kellar (1999) wrote:

Houston, Texas, had what may have been the largest racially segregated "Jim Crow" public school system in the United States in 1954 when the Supreme Court declared such segregation unconstitutional. Most white southerners firmly opposed desegregation of any kind, especially in their public schools. Most whites in Texas agreed. Houstonians held opinions much like those of other Texans, with most whites opposing school desegregation and most blacks favoring it. (xv)

The conditions in the segregated African American schools in the HISD during the first five decades of the twentieth century were no different from conditions for African Americans in other districts in the state during the same period (Barr 1996; Kellar 1999). “From its inception, the Houston Independent School District was segregated, and as early as 1871, a separate facility existed for black children in each ward” (Beeth and Wintz 1992, 95). There were inequities in providing supplies, equipment, textbooks, and teachers for African American students as well as a lack of equitable funding for over-crowded and, sometimes, unsafe African American schools (Banks 1962; Beeth and Wintz 1992; Johnson 1943; Kellar 1999; SoRelle 1980).

By 1954, one of the three high schools for African American students in HISD, Jack Yates, had an enrollment of 3,000 pupils in a facility constructed for 1,600. The school lost its accreditation from the Southern Association of Secondary Schools the same year, due to “poor conditions” and it was not until four years later that the HISD School Board approved funding to alleviate the situation (Kellar 1999). African American teachers were also paid less than white teachers with comparable education and experience until 1943 when the HISD school board approved an equalization plan (Beeth and Wintz 1992; Chapman 2000; Kellar 1999).

Beginning in the 1920s, articles published in the local African American newspaper, the *Houston Informer*, voiced the concerns of African Americans about the conditions of segregated schools for their children (*Houston Informer*, 1920, 1923, 1924, 1935a, 1935b, 1936). In 1956, African American citizens in Houston, as well as the Texas NAACP, took legal action to address the issue of inequity in schooling for African

American students. As a result of the Supreme Court's ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954, the NAACP attempted to promote desegregation in Texas public schools by filing lawsuits against several Texas school districts in 1955 and 1956, including Houston ISD (Kellar 1999).

In December 1956, three African American attorneys filed suit in federal district court on behalf of Delores Ross and Beneva Williams who had attempted to enroll at two of HISD's all-white schools the previous fall and were refused. Ross had to walk fourteen blocks to attend all-black Crawford Elementary, because she had been denied permission to attend the all-white Sherman Elementary, located only two blocks from her home. Williams had to walk twenty-one blocks to all-black E. O. Smith Junior High because nearby McReynolds Junior High was all-white as well. (Kellar 1999, 89-90)

The lawsuit forced the Houston school board to take action. However, the actions it took over the next four years were not designed to desegregate Houston schools, but were concerted efforts to prevent, by all means possible, any attempt at desegregation (Adair 1978; Barr 1996; Kellar 1999).

Resistance to change was evident in Houston, particularly regarding school integration. It [The HISD school board] thwarted every effort to integrate local schools as long as it possibly could. In 1960, when it finally had to administer the desegregation of the first grade, it enforced only minimal compliance. (Beeth and Wintz 1992, 213)

Adair was involved in the struggle for the desegregation of the Houston public school district through her job with the NAACP and through her own individual actions outside of the NAACP. The officers of the local branch of the NAACP, with Adair as Executive Secretary, looked for two years for plaintiffs who would volunteer to contest HISD's segregated policies (*Houston Post*, 1994). When the parents of both Delores Ross and Beneva Williams attempted to enroll their children in their segregated neighborhood schools and were denied admission, local NAACP branch attorneys

subsequently filed a lawsuit against HISD on behalf of both children (*Houston Post*, May 15, 1994). As Executive Secretary of the local NAACP, it was Adair's responsibility to keep the national office informed of the progress of the lawsuit and all actions of the Houston school board (Adair 1978; Davis 1977).

While the Houston school board voted to delay any specific action toward actual desegregation during 1957, the original lawsuit continued. After hearing statements by both sides in May 1957, Federal district Judge Ben C. Connally took the summer of 1957 to study the issues. On October 15, 1957, Judge Connally ruled "unconstitutional the provisions in the Texas State Constitution and the Texas Civil Statutes that required racially segregated public schools, and declared the policy and practice of racial segregation in HISD schools to be unlawful and a violation of the constitutional rights of the plaintiffs" (Kellar 1999, 102). Although the judge ordered HISD to make arrangements for admission of the African American children to the white schools on a "racially nondiscriminatory basis, with all deliberate speed, as required by the Supreme Court of the United States," he set no timetable or deadline for HISD to carry out his decision (Kellar 1999, 103). As a result, the HISD board set up additional committees in 1958 to again study the problems of desegregation, but took no action to begin the process (Kellar 103). One program proposed by the board, but never carried out, was to re-train or 'upgrade Negro teachers' by placing them behind a screen or a wall to observe white teachers instructing black students (Kellar 1999, 104).

In the school board election of November 1958, voters in HISD elected the first African American, Hattie Mae White, to the school board. White, a leader in the African

American community for several years, had been the first African American woman on the board of directors of the YMCA and had served on the Race Relations Committee of the Council of Churches of Greater Houston and on the board of the Houston Association for Better Schools (Barr 1996; Kellar 1999; Winegarten 1995). Community leaders and private citizens, both black and white, encouraged White to run for the HISD board (Kellar 1999). Gay (2007) stated that one of those who helped convince White to run was Christia Adair, a friend of White for several years. As a member of the Houston school board from 1958-1967, White worked to improve school curriculum and facilities, for federal aid for the lunch program, and for peaceful integration of the school system (Kellar 1999; Winegarten 1995). However, White and Walter Kemmerer, the only board members advocating desegregation, were continually outvoted by the five more conservative members (Kellar 1999).

In April 1960, Judge Connally set a June 1, 1960, deadline for HISD to submit a plan for desegregation saying “any requests for additional delay” by HISD would be considered an “indication of bad faith” by the board (Kellar 1999, 120). At the May 30, 1960, school board meeting, after much discussion and debate, the Houston School Board adopted a plan calling for voluntary desegregation over the objections of both White and Kemmerer who voted against the plan (Kellar 1999). The plan called for stringent rules for African American students wishing to transfer, including satisfactory scores on district achievement tests, a medical examination, a good discipline record, previous attendance at a black kindergarten, and not having an older brother or sister currently attending an all-black school (Kellar 1999; Winegarten 1995.)

On August 3, 1960, Judge Connally ruled that the HISD plan “does not constitute a good faith attempt at compliance with previous orders of the court but is a palpable sham and subterfuge designed only to accomplish further evasion and delay” (Kellar 1999, 127). He ordered the district to implement a gradual system of desegregation beginning in September 1960 with first grade and adding a grade each year until the entire district would be integrated (Kellar 1999). Although the HISD board attempted to delay even further by planning a legal appeal to Judge Connally’s ruling and by asking Governor Price Daniel to block the federal courts from forcing HISD to integrate, neither action was carried out and on September 6, 1960, the HISD board approved a motion to start accepting African American students’ applications for transfer to white schools beginning the next week (Kellar 1999).

During its first year of desegregation in 1960-1961, twelve African American children out of a total African American scholastic population in Houston ISD of 49,206, enrolled in first grade at three previously all-white elementary schools, according to average daily attendance figures from HISD Pupil Accounting (Kellar 1999). Neither Delores Ross or Beneva Williams, the original plaintiffs, ever attended an integrated school and it took twenty-four more years for total desegregation in HISD to occur (Kellar 1999; Winegarten 1995).

In response to what some considered to be the slow pace of desegregation by HISD, Adair, along with other Houstonians, both white and African American, created the first integrated educational organization in Houston in 1957, the Houston Association for Better Schools, numbering approximately 500 members, including

Hattie Mae White. The membership brochure of the organization found among Adair's papers includes a description of the organization written by the Membership Chair and later president, Dr. Albert Abrams, a chemist for Shell Oil Company.

The Houston Association for Better Schools is the only active organization of parents and other interested citizens dedicated solely to the goal of improved public schooling for the children of Houston. The association came about because of the grave concern felt by many of us about certain actions and policies promulgated by the present School Board majority. (Box 3, Folder 4, CAP)

Adair's leadership role in this organization was reflected in the first sheet of the brochure where she is listed as a Team Captain for the membership drive in which other members reported to her. Although this organization is no longer in existence, a list of the organization's goals as well as a copy of the organization's constitution were part of the papers Adair donated to the Metropolitan Research Center of the Houston Public Library, demonstrating her desire that information about this organization be preserved (Box 3, Folder 4, CAP).

The State of Texas Versus the NAACP

Perhaps, one of the most significant actions that Adair took that demonstrated her belief in the value of education as well as her sense of justice and fair play came in 1956 when she testified in *Texas v. N.A.A.C.P.* This was a hearing concerning a restraining order against the NAACP resulting from the school desegregation lawsuits filed by the Texas Conference of NAACP, including the lawsuit involving the Houston school district. A memo from Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the national NAACP, described the events of September 1956.

Without previous notice, representatives of Attorney General John Ben Shepperd appeared at our branch offices in Houston and other Texas cities, and at our office in Dallas, and presented letters asking for the inspection of documents and records of every kind. We did not learn until later that the representatives were accompanied by armed guards. On September 20, following the inspection in Texas offices, Assistant Attorney General Davis Grant and William A. Harrison, of the State Auditor's office, presented a letter to the National Office and spent a day examining files and reports. (Wilkins 1958, 16-000-57)

Texas Attorney General John Ben Shepperd ordered the seizure of association records, filed a lawsuit against the organization in Tyler, Texas, and obtained a temporary restraining order to prevent the organization from doing business in Texas, pending a hearing on September 28, 1956 (Adair 1978; Davidson 1968; Gillette 1984). The charges against the NAACP included failing to pay the franchise tax (because the state considered the organization to be a corporation) and the practice of soliciting lawsuits or barratry (Davidson 1968; Gillette 1984). In describing the charge of barratry Bernstein (1999) wrote that the Houston chapter was accused of soliciting school desegregation cases and "handing them over to Marshall and the national NAACP" (H3).

District Judge Otis T. Dunagan's temporary restraining order "enjoined the defendants from further conducting business in Texas, from organizing other chapters or organizations, from soliciting money for the purpose of filing integration lawsuits and from collecting fees of any kind" (*Austin American* September 22, 1956, 5). Shepperd explained that his actions were in response to NAACP efforts to register Negro students in white schools "contrary to laws of this state" which, he described as "tending to incite racial prejudice, picketing, riots, and other unlawful acts" (*Austin American* September

22, 1956, 1). Adair (1978) recalled the investigators who came to search the Houston branch office and the impact of the restraining order.

I was on the job when we entered the school desegregation cases. Our office was one of the offices where they sent an auditor, but I called them termites because that's what they did to us. They just went through our office like a storm, they tore our drawers. All our files, they emptied them. They [made] copies of every scrap of paper, everything they wanted. They just left our offices like the Wreck of the Hesperus. After all of that, then they still padlocked our office and put us out of business. (19)

Thurgood Marshall, chief legal counsel for the national NAACP defense team, had a different perception of Shepperd's action, saying, "This is the most groundless action ever filed" (*Austin American* September 24, 1956, 1). The newspaper report continued by saying "Marshall blamed the restraining order on Texas Attorney General Shepperd and the bad publicity Shepperd and Governor Allan Shivers got in their handling of integration problems in Texas" (*Austin American* September 24, 1956, 1). Davidson (1968) wrote "The prosecution of the case was generally viewed as political harassment, as it came shortly after the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision" (108).

The resulting hearing was held in Tyler, Texas, from September 28-October 23, 1956, at which time the judge found against the NAACP and the restraining order was continued. A permanent injunction was issued by Judge Dunagan May 8, 1957, but was lifted in September 1957, after an appeal by the national NAACP Legal Defense team. Adair (1978) described her role in testifying at the initial hearing on October 17, 1956.

They subpoenaed me to come to court and I went to Tyler. I was put on the stand to question for about five hours, two before lunch and three hours afterward. What they were trying to make me deliver was my membership rolls. (20)

Adair (1978) described the significance of the membership rolls and the impact that releasing this information would have.

In this town, this country, if a man worked at any of the industries, steel or oil, any of those places and it became known that he was a NAACP card-carrying member, he would be fired. On the other hand, if a white person was identified as a member or a supporter, well, they would be disfranchised, and be hurt politically and socially and in every other way. (20)

In describing the time period of the early 1950s to which Adair refers, Sallee (1977) described the time as “the era of Senator Joe McCarthy and the Red Scare and the NAACP was widely regarded among whites as a subversive organization” while Bernstein (1999) wrote “NAACP members routinely made the McCarthy blacklist of un-American activities” (H3).

Adair continued her description of her testimony, explaining why she did not keep a membership list for the Houston NAACP.

I didn't have any business with the membership roll and they couldn't understand why I didn't have one. I would show them the envelope that we got the membership money in. I said, “This envelope has the name and addresses and amounts of money for membership, and they turn it in to me. I don't do anything but take the money out of them. I don't need it [the envelope] because the money goes to the national, and they are the ones that have the names of these people who pay. I send that to the NAACP in New York.” Anyway, we didn't have a membership roll available but they never did believe me. (Adair 1978, 20)

After Adair testified, the front page headline of the African American newspaper in Houston, the *Houston Informer and Texas Freeman* (1956), read, “Adair Makes Tough Witness,” while the accompanying article stated “generally it was thought that Mrs. Adair made a very good witness” (10). Adair commented on her own testimony by saying, “My lawyers, Attorney Tate and Attorney Durham, let them ask all their

questions. They didn't object to any of them because they felt like I could answer them" (Adair 1978, 21).

In a 1963 newspaper article about the history of the Houston NAACP, Adair explained her perception of her actions during the trial. "I placed myself on the altar to protect that membership roster. At one time I was questioned for five hours about persons holding membership with the NAACP. But I did not divulge one single name, not to this day" (*Houston Forward Times* 1963, 34). Whether or not a membership list did exist, Adair never revealed its existence (Chatham 1974; Davis 1977; Gay 2007; Karkabi 1980). Adair's refusal to produce the membership rolls demonstrated her sense of justice and fair play in that she was well aware of the repercussions for those whose names would be revealed. She also realized the greater implication of the moment when she stated in 1980, "I personally believe they didn't want a civil rights organization in Texas because if you belonged to NAACP, you would know how to fight for your rights" (Karkabi 1980, Section 5, 4). Kellar (1999) described Adair's actions as "courageous" while Pitre (1999) wrote "in refusing to divulge a single name, Adair gained the respect of the national NAACP staff" (126).

Adair felt that testifying at the hearing had a personal effect on her life. By 1960, when the ruling came to desegregate the Houston public schools, she had already resigned as Executive Secretary of the local NAACP in 1959 (Adair 1978). She cited the reason for this as stress from testifying saying she was "emotionally, physically, and financially exhausted" (Davis 1977, 6). Despite her resignation, Adair described the

action she took in 1960 when HISD finally allowed the first African American children to enroll in the all-white schools.

I was out of the office but I just had an urge to do something. And I got Lillian Bonner, a young mother, and one or two other women and we got in cars and went to ring doorbells to let the mothers know that they didn't have to send their children way across town to school. They were entitled to go to the closest school to them. (Adair 1978, 38)

Adair did not stop at the local level in attempting to call attention to improving the education of African American children in Houston. In responding to a national news article, Adair wrote a letter to Secretary of State Dean Rusk, dated August 19, 1961, in which she described the impact of the segregated system of education in the United States.

The dual system of education practiced in America is responsible for the Negroes failure to meet educational standards. Those who have lived in this cursed condition know that there has always been a vast difference in the curriculum and equipment between schools provided for Negro and white Americans. And, because this same practice has gone on through the years, it also says that Negro American teachers did not have the preparation equal to that of white Americans teachers, and parents were not prepared to help their children at home. (Box 4, Folder 9, CAP)

She continued the letter with a description of the situation in the Houston public schools.

In Houston, Texas, where the school board is constantly flaunting its opposition to the Supreme Court's decision of 1954-1957, started in 1960 allowing first grade children to attend the closest school to their homes, providing no other children in the family are attending another school in the district. I ask you, at this rate how long will it take students to reach and meet the needs of their country? (Box 4, Folder 9, CAP)

Section Summary

Christia Adair believed in the value of education. This belief was initially modeled by Adair's parents as they encouraged and financed her secondary education,

away from the segregated schools of Edna. In addition, the importance of an education for African American women such as Adair, both for themselves and for the race, was reinforced by the African American community within the context of post-Civil War events and ideas of self-improvement. Samuel Huston and Prairie View Colleges, reinforced these values and provided additional knowledge and skills. Formal coursework at Samuel Huston and Prairie View not only prepared Adair for a brief teaching career, a highly valued career for African American women, but also reinforced the skills of organization and leadership she later used in her civil rights work. While Adair left the segregated schools in Edna, the memory of those educational inequities never left, as she fought for improved educational opportunities for African American children as an adult in Houston. Valuing education was a theme in Christia Adair's life as her actions of working *with* children in organizations such as Girls' Clubs and of working *for* children in the struggle to end desegregation, demonstrated.

The Theme of Leadership: Organization, Networking, and Collaboration Skills

Adair's community activities in Kingsville from 1918-1925, and in Houston from 1925-1989, served to widen her base of support and learning originally generated by parents, church, and school, and provided extended opportunities to develop her leadership skills within the context of community organizations.

Leadership Skills in Kingsville

Adair's first experience in developing the leadership skill of collaboration came while she was living in Kingsville. Her description of the women with whom she

worked, spoke directly to her leadership skills in organizing and networking as a result of this collaboration.

I found in the course of time that I gathered to my self some very valuable friends among women. There were some of the finest women in that little town. Their songs were written and never sung. But we had some women there with very fine ideals who were just sitting around idle because these was not much going on for them to do. But we were able to get some organizations going on, where they found themselves involved in the Eastern Star and things like church affiliated organizations. (Adair 1978, 14)

When, in 1977, Adair recalled her first venture into political activism in Kingsville, she began with a description of the town's segregated status at the time, setting the historical context for the reader. "In Kingsville," she recalled, "the little town was populated according to race. It had what they called Negro Town, White Town, and Mexican Town. And it looked like never the twain shall meet" (Adair 1978, 14). Adair then described what happened when she learned of the existence of a local gambling establishment on the edge of the black community that, as she said, "kind of hurt my heart and hurt a lot of women's hearts because it was taking husbands away from home and employing young African-American boys" (Adair 1978, 14). She and other African American women in the community wanted to see the gambling hall closed, "but it looked like we were helpless because the authorities, [such as] the sheriff's department, were getting rake-offs" (Adair 1978, 14).

When Adair discovered one of her Sunday school boys coming out of the gambling house one day, she said that she became determined to take action,

It just put war-fire in me. I just knew that we had to do something, find a way or make one, because this was the last straw. And I had enough influence over the boy to get him to tell me what went on in there and what they did, and I found

out that he wasn't the only underage teenager that they were using at the tables to make this money. (Adair 1978, 14)

Taking her first steps as a community activist, Adair talked to the other African American women in the community about what to do.

I told the Negro women who were working with me, I said, "We just can't do it alone, and white women who have sons and daughters ought to be interested in this project." Well, I knew one white woman who was the president of a Mother's Club. They didn't have PTAs in those days, they had Mother's Clubs. But we didn't have one in our community. So we went to this woman and told her what was what and she just became fired up with it too. She said, "Well, no, you wouldn't have no business trying to do it by yourself, because we can help. And we got the Mothers Clubs." So then she suggested that we organize a Mothers Club in our community and we did. But it was really an interracial Mothers Club, but we didn't recognize it in those days like I would now. (Adair 1978, 15)

The sheriff in Kingsville became frightened when he heard about the formation of the organization whose purpose was to close down the gambling establishment. Adair described the situation with the sheriff and the subsequent advice of her husband Elbert.

This sheriff became very frightened when he found out that the thing was rolling. Then he subpoenaed a lot of women to come to his office and hold court. My husband told me before he went out on the road, he said, "Sweetheart, that isn't legal. That man doesn't have any business holding this court but you all go. Now, don't tell him anything. When I come back, we'll find a way or make one. We'll do something because I know this is illegal." (Adair 1978, 15)

Adair accepted her husband's advice and gave the sheriff no information. She described her actions saying, "That is what we did when we went there. We [said that we] didn't know anything and then [the sheriff] said, 'That's right. I knew they didn't know nothing, just running their mouths' and he turned to let us go" (Adair 1978, 15). But, Christia did not stop in her campaign to close down the gambling hall. She talked to one of the white women in the Mother's Club who advised her to go to the District

Attorney, which she and the other African American women did. She described the part she played in the resolution of the problem by saying,

I think I called one of these white women and she told me to go to the District Attorney and we went there. And when we told the District Attorney what had happened, he said that he didn't know what had been going on. But at any rate, he called [a] real court then with authority. And it ended up with this sheriff having to go and nail up the building himself and we were on the sidelines rejoicing and praising God. (Adair 1978, 15)

Although this biracial effort at reform between the white women and the African American women in Kingsville might have seemed like a groundbreaking beginning for civil rights, McArthur (1998) commented that, in reality, it reflected a tradition more along the lines of women joining with other women in a common cause. Neverdon-Morton (1989) also related that efforts by white women and African American women working together throughout the South was not unique writing that, "Despite the gulfs that often separated them from white women, at times the Afro-Americans were able to join forces with whites to achieve limited ends" (6).

There is also evidence of an earlier collaboration between white and African American women in Texas on another social issue. Winegarten (1995) wrote that the "Women's Christian Temperance Union could be considered Texas's first female biracial group" because black and white chapters of the WCTU began working together in 1886, "holding public demonstrations and lobbying for local-option elections to vote on banning alcohol" (77). In summarizing the interplay between race and gender during the early twentieth century in Texas, McArthur (1998) stated, "Joining forces did not signify that white women were less committed to white supremacy or the black ones less resolved to resist subordination, only that each group needed the other's cooperation to

succeed” (145). Adair’s next arena for community activism was the woman’s suffrage movement that provided her with another opportunity to collaborate with white women and to further develop the leadership skill of networking.

Leadership Skills: Collaboration

In January 1917, the Texas House of Representatives failed to adopt a woman’s suffrage amendment to the Texas constitution (Taylor 1951). When Governor James E. Ferguson was impeached and removed from office in the summer of 1917, a strong opponent of suffrage had been removed from the picture and replaced by the Lt. Governor William P. Hobby. The newly sworn in replacement for a still politically powerful Governor Ferguson, Hobby, was somewhat reluctant to sponsor a new suffrage resolution so soon after the defeat of the earlier one, wishing to remain a viable candidate in the Democratic primary for governor in 1918.

On February 24, 1918, Cunningham and other suffrage leaders responded to the new leadership in the governor’s office by establishing their headquarters at the Driskill Hotel in Austin where they began a campaign to petition the Governor Hobby for a primary suffrage bill to be added to the agenda of the upcoming special session of the legislature (McCallum 1922). Although the women still continued their support of the movement for a national suffrage amendment, their desire for a change in the Texas primary election law instead of another attempt at an amendment to the state constitution was predicated on the fact that an amendment would require a two-thirds majority vote whereas the change in the primary election code would entail only a simple majority (McCallum 1922). The members of TESA visited with each individual legislator in an

attempt to obtain signatures on the petition and also increased the flow of letters and telegrams to legislators from constituents around the state (Ward to Cunningham, 7 December 1917, File 4, MFC).

In early March 1918, Governor Hobby called a special session of the legislature and included on the agenda a bill to amend the election laws to allow women to vote in the primary, thereby, garnering the support of suffragists for his candidacy in return (McCallum 1922). The bill, passed by both the Texas Senate and House and signed by Governor Hobby on March 26, 1918, enabled women in Texas to vote in the July 1918 primary if they registered to vote by the deadline of April 12, just seventeen days after the signing of the bill (*House Journal*, Fourth Called Session, 1918, p. 335 and *Senate Journal*, Fourth Called Session, 1918, p. 355 as quoted in Taylor 1951, 210). Hobby won the Democratic primary in July 1918, defeating former governor James Ferguson, 461,749 votes to 217,012, and was subsequently elected governor November 5, 1918 (Clark 1958, 95).

Adair related her community leadership role in the woman suffrage movement in south Texas in which she returned to the collaborative model she had previously employed, choosing to work with the white women in Kingsville who were members of TESA. She described her role by saying:

White women were trying to help get a bill passed in the legislature where women could vote [in the primaries]. I said to the Negro women, "I don't know if we can use it now or not, but if there's a chance, I want to say we helped make it." So the Negro women joined with the white women and campaigned. (Davis 1977, 3)

Although Adair and her friends helped with this effort in Kingsville, when the Democratic primary arrived in July, they were not allowed to vote (Caudill 1972; Davis 1977; Winegarten 1995).

The collaboration of Adair and the other African American women with the white women in Kingsville during Hobby's campaign was not unique. African American women in other parts of the state had also worked signing petitions in hopes that they also would be allowed to vote (Winegarten 1996). For Adair, though, the collaborative nature of working with white women would act as an educative agent and reinforce a pattern of collaboration with whites that she would frequently employ in her career as an activist (Adair 1978; Davis 1977; Gay 2007).

Adair's perception of this event also included a realization of the political realities for African American men and, now, women.

Now, we did not know in those days the value of what it meant to us, that we couldn't vote in the primaries. We knew we [African American men] could vote in presidential elections and were satisfied, but we just figured we were not supposed to vote in the primaries and didn't try. But these women told us about this effort being made to pass a bill where women would be able to vote like men. Well, we still didn't know that that didn't mean us, but we helped make contacts and excite public opinion and worked on people about it. And the bill did pass. (Adair 1978, 15)

The history of voting rights for African Americans in the first half of the twentieth century included this lack of suffrage in primary elections. Despite the fact that Adair and the other African American women worked with white women for the passage of the primary suffrage amendment for women, they found the same unofficial rules that governed the voting of African American men, applied to African American women as

well. Adair's description of the outcome of their work on the primary bill also spoke to her sense of justice and fair play.

We dressed up and went to vote, and when we got down there, well, we couldn't vote. They gave us all different kinds of excuses why, but we just stayed. We [finally] asked why we couldn't vote. The answers were so invalid, we were not satisfied. Finally, one woman, a Mrs. Simmons said, "Are you saying that we can't vote because we're Negroes?" And he said, "Yes, Negroes don't vote in the primary in Texas" Well, it didn't make us sorry we were Negroes, but it made us realize that we, all the more, we had to do something that would break these discriminations. (Adair 1978, 16)

Adair later perceived this incident to be a significant educative experience, one that she would recall and use to her benefit in working with the NAACP in Houston.

But the thing that I'm bringing in was we stood there until they said, "You cannot vote because you are a Negro." After I moved to Houston and was with the NAACP, and the Supreme Court had the case of the franchised primary that was the thing that Thurgood [Marshall] said to us. The only time I can take a case and do something with it is when they deny you with this [phrase] "You can't do it because you're a Negro." Then I remembered [when] I was with a group of Negro women who made that [statement] come out in the conversation. In order to get rid of us, they had to tell us that it was because we were [Negroes]. (Adair 1978, 16)

Even though Adair related "it hurt me that I was excluded as a Negro" (Karkabi 1980), she also stated that she really "didn't lose" because she had the opportunity to work with other women for woman's suffrage (Chatham 1974). In discussing the evolution of Southern black women's political activism, Hine and Farnham (1997) argued that:

Since the ratification of the suffrage amendment failed to alter the status of African American women, southern black women retreated into a separate and distinct network of political action groups and clubs. Southern black women created their own private spaces where they nurtured a shared political consciousness, developed and sharpened mobilization and leadership skills, and plotted various activities and strategies subversive of segregation. (206)

Adair's life followed a similar pattern, illustrated by her involvement in the NAACP and in the federated club women's organizations that worked for political as well as economic equality for African Americans. Where Adair's actions differed from this pattern was in her consistent theme of collaborating with whites to bring about change.

Throughout her life, Adair worked collaboratively with other women in various organizations such as the Methodist Church, the Order of the Eastern Star, the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, the Federated Club Women of America, and the National Organization of Women. In all of these organizations, she held some form of leadership position (Adair 1978; Davis 1977; Gay 2007; Robinson 1990). Adair continued to work collaboratively with whites against Jim Crow laws and discrimination by helping to create interracial organizations such as the previously mentioned Harris County Council of Organizations and the Harris County Democrats. Adair spoke of the value of the Harris County Democrats in promoting collaboration between the races saying, "The Harris County Democrats brought a lot of people together that never would have understood each other had it not been for them" (Adair 1978, 30).

Adair described her own belief in the value of collaboration while reflecting on the experience of being the first African American to be asked in 1968, to work with absentee voting at the county courthouse. She explained that, when she showed up for work, the fourteen white women that worked in the office "didn't know what to do with me" and tried to schedule her lunch at another time so they would not have to eat lunch with her. When her supervisor asked everyone to bring additional people the next week

because they needed more workers, Adair brought back two Negro women, one white woman, and one Mexican woman. She explained her actions by saying:

I was born a Negro, I've been a Negro all my life, happy to be one and feel honored to be one. Everything I do, I want it to represent the best side and best interest of Negroes. But, I do not ever want the day to come that I would be classed as being somebody that wasn't concerned about anything and anybody else but Negroes. I was setting a precedent to let them know, none of them should go out and just bring in some more white women, because that's all they did do. (Adair 1978, 46)

Adair continued, elaborating on her belief about whites and blacks working together.

A lot of white people think they can't serve and can't work with Negroes. But, once you push the door open and put your foot in it and keep your foot in it until somebody else comes in there, they find out that they too can work with other people besides themselves. And we learn a lot from each other. (Adair 1978, 46)

Early on in her career, Adair realized the benefit in collaborating and working with others in community groups to meet community needs. Not only was she was an active member and leader of several organizations, more importantly, she realized that, working with others, no matter the race, was an effective strategy. Adair's ability to collaborate and inspire others was recognized by the larger community when, in 1977, Harris County officials named a small county park after her. Speaking at the dedication ceremony for the park in October 1977, were community leaders, both black and white. Chris Dixie, a white attorney and Chairman of the Harris County Democrats, reflected on Adair's role in the civil rights movement and her ability to work with those of other races.

We were timid in those days. Christia Adair converted us. She made us take a stand on civil rights. She was a bridge between the races. She was the one that insistently and repeatedly explained the viewpoint of the black persons to whites. She had a gracious manner that enabled her to say things which other black people could not say without stirring up hostility. (Grissom 1977, 1D)

Leadership Skills: Networking

Adair's involvement in both community organizations and political activism expanded when she and her husband moved to Houston in 1925. As she explained,

My husband became a diabetic and the doctors said that he needed more rest than he was getting. In freight service [in Kingsville], every eight hours, he was going or coming. But, he was able to get the kind of job he wanted, and that was passenger train work which would give him 62 hours between trips. The Pioneer out of Houston to Brownsville. So out of necessity we moved from Kingsville to Houston. And he would get 62 hours of rest between time to go back out on his jobs. (Adair 1978, 17)

The move to Houston provided another opportunity for Adair to further her networking skills.

I had a lot of friends here [in Houston], a lot of acquaintances and a lot of people knew me. So it wasn't hard for me to get connected up with people in Houston who were doing things because naturally the first thing we did when we came to town, we got connected with our church. And my church affiliation followed over into Houston and my husband and I just continued our activities here just like we had always been here. (Adair 1978, 17)

In Houston, Adair continued the pattern of developing her leadership skills,

particularly networking, through membership in local church and community organizations.

I became concerned with the Federated Club movement in Houston. The first federated club organized here was The 1906 Art, Literary and Charity Club. That club was the first thing I started out with other than my church when I first got here. I joined that club of women and went to work. (Adair 1978, 17-18)

According to its 1970-1972 Yearbook in the Women's Clubs of Houston Collection in the Houston Metropolitan Research Center, the 1906 Art, Literary and Charity Club was the first African American federated woman's club in Houston and one of several African American women's organizations in Texas inspired by the organization of the National Association of Colored Women in 1896 and a similar state

organization in 1905 (Box 1, folder 7, RGE-67, MRC). Following the model of the white women's club movement which developed in the period 1880-1920, African American women across the South created women's clubs for their own educational purposes as well as to work toward improving the plight of the African American community in a segregated society (Neverdon-Morton 1989; Woloch 2000). Strategies included raising funds for scholarships, establishing kindergartens, and childcare, as well as leadership training for women (Hine 1994; Neverdon-Morton 1989).

African American women in Houston also organized. Crawford (2003) stated that African American clubwomen in Houston in the period 1880-1910, "created institutions to improve education and to provide social services in response to the needs of a growing community constrained by social prejudice" (15). As an active member of The 1906 Art, Literary, and Charity Club, Adair described the organization of the local African American women's clubs.

In this area, we operate on five levels: the local club, the district, the state, the regional, and the national. In this area, we have the Olivia Washington District. Our district comprises three counties, Fort Bend, Harris County, and Galveston County. There are nine districts that make up Texas. Then we have the Texas Association of Women's Clubs. We also have regional associations across the nation. (Adair 1978, 33)

Conference programs from the local, district, and state organizations of Women's and Girl's Clubs attest to Adair's leadership role in these organizations. She was Executive Chairman of the state organization in 1965, President of the Fort Bend, Galveston, and Harris County district organization in 1970, and had a local Houston branch of the Houston City Association of Women and Girls' Clubs named after her from 1974-1976 (Box 1, Folders 2 and 6, CFWC). Adair described the networking

capabilities she had as a result of being actively involved in both the Women's clubs and the political organizations of the Harris County Democrats and the Harris County Council of Organizations.

When I was really active in political activities, I could sit down and send a letter out to women all over the state and say this is the decision that the women of Harris County Democrats and the Council of Organizations people have made and we solicit your support for this candidate or this issue. And we got it. And we still have long and big support of women in all walks of life doing everything and participating in everything that's worthwhile from church down to the lowest level of club work. (Adair 1978, 34)

The Houston City Association of local and district women's and girls organizations in which Adair was involved, provided opportunities for girls and women in leadership training as well as educational and community service activities. Their purpose, as stated on a 1974 meeting program, was "to unite women and girls, and to preserve the great heritage of womanhood, to look down, and reach out, continuously climbing and lifting until they maintain a passion for Leadership and Service" (Box 1, Folder 6, CFWC). These organizations sponsored college scholarships for area girls and held informational meetings on topics as varied as "Cooperating with the Mexican Americans in Their Efforts to Improve Working Conditions" and "A Discussion of the Hiring of Women in Key Position in Our City Government" (Box 1, Folder 6, CFWC). In describing the significance of the federated African American organizations in Houston, Crawford (2003) wrote:

The federated clubs sought to unite women across religion, regional identity, and political affiliation. These female leaders struggled against white efforts to continue a legacy of racial oppression and established the basis for community involvement and civic activism that subsequent generations would build on. (21)

Involvement in both church activities and the federated women's organizations provided Adair with opportunities for developing and refining her leadership skills of organization, collaboration, and networking, all valuable skills that she would employ in improving the lives of those living under the Jim Crow laws of a segregated society.

Houston: A Segregated City

The City of Houston was not unlike other Southern cities of the time, with its segregated neighborhoods and businesses and discrimination in all areas of life, including health care, occupational and educational opportunities, and treatment by law enforcement (Banks 1962; Crawford 2003; Johnson 1929, 1943; Pitre 1999; SoRelle 1980; Thomas 1929). In describing early twentieth century Houston, SoRelle (1980) explained, "relationships between whites and blacks were determined by a set of attitudes and an institutional framework that guaranteed a second-class status for Negroes. Usually, segregation, either by custom or by statute, was the rule" (104).

Not only did African American citizens in Houston face discrimination in all areas of society, but suffered physical violence from whites. With the revival of the Ku Klux Klan in Texas during the 1920s, there were increased incidents of violence against African Americans, especially against those who challenged white supremacy (Alexander 1962; Chalmers 1987). In March 1921, a group of Klansmen castrated Dr. J. L. Cockrell, an African American dentist in Houston accused of associating with white women (SoRelle 1980). In June 1928, a group of white citizens in Houston lynched an African American prisoner accused of murder after abducting him from his hospital bed the previous day (SoRelle 1980; *Houston Informer* 1928a, 1928b).

Incidents of conflict between white policemen and black citizens and acts of police brutality in Houston were documented by individual citizens and by the local branch of the NAACP and African American newspapers such as *The Houston Informer* (Adair 1978; Banks 1962; Crawford 2003; SoRelle 1980; Thomas 1929). Expressing frustration over one particular incident of police brutality in June 1929, an editorial in *The Houston Informer* (1929) stated:

The feeling is growing among Negroes that their position is becoming more insecure, because policemen are beating them at will, and the authorities are refusing to do anything about it, and blandly accepting shallow excesses and explanations even when the arrested person shows that he has been brutalized. (1)

When asked in a 1977 interview if Houston had police brutality in the past, Adair answered, “Oh yes, we’ve had some terrible incidents and some very brutal policemen” (Adair 1978, 43). She continued her description saying,

During the days I was with the NAACP [1950-1959], I almost could bet you money on that, if they arrested a Negro, they were going to take him out on the outskirts of town somewhere first and beat him up, and then bring him back and throw him in jail. And hardly anybody ever was put in jail that came out without being beaten. And they always said they sometimes would have to tie their feet and hands and beat them down to subdue them. But I never could understand how a man with his feet tied and his hands tied had to be knocked around. (Adair 1978, 43)

Adair described one particular incident in 1952 that led to an eventual grand jury investigation of police actions.

I remember one young woman, in 1952, whose husband shot a policeman and then left town. She couldn’t tell them [the police] anything about it because she didn’t know. But they took her out and took a rubber hose around her neck and pulled her up on the rafters of a barn and beat her, trying to make her say, and she couldn’t say. They just released her and let her fall, broke her pelvis and just ruined her for life. (Adair 1978, 43)

Adair explained the role of the NAACP in documenting incidents of police brutality in Harris County while she was Executive Secretary from 1950-1959. She specifically described her initiative in bringing those accounts to the attention of the grand jury in 1952 and then testifying about certain incidents. Her statements offered her explanation of one purpose of the NAACP organization.

The grand jury then put out an appeal that anybody who knew anything about brutality to report it. Well, the files of the NAACP were just full of pictures and statements from police brutality, so I sent the foreman a letter and asked him if he'd be interested in knowing details. He said, "Yes, anywhere." So when I told him what I had, they subpoenaed me to come to the grand jury. And so I had photo-static copies made of all these things that I had, and I sent them in. And then when they subpoenaed me and I came in, they went through those things all over again, and they couldn't understand first why those cases were brought to me. I told them that's what the NAACP was for. (Adair 1978, 43-44)

Adair's final statements about the grand jury investigation illustrated her sense of justice and fair play for all citizens.

When they began questioning me about people in the files and they said, "Why did you have some pictures of white people?" I said, "Well, I'm interested in people and if they beat up one person, they'll beat another." Anyway, I think that it served a great purpose in breaking up a lot of sheriff and police brutality in Houston. (Adair 1978, 43-44)

Adair's tenure as Executive Secretary of the Houston branch of the NAACP provided a vehicle for demonstration of the leadership skills of organization, collaboration, and networking that she learned in church and community organizations.

Leadership with the NAACP

The NAACP was founded in New York City in 1909, by a group of white and black activists including Jane Addams, Ida B. Wells, John Dewey, Mary Church Terrell, and W.E.B. Dubois. The aim of this group, according to an article written in 1914 by one

of the founders, Mary White Covington, was to establish a permanent organization to promote the human rights of African Americans (Covington 1914). Houston (2000) stated “the organization pledged to work for the abolition of all forced segregation, equal education for Negro and white children, the complete enfranchisement of the Negro, and the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments of the constitution” (35).

The Houston branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was founded in 1918 by a group of African American businessmen, professionals, and clergy (Pitre 1999; SoRelle 1980). Adair became involved in 1926, shortly after moving to Houston. She recalled her early leadership role in the organization.

After I was here [in Houston] a year or so, the NAACP was re-organized on a voluntary basis. I was the first, well, I was not the first recording secretary, I was assistant to the first one, but the man who was elected recording secretary was not here long after that because he went to New York. And that meant I moved up to secretary. So I was the first volunteer secretary. (Adair 1978, 18)

The educative influence of Adair’s experience in working with the NAACP is illustrated by her perception of what she learned while working for the organization and how important it became in her life.

I did not know that people could be treated like [black] people in Houston were being treated. In jail they would beat up [black] prisoners and anything they wanted to do and even kill people. And the NAACP then became the sole interest of mine. Next to my church, that was the organization it looked like that I was cut out to be a part of. (Adair 1978, 18)

Although Adair volunteered her services for the Houston NAACP and church-related and community organizations during the 1930s, it was not until after the death of her

husband in 1943, did a series of events and a brief tenure with the County Agricultural Agent lead to her eventual employment at the NAACP headquarters.

I was not employed when my husband died, I just did volunteer work. Then after he'd been gone two years, I not only saw the need of a job, but I felt that it was the thing that would help me. And the first employment I had was to sell the War Bonds. It was while I was selling the War Bonds that the country extension agent asked if I wanted a job. So for eight or nine months, maybe ten months, I was the secretary to the Home Demonstration and County Agricultural Agents. (Adair 1978, 18)

In 1945, the NAACP in Houston was financially able to employ an executive administrator, Mrs. Lula White, and open an office in the same building as the County Extension Agent where Adair worked. As Adair recalled:

She and I began kind of getting acquainted with first one thing and then the other. When the Board [of the NAACP] said that she could have help and they would pay an administrative assistant, she asked me if I'd take it and I was just jubilant about it. So then for three years I was administrative assistant to the Houston branch. (Adair 1978, 19)

According to Adair, she stayed three years as administrative assistant, left in 1948 because of the financial difficulties of the NAACP, and was re-hired in 1950.

There was not enough money for both of us, so I was the person who had to come out and she (Lula White) stayed as the administrator. But in '49, things had gotten so low on the ebb that she had to come out too. So that left us without an NAACP, and the Board members came and asked me if I would take it ... The men on the board said, "If you will take the job, we know there's no money to pay you with, but we will see that your bills are paid and that your living conditions continue normally until we can get it back on a paying basis. We just believe you can do it." Well, that was a challenge and I met it. So I went back into the office in February 1950 and began serving as administrator. I gave 12 years of sacrificial service in there because there never was enough money to pay me. (Adair 1978, 19)

Adair remained active in the NAACP for the next sixteen years, nine of which she served as Executive Secretary, from 1950-1959 (Adair 1978; Box 3, Folder 7, CAP).

Her responsibilities as Executive Secretary varied, including member recruitment, the recording of local and national dues and memberships, the remittance of national dues to the national office, correspondence between the local branch and the national office, outreach to other organizations, assistance to local members, and documenting and investigating instances of discrimination, harassment, and violence against Negroes (Adair 1978; Box 3, Folder 7, CAP). In this latter role, she had the responsibility of going to the police station to investigate charges against African Americans and to take sworn statements and photographs of those who claimed that they had been victims of police brutality. She stated that this happened on a regular basis “the entire time she was Executive Secretary, through the 1950s” (Chatham 1974, 5B).

In summary, the model of her father’s activism in fighting against prejudice along with the values of service to the African American community and a sense of justice and fair play that had been provided by parents, church, community, and school, coalesced to form a conceptual framework for what Adair perceived as a purpose in her life (Adair 1978; Davis 1977; Gay 2007). These values were then acted upon using the organizing, networking, and collaboration skills she had developed in her church and community organizations to produce a political activist who played a significant role in the desegregation of Houston society.

Leadership in the Desegregation of the Houston Airport

Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, one element of the segregated society in Houston and other Southern cities was the public transportation system. There were separate areas for whites and for African Americans at all facilities and separate

seating arrangements on all modes of transportation (Adair 1978; Johnson 1943; Pitre 1999; SoRelle 1980). SoRelle (1980) explained “the city fathers argued that the Jim-Crow laws pertaining to public transportation served to forestall conflicts on streetcars and buses created by the more intimate contact of the races” (93).

Adair described the segregated facilities for African American travelers at Houston’s Hobby Airport in the early 1950s.

Negroes could not sit in the waiting room. They had four benches pulled together which made a little square. If you were waiting to change planes or waiting for a plane, you’d have to sit in the confines of those seats. You couldn’t get a cold drink or anything at the counters or concessions. If you wanted food, you had to go to the kitchen door and they would hand you out a sandwich or whatever it is you wanted to buy. And the only restroom for Negroes was about a block and a half away down a dark alleyway and was for both men and women. (Adair 1978, 22)

One of the responsibilities of the Executive Secretary of the NAACP office in Houston was to document incidents involving segregation at public facilities such as the airport and the bus station. This included taking photos of African Americans in segregated areas and statements from African American travelers. Adair related her role in this process.

Many people came through the airport and encountered that kind of experience. Madame Mary McLeod Bethune was one of them. You know Madame Bethune was not going inside the confines of four benches to sit. So she stood on the edge of it and rested her grip on the arm of the bench while she got a sky cap or somebody to call the NAACP office. I would get a photographer and go out there to take a picture of these things. And that’s what we turned over to the legal department of the NAACP. And the person would sign statements that this did happen. The same thing happened to young men and women in the Air Force and Army when they had to change planes in Houston and they would encounter that kind of treatment. But, they too, would call the NAACP, and I would [take their statements] and send out a photographer and we would keep those pictures. (Adair 1978, 22)

By 1953, the city of Houston wanted to build a new terminal at Hobby Airport and looked to the federal government for funding. Adair gave her perception of the events leading up to the building of the new airport, including the role of the NAACP.

One of the first things that I encountered when I went into the office as administrator was some communication that was being passed between the city authorities and the Civil Aeronautics Commission. The Aeronautics Commission sent down some representatives to Houston. These representatives pulled out communications and laid them out on the table and said, "You want federal funds to build an airport. These are some communications that have come to us. They're copies of letters between you and the Houston branch of the NAACP, or between us and the Houston branch, and so we'll have to know something about it because if what's in these letters is true, we can't put federal funds in the airport." (Adair 1978, 22-23)

The City Council got very angry when the Aeronautics Commission representatives threatened to withdraw federal funding. The man who finally became the mayor of Houston, Louie Welch, was a member of the Council then. He was the man that, the newspapers said, got up and said, "We don't need their money. We'll build an airport. We'll float a bond and build an airport like we want it." (Adair 1978, 23)

The new terminal at Hobby Airport was built, but not with federal funds. The public voted a bond to pay for the construction (Adair 1978). But, as Adair described it, the results of the new construction did not turn out the way that the original council members expected. She described the situation and her leadership role in desegregating the new facility.

But, before time for the airport to become completed and to open, the City of Houston had a city election and we changed mayors. A man named Roy Hofheinz became our new mayor [1953-1957]. From the time he entered in and got himself settled in his office, I began calling his attention to the communications which I thought might be in the files pertaining to the airport. And I told him, "If you don't have them, I have copies." And he sent his administrative assistant out to the airport to look around to see what was going on out there and he came back with the reports. He said, "Yes, the signs are on the new walls and the new concession, everything just like the old one." So then we were supposed to open the airport [in 1955], as near as I can remember, in the

spring. But we were late summer getting it opened because the new mayor authorized that they not only take the signs down but to take the wall down with the signs on them. (Adair 1978, 23)

Adair's documentation of conditions at the airport as well as her persistence and determination in making known these conditions known, ultimately helped to end the City of Houston's segregated policy at the airport. At Adair's funeral in 1990, former Houston Mayor Kathy Whitmire spoke of this quality of determination in Adair saying, "She was always ready to fight the fight and do what had to be done" (Karkabi 1990, 1D).

Section Summary

In describing the significance of African American women like Adair, who were actively involved in church and community organizations during the period 1880-1940, Hine (1994) wrote:

To comprehend fully the origins and nature of the modern institutional infrastructure of Black America requires a sustained analysis of the motives and deeds of the generations of black women active between the collapse of Reconstruction and the outbreak of World War II. In many communities black women proved especially resourceful, either through the agency of their clubs or as the bedrock of the black church, to redress the harsh consequences of economic discrimination, political subordination and white supremacy. (109-110)

Christia Adair's life as a community leader and political activist parallels the lives of other female African American community leaders of the period in that she built on a tradition of social networking and a variety of formal and informal educational experiences to develop the leadership skills of organization, networking, and collaboration in order to address the needs of African Americans in her community.

Chapter Conclusion

In viewing the educational experiences of Christia Adair, racial prejudice and discrimination formed the historical context for Adair's world. However, the educative experiences provided by parents, church, school, and community provided Adair with a sense of identity and purpose that enabled her to create a different meaning in response to and within that world and to structure her actions accordingly. In analyzing the formal and informal educational experiences of Christia Adair against a backdrop of racial prejudice and discrimination, a pattern of dissonance and resistance, sometimes subtle, sometimes active, but always determined, emerged. At times she accepted white, middle-class values, working with and among these same white people. But, at other times, she displayed the knowledge that, despite being an African American woman, that was not the totality of her identity. She constructed her meaning, her identity, from an amalgam of intersecting educational experiences, some formal, some informal, some self-directed. She acted and reacted to people and events, and to the perceived and actual roles of African American women within a certain context and a certain place, but she did so with the knowledge and skills gained as a result of her educational experiences.

CHAPTER VI
CONCLUSION: EDUCATION IN THE LIVES OF TWO FEMALE
COMMUNITY LEADERS

Introduction

Upon initial observation, the lives of Ima Hogg and Christia Adair seemed quite different. Hogg emerged from a life of privilege, if not originally from wealth, at least in terms of class and race, while Adair's life was situated within the context of a much less substantial socio-economic level that included life in a restricted segregated society. Their formal education in elementary school differed as Hogg attended private schools in Austin and San Marcos, while Adair attended a segregated public school in Edna, Texas. Both attended private secondary schools, but, for a different reason, with race being the determining factor. They both attended public colleges, but again, Adair was in a segregated context. Adair graduated with a teaching certificate and taught for three years. Hogg never graduated from college. As an adult, Adair was forced to work much of her life, especially after her husband died, while Hogg relied on income from family business interests, eventually becoming quite wealthy. Adair was married for twenty-five years, until the death of her husband in 1943, while Hogg remained single her entire life.

But, by looking at the educational experiences of these two women, common patterns or themes emerged. By analyzing both the formal and informal education of these women, the informal educational experience, in particular, proved to be especially significant in the development of their leadership skills and in their eventual roles as

community leaders. The themes were identified as service to community, expectations of success and leadership, a belief in the value of education and lifelong learning, and the development of leadership skills. Though these themes were common to each woman, at times there were more examples of a particular theme in one woman's life than in the other.

The themes in this study incorporated both formal and informal education and encompassed the beliefs and values taught and modeled by parents and reinforced by church, school, and community, as well as the knowledge and skills developed through organizational work and self-directed study. Using the themes as a framework, the lives of Ima Hogg and Christia Adair were examined and the relationship of their education to their role as community leaders was compared, in order to form the "shared meaning of separate stories" (McArthur 1998, 6).

Expectations of Success: Service to Community and Civic Leadership

One of the common themes observed in the lives of both women was the informal educative influence of family, especially in promoting the ideas of service and leadership. Initially, the beliefs and values that were taught and the expectations of success that were set by parents and family provided these women with a sense of self-esteem and purpose, a purpose that reflected the beliefs and interests of their parents. These interests included a belief in service to community through civic responsibility and leadership.

Ima's father, James Hogg, was an elected political leader who felt it was his civic responsibility to promote reform efforts, fighting for what he called the "plain people."

As governor, he visited prisons and mental institutions, and displayed an interest in the fair treatment of patients. Ima frequently accompanied her father on campaign trips and heard him speak. She witnessed his success in getting reform measures enacted by the legislature as she kept his clippings in the family scrapbook, and she accompanied him on trips to mental institutions and heard him ask about the treatment of inmates and patients. She later talked about her own compassion for mental patients and how, at one time, she thought of becoming a nurse in a mental facility. Consequently, when asked about the reasons for her interest, as an adult, in providing mental health education and services, she referred back to the experiences with her father. William Hogg also had an educative influence on his sister's life, through his encouragement of her education and by his actions as a civic leader, a supporter of education, and a philanthropist. Both James and William Hogg believed in community service through civic leadership and demonstrated this by their actions, serving as significant educative influences in Ima's life.

Adair's parents, Handy and Ada Daniels, also had an educative influence on their daughter Christia as well. They had a strong belief in God and providing for the needs of the African American community, and stressed these beliefs to their daughter Christia, who assumed a leadership role in her church in Kingsville and in Houston. She spoke of the influence of her parents in the African American community and how "their influence in the community had a lot to do with making me know in my life I owed it to my public to have influence" (Adair 1978, 11). In civic affairs, Adair talked about how her own involvement in local and state politics developed because of her father's interest

in local politics. She explained that ideas of service to the community came from her parents as well as church teachings. She also witnessed her father in an informal leadership role in the African American community and compared her own behavior in fighting for civil rights to her father's actions, both demonstrating a sense of justice and fair play in the treatment of African Americans.

Another part of the informal educative influence of family was parental instruction. For Hogg, in particular, there were examples of the educative influence of her father and brother identified in personal instructive letters. Examples of parental instruction from James Hogg to his daughter Ima appear in numerous family letters. In one letter to Ima, dated March 1902, her father wrote, "Keep up interest in politics. Understand well the principles on which your rights are based and stand by them. Know your lesson, your duty, and you can lead or teach others" (3B111, Folder 4, IHP). For Adair, her parents' expectations of success were expressed in oral form. According to Adair, what was particularly significant to her life was the instructive nature of Handy Daniels' nightly discussions of politics. As an adult, she later credited her interest and active involvement in local politics to her father's interests in community politics.

Both women also witnessed examples of other family members who believed in the idea of community involvement and whose behavior served as models for service as well as leadership in the community. Ima came from a family with a rich tradition of political leaders, including her father, James. Her brother, William, served as a role model for Ima in that he was heavily involved in civic and philanthropic causes in Houston and supported her efforts in creating and supporting the symphony. Adair, on

the other hand, lived with godparents while attending Samuel Huston College and later referred to their support and encouragement. Her godfather, John W. Frazier, served as a role model by his leadership role in education, helping to establish Samuel Huston College and then serving as an instructor and administrator for over twenty years.

My analysis of the educative influences of family on Ima Hogg and Christia Adair reveals that both families provided financial support for their daughters' education, as well as encouragement, thus establishing a sense of self-esteem and a positive attitude towards learning in each woman. By serving as role models of successful leadership in community service, whether formally or informally, family members also acted as educative agents for these women in their decisions about the purpose of their own lives, especially in choosing service and leadership roles.

One of the differences between the informal educational experiences provided for Ima Hogg and Christia Adair by family and community was the influence of religious beliefs. Religious teachings as well as active participation in a church community began with Adair's parents' involvement in the church and played a significant educational role in Adair's life. She was a lifelong member of the Methodist Church, whose teachings included the idea of service. Adair recalled her church experience, "That's where I learned to serve" (Adair 1978, 5-6). The church was a place of learning that reinforced family beliefs of respect for African Americans as well as community goals of service to the African American community. The Methodist Church also served as an educative agent in Adair's life in two other ways: it was where she observed African American women in leadership roles and it was where she first

developed and refined her own leadership skills in organizing Sunday school classes, and networking and collaborating with other women in local, state, regional, and national Methodist women's organizations. In examining the papers of Ima Hogg and her family, no mention was made of Hogg attending church on a regular basis or having been influenced by church teachings in her informal education.

The value of service to community was a continuous theme throughout the lives of Ima Hogg and Christia Adair. The idea of civic responsibility in demonstrating this theme was a value that was taught and modeled by the parents and family of both women and reinforced by church and community beliefs.

A Belief in the Value of Education and Lifelong Learning

The formal educational experiences of Hogg and Adair were quite different if viewed through the lens of race and class. In examining the attitudes and actions of family towards formal education, however, important similarities were identified. Ima's father, James, demonstrated his respect for education by his encouragement, and his financial support for Ima's education in private schools, at The University of Texas, and in New York City. Letters from James Hogg to his daughter contained supportive statements such as, "Anything I can do to contribute to your education and comfort shall be cheerfully done" (3B111, Folder 4, IHP), and "I attended the University [of Texas] Commencement and found it very interesting. I want you to graduate [from] there some day" (3B111, Folder 3, JSHP).

Handy Daniels also demonstrated his respect for education for his daughter Christia through his actions. By removing his daughter from the schools in Edna and

financing her tuition at Samuel Huston College in Austin, he demonstrated that he wanted a better education for his daughter than what he perceived the segregated Edna schools could provide. Handy Daniels, by first suggesting that Christia attend Prairie View College after graduating from Samuel Huston College instead of coming home to work, and second, through his financial support of his daughter during college, demonstrated that he valued education. Both fathers, through their communication to their daughters and through their actions, demonstrated their belief in the value of education.

In supporting and encouraging the formal educational experiences of Hogg and Adair, their families demonstrated that they valued learning, something that these women would continue as adults. By their actions or through their communication with their daughters, these two families emphasized that learning provided long-term value. In 1903, after Ima had left college, her father wrote to her about the benefits of continuing to learn, even as an adult.

Your ability to think, to reason, to study, to investigate, to form your own judgment by process of reason on the facts, has, for many years, attracted my attention with the deepest interest and pride. This is a rare gift, which if cultivated, and I know it will be by you, must lead to success. (Box 3B111, Folder 4, IHP)

This personal correspondence not only conveyed affection and interest, but an appreciation of and trust in Ima's abilities as well.

For Ima Hogg and Christia Adair, family was the common agent of early education. Their adult education, on the other hand, encompassed both formal educational experiences and a program of informal self-directed learning that included

participation in community organizations. Both Hogg and Adair used organizations throughout their careers as a means of self-education. The Girls' Musical Club (later re-named The Tuesday Musical Club), of which Hogg was a founding member in 1911-1912, and The 1906 Art, Literary, and Charity Club, which Adair joined in 1926, were part of a larger national movement of women's self-improvement organizations in the period 1880-1920.

Not only did these organizations present educational topics as part of their programs, but, more importantly, they provided Hogg and Adair with opportunities to develop, demonstrate, and refine their leadership skills in helping to plan and organize meetings, programs, conferences, fund-raising campaigns, etc., to network with other organizations in the community, and to collaborate with other women on the local, state, and national level. Both women were leaders in their respective organizations. Hogg was president of The Girls Musical Club in 1912-1913, and Adair was president of the Olivia Washington district of the Texas Association of Women's Clubs in 1974. Each woman promoted the educational and service values of her organization, Hogg in musical education and the development of the symphony, and Adair in helping to provide educational programs and community services for African American women and girls.

Both Ima Hogg and Christia Adair were active participants in their own education and engaged in programs of self-directed study as adults. They were outstanding learners in that they intentionally maximized their learning opportunities. They took every opportunity to expand the knowledge base established by family, school, and, in Adair's case, church, whether it was from print media like books and

articles, or from media connected to the public forum, such as presentations, sermons, lectures, and conferences, or from cultural institutions like churches, museums, and art galleries. They also gained knowledge from other people—family, teachers, colleagues—and they sought out people who would teach them what they wanted to know about specific topics, whether it was about visiting teachers, child guidance, or the efforts of the NAACP to desegregate schools. Through this program of informal, self-directed learning, they were able to observe, to investigate, to study, and to refine their leadership skills in a manner that was not readily available to them in avenues of formal education during this period.

The Development of Leadership Skills in the Context of the Progressive Age

Traditional values and ideas about the expected role of women in the period of 1880-1920 influenced the education of Ima Hogg and Christia Adair. While the concepts of true womanhood, separate spheres, and domesticity promoted the idea of women as nurturing mothers, wives, and teachers in their own private spheres, the reality was that this ideal did not apply to all women. The reality was that sometimes Ima Hogg and Christia Adair “fit” these socially constructed roles and sometimes they did not. While Adair was a wife, Hogg never married, and neither woman had children. The argument could be made that these women transferred their “nurturing” tendencies to working with the children of others—Adair a teacher and working with the Girls’ Club—and Hogg working to promote visiting teachers in the schools and provide mental health services for children. However, the fact remains, they were active community leaders who operated in the public sphere. During their lives, Ima Hogg and Christia Adair held

prominent public positions, Houston ISD School Board member and Executive Secretary of the NAACP, respectively. Both also played a public role in working in community organizations and in attempting to persuade the legislature about certain issues they supported. Both women operated in both public and private spheres to accomplish their goals.

Examining the concept of separate spheres as it applied to Ima Hogg, Kirkland (2004) noted that she “shunned publicity” and preferred a behind-the-scenes role in working for her various causes. While this characteristic certainly could have been Hogg’s interpretation that a “lady” does not overtly lead, it could also have been due to her belief that those in the public limelight like her father, bear public scrutiny that is not always positive. In fact, in a 1943 letter to a state legislator who had asked for her support, Ima wrote, “Strange as it may seem to you, I dislike politics, at least the negative way the world has gone about it” (3B164, Folder 1, IHP).

Whether Hogg had a public or a private leadership role in the creation of the symphony is not the real issue, considering that “for nearly forty years no decision was taken [in the symphony organization] without consulting her wishes” (Kirkland 2004, 378). The real issue here is that Ima Hogg used the leadership skills of organizing, networking, and collaborating to establish a major cultural institution in Houston, the Houston Symphony, and to place it on a firm financial foundation through the efforts of her “women’s” committee. Her reticence about accepting a public role while in reality retaining almost total control of symphony affairs privately, speaks more about her leadership skills than it does about the public/private location of her leadership role,

especially if we take into consideration feminist ideas about politics and community leadership.

Examining the influence of domesticity in Ima's life, references in family correspondence from James Hogg to his daughter, discussed the importance of proper behavior, saying "a woman's character is her capital," (3B111, Folder 3, IHP) and implied that the role of women was different from men. "My boys must work their way," wrote James to Ima in 1902, [but] "I shall be glad to take you anywhere, if I have to make the boys work to defray the expenses" (3B111, Folder 3, IHP). And, Hogg's work on the school board and on the women's committee of the symphony could also be construed as woman's work as interest in these areas was considered nurturing in nature and more suited to a woman's sphere. James Hogg's encouragement of Ima to attend college was also not unusual for females of her social class, as Solomon (1985) has demonstrated. However, no correspondence or other written or oral source was found that spoke to Ima's parents' insistence that she marry and begin a family, which was the expected norm for women of the time. Quite the contrary, her father encouraged her to "study the land and oil business" and hoped she would "wield [her] influence on the side of the plain people" (3B111, Folder 4, IHP; quote).

Hogg used the knowledge and skills acquired as an adult to build on the values and beliefs of her family. Her formal musical education played a role in her development and brought her credibility in Houston society. But, it was her informal educational experiences, the knowledge and skills she gained from years of organizing, networking, and collaborating with others, which provided the skills necessary for her rise to

leadership. While the question remains to be answered whether or not she catered to the male business leaders who served as directors of the symphony to gain community-wide support or she just realized that behind the scenes was where the real power lay, the significance is that her education, both formal and informal, enabled her to play that leadership role and wield that power, in whichever sphere she chose.

Analyzing the concepts of domesticity as it applied to Adair, produced a complex picture involving issues of race and class as well as gender. The domestic concept of the nurturing mother was illustrated by her work with children throughout her life, both as a teacher and as a volunteer. She deferred to her husband, giving up her teaching job when he asked. On the other hand, she continually volunteered her time outside the home in service-related projects for her church and her community, especially working with children in Kingsville and in Houston. Even after economic circumstances forced her to return to work after her husband's death, she chose to continue her volunteer work through church and women's organizations. Whether her volunteer work constituted characteristics of feminine nurturing, or whether her work lay in the private or the public sphere, the fact remains that she demonstrated leadership skills that led to improvement in the lives of African Americans.

Examining Adair's work for the NAACP, no evidence was found that she ever displayed interest in the office of the local president of the NAACP, choosing to remain the Executive Secretary until her retirement. While no evidence was found that Adair ever considered this option, the question remains, "Why?" This could have been due to her belief in the traditional value of male leadership in public organizations, or to just the

fact that the Executive Secretary position wielded more influence and she realized this, just as Hogg did in working with the symphony organization. No matter what, Christia Adair played a role in improving the quality of life for African Americans in Houston.

While society's beliefs about the expected roles of women influenced both Hogg and Adair, Adair was also influenced by the African American community's beliefs about the expected roles of African American women. The predominant concept about women in the African American community, known as "uplifting the race," embodied the idea that African American women were expected to work toward their own development and that of the entire race as well. This idea emerged from the historical circumstances of African American life after the Civil War and was promoted at all levels of African American society. For example, the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, of which Christia was a member for half a century, had, as their motto, "Lifting as We Climb." In 1978, when describing the goals of this organization, Adair talked about helping "the woman who is down and needs to be lifted" (Adair 1978, 34).

Adair used the knowledge and skills acquired as an adult to build on the values and beliefs of family, church, and the African American community. Ideas about service to community and civic responsibility modeled by her parents were reinforced by church teachings and the goals of the colleges she attended. Active participation in church and women's organizations provided multiple opportunities for the development of networking and collaborative skills. Although Adair was a known community leader and political activist in the African American community in Houston, an analysis of her life and her influence in the African American community in Houston remains unpublished.

Her life paralleled the lives of other female African American community leaders of the time in that she built on a tradition of social networking through church and women's organizations, and a variety of formal and informal educational experiences to develop her leadership skills. While the stories of some of these women have been told, further research is needed to uncover the role of these women in the African American community, and, in American society as well, especially in the area of leadership.

The context of the Progressive Age in which these women were formally educated added additional layers of complexity to the education of Hogg and Adair, that of community need and community opportunity. Demographic transformation and social reaction were key hallmarks of the Progressive Age, resulting from the historical events and the cultural patterns of the time-industrialization, urban growth, racism and segregation. However, all people did not experience improvement in their lives during the period from 1880 to 1920 as a result of Progressive reform. For African Americans, Hispanics, immigrants, and the poor and uneducated of any group, racism and a lack of political and economic rights remained. Women educated during the period 1880-1920, were exposed to the problems of Progressive era and to the actions of Progressive reformers in response to community needs. They witnessed examples of female leaders responding to these needs, Jane McCallum and Minnie Fisher Cunningham on the state level, and Mary Church Terrell and Mary McLeod Bethune, on the national level.

African Americans, however, excluded from local, state, and national reform efforts until the 1940s, had to create their own service organizations because of institutionalized patterns of racism. African American women developed and

administered these organizations, either through church-affiliated groups or secular women's organizations. Christia Adair was an example of one of these African American women who responded to the needs of her community through active participation in church and women's organizations and in her work for the NAACP. An examination of Adair's actions as an adult community leader revealed the relationship between her education and her achievement. Adair built on values taught and modeled by her parents and reinforced by church teachings and by beliefs in the African American community. She then refined these concepts through extensive service-oriented club work in order to improve the quality of life for African Americans in her community.

In this atmosphere of rapid change and reform, Ima Hogg and Christia Adair gained knowledge and skills from formal and informal educational experiences and formed opinions about the needs of the community and how they, as individuals, educated to serve by family, church, and community could best meet these needs. This context provided both the motive and the opportunity for Ima Hogg and Christia Adair to develop and refine their leadership skills, and to define themselves as community leaders. Although excluded from participating in the Progressive movement by the restrictions of gender, class, and race, Ima Hogg and Christia Adair exemplified the ideals of Progressive reform in their actions as community leaders.

Chapter Conclusion

“Individuals are not merely determined by their categories, they move in and through these categories with all the contradictions and ruptures that the intersections

among the categories represent” (Sondergaard 2005, 192). In examining the lives of Ima Hogg and Christia Adair, their individual identities, framed within categories of gender, race, and class, were influenced by their formal and informal educational experiences, personal, private and public, and the exigencies of place and time, perception and reality. Their formal and informal educational experiences, multifaceted in nature, produced part of the contradictions and ruptures of which Sondergaard speaks.

Initially, parents and especially fathers, served as significant educational agents, both as role models and as informal instructors passing down beliefs, interests, and family values. The influence of formal education reinforced family values and beliefs and provided new knowledge and skills. Next, community organizations acted as informal educative agents, providing opportunities for both knowledge and skill acquisition and leadership development. Finally, a pattern of informal learning through self-directed study played a significant role in each woman’s adult life. Not only did this self-study furnish additional knowledge but, also, eventually provided a means for each woman to express a personal commitment to community in a leadership role.

In the end, both Ima Hogg and Christia Adair experienced similar informal educative influences of family, community and self-directed study. These informal experiences proved more valuable in the development of leadership skills than their formal educational experiences for three reasons. First, these informal educational experiences provided multiple opportunities to develop key organization, networking, and collaborative skills needed for the development of leadership. Second, women in the period from 1880 to 1920, lacked both the quantity and the quality of the formal

educational opportunities and experiences of their male counterparts of the time. Finally, society's expectations of the roles women were to fulfill did not always include advanced education and positions of leadership in the community. Within this context the unique combination of educational experiences of Ima Hogg and Christia Adair established expectations of success in a leadership role. Family, church, school, and community organizations, all acted as educative agents in the lives of these two women, as did their own patterns of self-directed study.

Although the results of this study were not intended to be representative of all women educated in the period 1880-1920, by analyzing the educational experiences of Ima Hogg and Christia Adair, this study provides information that increases our understanding of the complex nature of the educational process, especially for women and especially as education has been traditionally defined. The results demonstrate the importance of analyzing both formal and informal educational experiences, not only as a means of understanding woman's education, but also as a necessary component to understanding the relationship between women's education and women's achievement.

Suggestions for Further Research

To broaden our understanding of women's history and women's education in Texas, this study suggests that further research needs to be done in several areas and needs to be inclusive in nature, representing different socioeconomic and racial and ethnic groups. First, with only one published history of women's education in Texas, research on all aspects of women's education is needed. Second, since this study produced information that noted the significance of informal education in the lives of

two Texas women, the role of informal as well formal educational experiences in the lives of other Texas women requires more research. Third, since this study focused on the relationship between education and leadership in the lives of two female community leaders in Houston, other studies that examined this same relationship in the lives of other female community leaders would prove valuable for increasing our understanding of the role of education in the lives of women. Are there commonalities in other women's educational experiences as well and, if so, how can this knowledge add to the conversation about the relationship between women's education and women's achievement? Finally, more information about the educative role of local women's organizations is needed. What was not revealed by this study was the range of other local women's organizations in Houston and what various Houston organizations offered women in the way of educational experiences in the period from 1880-1920.

Ima Hogg and Christia Daniels Adair played important roles in the culture and history of 20th century Houston, Texas. Their educational experiences, both formal and informal, provided them with the knowledge and skills to become leaders in the community. A study of their lives enriches our knowledge of women's history. As McClelland (1992) wrote, "a study of women's education can make a significant contribution to the study of the history of education as a social enterprise" (51). This study deepens our understanding of women leaders on the local level, and increases our knowledge of the history of Texas education with an analysis of how the personal, the private, and the public realms of education played an integral and interconnected role in women's lives.

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VITA

Linda L. Black
452 County Road 2153
Nacogdoches, Texas 75965

EDUCATION

- | | |
|------|---|
| 2008 | Ph.D., Curriculum and Instruction
Emphasis: History/Social Studies Education
Texas A&M University, College Station, Texas |
| 1982 | M.Ed., Minor: History
Southwest Texas State University, San Marcos, Texas |
| 1972 | B.A., History, Minor: Health and Physical Education
Southwest Texas State University, San Marcos, Texas |

EMPLOYMENT

- | | |
|----------------|--|
| 2004 – Present | Instructor, Department of Secondary Education and
Educational Leadership, Stephen F. Austin State
University, Nacogdoches, Texas |
| 1991-2004 | Teacher, Cy-Falls High School
Cy-Fair Independent School District, Houston, Texas |
| 1985-1991 | Teacher, Langham Creek High School
Cy-Fair Independent School District, Houston, Texas |
| 1982-1985 | Teacher, Cy-Fair High School
Cy-Fair Independent School District, Houston, Texas |
| 1974-1982 | Teacher, John Marshall High School, Northside
Independent School District, San Antonio, Texas |
| 1973-1974 | Teacher, Anson Jones Middle School, Northside
Independent School District, San Antonio, Texas |
| 1972-1973 | Teacher, Riley Junior High, San Antonio Independent
School District, San Antonio, Texas |

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