

“NO NIGHT WAS EVER TOO DARK OR ROAD TOO LONG FOR HER”:

ELLA WARE, M.D., THE COUNTRY DOC

A STATE-EDUCATED WOMAN PRACTICING MEDICINE IN EARLY 20TH
CENTURY RURAL TEXAS

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by

Kassie M. Dixon

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ABSTRACT

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Around the turn of the twentieth century, women carved out paths for themselves as physicians in the young field of modern medicine in Texas, graduating at a rate of about one per year from the state’s first medical school, The University of Texas Medical Branch at Galveston (UTMB). Little research on these women exists. In fact, the majority of work on women physicians in the history of medicine concentrates on the urban Northeastern United States, the location of the country’s first medical schools to admit women. Historical work is lacking on women who later undertook the path in the Southern, Western, and rural United States.

A study on the origins, education, practice, and social life of Ella Ware, M.D., the second woman to graduate from the Texas medical school, aids in addressing this void. Primary sources, including artifacts, oral histories, newspaper articles, and various records, particularly certificates of birth and death, are used to reconstruct her experience. Examples of contemporary physicians, particularly other women and rural physicians, are drawn on for further period context.

Ware decided to go to medical school in 1895, gained her degree in 1899, and practiced until 1949, all with little contention and more flexibility than accrued by many women physicians in the Northeast. Rejecting an offer to teach at the medical school, she made a name for herself in rural South Texas as “the country doc,” working in general medicine with a large focus on maternal care. Yet, just being a woman, acting outside of

her period's gender role, and a rural physician in rugged terrain, required ingenuity on her part. She garnered respect from both her community and colleagues.

A study of Ware's adventurous life uncovers factors that help explain the overall positive reception of female doctors in turn of the twentieth century Texas. Embracing aspects of her gender role helped, rather than oppressed her as she carved out a place in a male-dominated field. It suggests more research is needed on women physicians in understudied regions.

KEY WORDS: Ella Ware, Stockdale, Texas, Woman physician, Rural medicine, History of medicine.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION & HISTORIOGRAPHY

Introduction

Women who chose to pursue careers as doctors found an opening in Texas at the turn of the twentieth century. One of the first female physicians in the nation to gain entrance into a medical association reportedly did so in the state and Texas' first state-supported medical school never denied women an education.¹ Before women even held the right to vote, they began graduating at a small, but steady rate of about one per year from The University of Texas Medical Branch at Galveston (UTMB). Little is known about the female medical students who gained their medical educations and practiced in the Lone Star state.

Enter Dr. Ella Ware. Ella Green Ware became the second woman to graduate from UTMB in 1899. After rejecting an impressive offer to teach at the medical school, Ware returned to her community of Stockdale, Texas, where she practiced medicine until 1949. Ware made a name for herself in rural South Texas not as “the lady doc” or “the medicine woman,” but simply “the country doc.” In fact, Ware’s atypical career choice rarely met a critical glance at home, with most observers focusing on her skill before her sex. Yet, just being a woman, acting outside her period’s gender role, and a rural physician, required ingenuity on her part. A study of Dr. Ware yields unprecedented insight into the origins, educational, professional, and social experiences of a rural woman medical practitioner in early twentieth-century Texas. It identifies how she made

¹ Elizabeth Silverthorne and Geneva Fulgham, *Women Pioneers in Texas Medicine* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1997), 71.; Of note, the school was originally called the Medical Department of the University of Texas, but will henceforth be referred to as its popular initials “UTMB” (the University of Texas Medical Branch).

a place for herself in a traditionally male-dominated field, and uncovers factors that help explain the overall positive reception of female doctors in turn of the twentieth century Texas.

Historiography

From their start in the medical profession, some early American women physicians worked to preserve their own experiences, but historical scholarship did not truly bloom until the arrival of the women's history movement in the 1960s and 1970s. Beyond plentiful celebratory accounts, research initially focused on the social aspects of women's experiences in a male-dominated profession. The influence of second wave feminism left historians astonished by injustice they uncovered, and often led to studies of women doctors as victims of discrimination. Mary Roth Walsh's 1976 work *"Doctors Wanted: No Women Need Apply": Sexual Barriers in the Medical Profession, 1835-1975* is recognized as the premiere research put forth in this light.² In the 1980s, historians increasingly considered women as actors in their own right despite oppression, a key example being *Sympathy and Science: Women Physicians in American Medicine* (1985) by Regina Morantz-Sanchez. Scholars also began to extend their scope to the interplay of communities' class, gender, and racial norms with female doctors, with works like Gloria Moldow's *Women Doctors in Gilded-age Washington: Race, Gender, and Professionalization* (1987). Finally, by considering women physicians' endeavors to maintain balance in their personal and professional lives, Ellen S. More broadened the field by using elements of all of these previous studies in her work *Restoring the Balance: Women Physicians and the Profession of Medicine, 1850-1996* (1999).

² Ellen S. More, Elizabeth Fee, and Manon Parry, eds., *Women Physicians and the Cultures of Medicine* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2008), 6.

Other leading historians of women in medicine include Eve Fine, Linda Gordon, Anne Taylor Kirschman, Judith Walzer Leavitt, and Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, who have published work on topics including women physicians, birth control, homeopathy, childbirth, and women's healthcare.³ Nearly all studies of women in medicine hold one very common thread, which is they primarily concentrate on the Northeastern United States, the location of some of the first medical schools to admit women in this country. To this day, historical research on women in medicine in the Southern, Western, and Southwestern United States is much more limited.

Early on in Texas, a few prominent male physicians either chronicled their own careers or became the subject of other researchers.⁴ In 1930, a woman writing about Texas medical history under a male pseudonym did include a very short chapter on "Petticoat Medicine" chronicling five early women physicians and "a woman quack."⁵ Yet despite this early showing, women's history remained an underdeveloped area in Texas history until the late 1980s to early 1990s. While today, women in the medical profession in Texas do not completely lack historical coverage, the work available is not

³ See, Eve Fine, "Women Physicians and Medical Sects in Nineteenth-Century Chicago," in *Women Physicians and the Cultures of Medicine*, edited by E.S. More, E. Fee, and M. Perry (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2009).; Linda Gordon, *The Moral Property of Women: The History of Birth Control in America* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003).; Anne Taylor Kirschman, *A Vital Force: Women in American Homeopathy, 1850-1930* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2003).; Judith Walzer Leavitt, *Brought to Bed: Child-bearing in America, 1750-1950* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).; Judith Walzer Leavitt, ed. *Women and Health in America: Historical Readings*, 2nd ed. (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1999).; Carroll-Smith Rosenberg, Carroll Smith-Rosenberg and Charles Rosenberg, "The Female Animal: Medical and Biological Views of Women and Her Role in Nineteenth-Century America," *The Journal of American History* 60, no. 2 (September 1973): 332-356.

⁴ See, for example, Pat Ireland Nixon, *A Century of Medicine in San Antonio* (San Antonio, TX: Priv. pub. by author, 1936).; George Hugh Paschal, "The Public Service Aspect of the Medical Career of Dr. Frank Paschal in San Antonio, 1893-1925" (M.A. thesis, Trinity University, 1956).

⁵ George Plunkett Red (Mrs. S.C. Red), "Petticoat Medicine," *Medicine Man in Texas* (Houston, TX: Standard Printing and Lithographing Co., 1930), 104-110.

comprehensive. There is only one book entirely dedicated to the subject, briefly profiling select women from various health-related fields, *Women Pioneers in Texas Medicine* (1997), by Elizabeth Silverthorne and Geneva Fulgham. One of the most recent monographs on the state's medical history, *Early Texas Physicians, 1830-1915: Innovative, Intrepid, Independent* (1999), by R. Maurice Hood, M.D., still excludes women completely. Historical volumes issued by Texas medical schools generally only mention the attendance of early female students, without expanding upon their experiences. Other scholarship on the history of twentieth century medicine in Texas tends to follow the current trend in the medical history of the South by focusing on wartime medicine and the study of diseases and epidemics due to the ready availability of sources from institutional and government recordkeeping on these topics.

Since the publishing of the former works, historians of Texas completed a few more promising studies. In 2000, Amanda Brand wrote her master's thesis on the early female physician Dr. Sofie Herzog Huntington, who received her medical education in New York and practiced in Brazoria County beginning in the late nineteenth century. Brand comes the furthest in offering a comprehensive examination of Huntington's experience as an early female physician catering to a relatively rural Texas area. Also, in an essay for *The Historian*, entitled "The Women's Department: Maternalism and Feminism in the Texas Medical Journal" (2007), Courtney Shah uncovers some novel information on women's and doctors' places in Texas public health and hygiene in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century. Recently, Heather Green Wooten's *Old Red: Pioneering Medical Education in Texas* (2012) briefly touches on the subject of female students at UTMB, but does not explore their lives after graduation. In 2015,

independent scholar Ruth Hosey Karbach's chapter, "Ellen Lawson Dabbs: Waving the Equal Rights Banner," in *Texas Women: Their Histories, Their Lives* offers a thorough study of this pioneer Texas woman physician's life.⁶

In the end, just a small amount of work has been done on the first women physicians to graduate with a Texas medical education, and there is a near complete absence of research available on women physicians licensed to practice medicine in twentieth-century rural Texas. A handful of the other Texas women and rural physicians included in this thesis have been mentioned in other works, but have received little to no analysis of their lives. Ware is placed within the context of these contemporary doctors to demonstrate her environment's chief influence on her career. Due to a variety of factors addressed in this study, Texas offered flexibility for its early women physicians; so much so, Ware chose the adventurous career of a rural physician. She relates to her typically urban female contemporaries in the ways they adapted to their still non-traditional position in the state. Ultimately, Ware's ability to effectively combine her positions as a woman and as a rural physician allows her practice to most closely resemble that of fellow, mostly male country docs.

As noted from the historiography of women in medicine, a large number of these understudied women physicians are located in the American South, West, and Southwest. Texas' regional identity within this area happens to be a debated topic. One of the aforementioned three regions, or truly a "Lone star," are all proposed labels for the large

⁶ Ruth Hosey Karbach, "Ellen Lawson Dabbs: Waving the Equal Rights Banner" in *Texas Women: Their Histories, Their Lives*, edited by Elizabeth Hayes Turner, Stephanie Cole, Rebecca Sharpless (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 2015), 176-200.

and very diverse state.⁷ For the purposes of this study, Texas is considered as a primarily Southern state. With the legacy of Confederate secession, Southern planter culture, new Jim Crow Laws, and ongoing racial violence, a Southern identity remained predominant at the turn of the century.⁸ This is the case in the areas of the state this work covers, the city of Galveston and the small South Texas cotton town of Stockdale. Still, enduring frontier elements to the state are occasionally considered for their ability to supplement the traditional Southern conservatism with some flexibility and forgiveness.

University catalogues, records, yearbooks, and the memories of early female students are used to reconstruct Ware's medical school experience, on which the least amount of direct source material is available. The rest of the work relies heavily on primary sources regarding Ware herself, including artifacts, birth, death, and deed records, memoirs, and oral histories from relatives and patients. Period newspaper articles and census records are utilized throughout all of the sections. All together, and especially with the insight of interviews with Dr. Ware's centenarian niece, an experience in danger of being lost to the ages is revealed.

⁷ John Nova Lomax, "Is Texas Southern, Western, or Truly a Lone Star?" <http://www.texasmonthly.com/the-daily-post/is-texas-southern-western-or-truly-a-lone-star/>.

⁸ See, Carlos Kevin Blanton, "Deconstructing Texas," in *Beyond Texas Through Time: Breaking Away from Past Interpretations*, Walter L. Buenger and Arnoldo De Leon, Eds. (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2011).; Walter L. Buenger, "Texas and the South," *Major Problems in Texas History*, 2nd Ed., Sam W. Haynes and Cary Dr. Wintz, Eds. (Boston, MA: Cengage Learning, 2017). Glen Sample Ely. "Texas: Where the West Begins," *Major Problems in Texas History*, 2nd Ed., Sam W. Haynes and Cary Dr. Wintz, Eds. (Boston, MA: Cengage Learning, 2017).

CHAPTER II

ORIGINS

Background

Sarah Ann (Ford) (1847-1890), wife of Calvin Anderson Ware (1847-1931), gave birth to a daughter, Ella Green Ware, on May 13, 1870 in Riddleville (now Gillette), located in Karnes County, Texas.⁹ The family soon moved to Wilson County and settled on a farm in the Pleasant Valley community near the town of Stockdale. Here, Ware grew up with eight surviving of ten younger siblings, four girls and four boys.¹⁰ As the eldest and female in a large family, she held many caretaking responsibilities. These duties intensified with the increasingly poor health of her mother, who passed away at age forty-two on April 19, 1890. Ware's father remarried the same year to twenty-nine year-old Martha Ann "Mattie" (Chandler) (1861-1946), and built a second house closer to town for his children by his first wife to stay while they attended school. Ware, by then twenty years old, ran this household, and essentially became a maternal figure to her siblings, the youngest just two years of age.

As the story goes, some years later, Ware's father approached her while she worked in the garden. Having decided his daughter should have a chance at a better future he asked—what would she like to do? She answered that she wanted to become a

⁹ The middle name "Green" possibly originates from Green, Texas, a now non-existent community around the area Ware was born, and/or after some of her mother's family who lived in Greene/Green County, Arkansas. There is also some confusion over Ware's birth year being 1869 or 1870, but her age seems most frequently reported in censuses corresponding to the 1870 date and that is the year engraved on her tombstone.

¹⁰ Siblings include: William Rankin Ware (1871-1947), Bartlett Ford Ware (1873-1930), Richard McClure Ware (1874-1948), Letha Emma (Ware) Seely (1875-1963), Sophronia Tennessee (Ware) Sutton (1877-1948), Infant male (1878-1878), Thomas Calvin Caraway Ware (1880-1944), Neppie (Ware) King (1883-1963), Henrietta Cebelle Ware (1884-1886), and Mary Ann "Mayme" Ware (1888-1975). Half siblings include: Alma (Ware) Crosby (1892-1977), Georgia (Ware) Brown (1893-1969), Grace (Ware) Bulgier (1897-1982), James "Jim" Roy Ware (1899-1988), and Lois (Ware) Jensen (1905-1989).

nurse, one of the few careers open to women at the time. Yet her father countered, “How would you like to be a doctor?” Ware reportedly exclaimed, “Oh Papa! Can a lady be a doctor? That is really what I would like to be.”¹¹

Fortunately for Ware, this option did, in fact, exist. While Texas failed to gain its first female medical school graduate until nearly half a century after Elizabeth Blackwell became the first woman in the United States to earn a medical degree in 1849, the state did not fall as behind the times as it seems. During Blackwell’s time, established medical colleges in the Northeast still generally only accepted male students. The young and disorganized field of medicine, however, allowed for the opening of a surplus of independent medical schools. These new privately funded “proprietary schools” varied in quality, but allowed for a wide assortment of students, including women. After facing rejections from many established medical schools, Blackwell attended a small country medical school.¹² Not until the 1890s, did Northeastern women gain a boost in acceptance to the medical departments of a few of the established medical schools.¹³

Texas lacked a formal medical school for *anyone*, male or female, to graduate from during most of this period. As it turns out, when the first state-supported medical school opened its doors in 1891, things would be a little different. The Texas school

¹¹ Bessie Seely Steen, interview by author, San Antonio, TX, March 15, 2008.; “Stockdale Woman Physician is Building a Modern Sanitarium,” *The Daily Express*, November 14, 1909.

¹² “Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell,” *Changing the Face of Medicine*, https://cfmedicine.nlm.nih.gov/physicians/biography_35.html.

¹³ C.C. Colbert, *The Other Civil War: American Women in the Nineteenth Century*, revised ed. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1999), 141-146.; “Consolidating the System,” in Paul Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine: The rise of a sovereign profession and the making of a vast industry* (New York: Basic Books, 1982).; Mary Roth Walsh, *Doctors Wanted No Women Need Apply: Sexual Barriers in the Medical Profession, 1835-1875* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1976), 107-108.

never denied entrance to women.¹⁴ This is in contrast to many of the established Northeastern medical schools that despite the small showing mentioned, for the most part took decades after founding to admit female students. At the time of Ware's education, some of the most-respected institutions in the country, including Yale, Penn, and Columbia, remained closed to women until into the early 1900s, and Harvard Medical School, founded in 1782, did not admit females until 1945, though women began requesting admission there nearly one hundred years prior.¹⁵

When Northeastern medical schools opened doors to both sexes, they sometimes did so reluctantly at best. Women confronted such challenges as protesting initially rejected applications, and if they received admission, arranging their own living accommodations due to lack of female housing. All the while, they also faced the prospect of attending special women-only classes at supposedly "co-educational" schools. This rampant discrimination led many women to pursue medical educations at friendlier all female or charter schools of often lesser quality.¹⁶ In contrast, UTMB officials began considering offering housing with the explicit goal of attracting female students early in the 1890s and offered truly coeducational courses from the school's

¹⁴ Larry J. Wygant, "A Note on the Early Medical Education of Women at UTMB," *The Bookman* (March 1980): 3.

¹⁵ Elianne Riska, *Medical Careers and Feminist Agendas* (New York: ALDINE DE GRUYTER, 2001), 36-37.; "Hard-earned gains for women at Harvard," *Harvard Gazette*, April 26, 2012, <http://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2012/04/hard-earned-gains-for-women-at-harvard/>.

¹⁶ See, for example, "Letter from Hubert Work to Martha Tracy," (correspondence), January 23, 1924, in "Doctor or Doctress? Explore American history through the eyes of women physicians," Drexel University College of Medicine Legacy Center.; Regina Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 1985, 2000), 113.; Silverthorne and Fulgham, *Women Pioneers in Texas Medicine*, 89.

inception.¹⁷ Because of this, twenty-five-year-old Ware, with the urging of her father, began medical school at a respected and egalitarian institution in October of 1895, facing seemingly no contention. In only its third year of operation, the school welcomed Marie DeLalondre Dietzel, who would go on to be the first woman to receive her medical degree in Texas from a state institution. Ware would become the second.

Dietzel and Ware did not make their mark alone. While throughout the turn of the century, the average UTMB medical students remained young and single white male Texas natives, there happened to be quite a few regular exceptions to this norm.¹⁸ In its first thirty years of operation, from 1891-1921, the university graduated thirty-four female M.D.s.¹⁹ Of these women, all claimed Caucasian descent. One woman, Ellen Carlotta/Charlotte Cover, also appears to have Mexican lineage. Another, Ray Karchmer Daily, ethnically identified as Italian and Jewish. Others held a variety of ancestries with recent familial immigrations from areas including, but not limited to, Germany, Ireland, Russia, and Scotland.²⁰ Twenty of the thirty-four women started their lives in Texas, strongly concentrated in the central region of the state. Like most of UTMB's male

¹⁷ "University Hall History," University of Texas, *Cactus 1908 Yearbook*, 383.

¹⁸ Heather Green Wooten, *Old Red: Pioneering Medical Education in Texas* (Denton, TX: Texas State Historical Association, 2012), 71.

¹⁹ This included Marie Philomene (Delalondre) Dietzel (class of 1897), Ella Green Ware (1899), Ella (Devlin) Fritch (1900), Marie "M." Charlotte Schaeffer (1900), Mary Robert "Robbie" (Davis) Matlock (1901), Martha Alice "A." Wood (1903), Claudia Potter (1904), Margaret Roberta (Holliday) Clark (1906), Ada Ben (Halbert) Graham (1908), Jennie Aloysius Sherrin (1909), Mary Cleveland Harper (1910), May Agnes(s) (Hopkins) Reitzel (1911), Una Howe (Hasskarl) (1912), Ellen Carlotta/Charlotte Cover (1913), Ray (Karchmer) "K." Daily (1913), Frances May McAdams (1913), Rosalie/Rosa Lee (McAdams) Milkovich (1913), Clara Gathright "G." Cook (1914), Violet Hannah Keiller (1914), Minnie Lee "L." Maffett (1914), Edda Von Bose (1915), Perle Potter (Penfield) Newell (1915), Mildred Washington (Weeks) Wells (1915), Ruby Kathleen Embry (1916), (Martha) Nelle (Beal) Jackson (1917), Mary Elizabeth Roe (1917), Sarah (Rudnick) Jourdin (1918), Clara (Kocher) Duncan (1919), Mollie Amelia Geiss (1919), Emma Jane (Beck) Rector (1920), Anna Marie Bowie (1920), Bertha Elvira (Stanley) Byram (1920), Marjorie Mason (Jarvis) Hutson (1920), and Jessie Walker Pryor (1920).

²⁰ United States Federal Census Records, 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940.

students, fourteen of the women came from small towns with populations of less than 5,000.²¹ Six more women hailed from the cities of Austin, Galveston, Fort Worth, and Waco respectively, and two of those came from San Antonio. The fourteen non-native Texans originated from Georgia, Kansas, Iowa, Mississippi, New York, Oklahoma (Indian Territory), Missouri, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, and three from Louisiana, and two of those immigrated to the United States from Lithuania and Scotland.²²

Throughout Ware's early years, her family eventually located in the Ecletto Creek and Lorenz area, still near the town of Stockdale, and increasingly accrued status within this community. Her father, a Mason, farmed, ranched, ran a mill, and dabbled as a merchant in conjunction with his brother. He made several substantial property acquisitions throughout his life, and as a founder of the Stockdale Baptist Church and the Mexican Baptist Church, donated land to the church for the possible use of building a school in 1882. In 1893, he also became postmaster for the Lorenz Post Office.²³

²¹ Census records.; Heather Green Wooten, *Old Red: Pioneering Medical Education in Texas*, 71. See section 1 in Appendix for first UTMB female graduates' birthplaces.

²² Census records.; *Changing the Face of Medicine: Celebrating America's Women Physicians, Local Legends* (Galveston, TX: Moody Medical Library, 2008).; Debbie Mauldin Cottrell, "Hopkins, May Agness," *Handbook of Texas Online*, June 15, 2010, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fholn>.; Debbie Mauldin Cottrell, "Keiller, Violet Hannah," *Handbook of Texas Online*, June 15, 2010, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fke65>.; M. Rebecca Sharpless, "Earle, Hallie," *Handbook of Texas Online*, June 12, 2010, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fea12>.; "May Agness Hopkins: Grand President," *Themis of Zeta Tau Alpha* 6, no. 1 (November 1908): 35-38. Patricia L. Jakobi, "Harper, Mary Cleveland," *Handbook of Texas Online*, June 15, 2010, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fhael>.; Patricia L. Jakobi, "Schaefer, Marie Charlotte," *Handbook of Texas Online*, June 15, 2010, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fsc54>.; Texas Physicians Historical Biographical Database, UT Southwestern Health Sciences Digital Library and Learning Center, Gazetteer of Deceased Texas Physicians, Texas Medical Center Library, <http://digitalcommons.library.tmc.edu/gazetteer>.

²³ "Calvin Anderson Ware," Lorenz, Wilson County, Texas, Appointments of U.S. Postmasters, 1832-1971, 71B.; Karon Mac Smith, *On the Watershed of Ecletto and Clear Fork II* (Texas: Priv. pub. by author, 1988), 86.

While the Wares, as some of the area's earliest residents, maintained affluence within the town, they remained of modest wealth for a turn-of-the-century family. In fact, after she graduated from Stockdale High School as one of the school's first formal graduates, Ware obtained a teacher's certificate and taught school because she feared her father could not afford the medical studies she really wished to pursue.²⁴ Ware's father and stepmother had six more children, stretching the family's income even further, with two of the children making their entrance into the world before she left for medical school, one while she attended, and two after she returned home as a doctor, bringing the total to thirteen siblings for Ware.²⁵

Despite tight finances, Ware's father showed determination in not allowing anything to get in the way of his eldest child's dream. "...[H]e urged her to study medicine and become a doctor as she longed to do. Although career women in those days were frowned upon, her father said he could see no reason why she shouldn't work in public."²⁶ In another account, when asked if her family objected, Ware said, "Not at all. My father had always said that if a girl had a mind and a desire to do, he could see no reason why she should not work in public."²⁷

Only some similarity existed within the backgrounds of the thirty-four early female graduates. Including Ware's, thirteen of the women's fathers, the primary family

²⁴ "Dr. Ware Day Set at Stockdale," *San Antonio Express*, October 17, 1954.; "Ella Ware," *The University of Texas Record* 4 (1902): 157.; "Five Years Later...Community Will Pay Homage to Woman Physician," *The Bonham Daily Favorite*, October 19, 1954.; Homer Clance, "Honor 'Mother' of 6,000," *San Antonio Express*, October 17, 1954.

²⁵ Census records.

²⁶ "Dr. Ware Day Set at Stockdale," *San Antonio Express*, October 17, 1954.

²⁷ "Fiftieth Anniversary Of Medical Practice Observed By Dr. Ella Ware, Local Physician," *Stockdale Star*, May 12, 1949.

wage earners at this time, acted as farmers and ranchers. Nine fathers owned their own businesses or held a position within a business, five worked in skilled trades, three held medical degrees, and one acted as a druggist. Two others worked in fields that required some form of education, as a teacher and a civil engineer, and one's employment is unknown.²⁸ Interestingly, at least eight of the women's fathers died or left their families when their children were still very young.²⁹ The families then often relied on single mothers for their only source of income. The mothers worked at various jobs including as a boardinghouse keeper, dressmaker, grocer, office worker, corsetmaker, head laundress at a state lunatic asylum, and two took over the family farm. Most of the female medical students grew up with several siblings, who did not always obtain higher educations themselves, even brothers.³⁰

All in all, based on the women's wide-ranging backgrounds and the disadvantageous circumstances of some, their location of upbringing, parents' level of education, and the family's wealth seemed to have had little influence over their ability to attend medical school in the state. This is in contrast to the Northeast, where most female medical students came from middle or upper middle class families.³¹ If anything, in Texas, dire situations seemed to inspire a few women to pursue medicine as a lucrative career path; but overall, most enrolled because they simply wanted to become physicians.

²⁸ George Adam Geise/Geiss, born in Pennsylvania, father of Mollie Amelia Geiss, died in Dawson County, Georgia sometime before 1900, and his employment is unknown.

²⁹ The occupation of Jenny Alysious Sherrin's father is unknown for this reason.

³⁰ Census records.

³¹ Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science*, 92.

Early Education and Employment

Primary and secondary schooling options in Ware's area around her time of attendance appeared rather primitive. While, "some sources state that a school was established [in Stockdale] as early as 1867," one resident seemed to not trust this option and moved his family to the nearby town of Seguin by season for his children to attend school. In 1875, a more suitable school appeared, and the resident kept his family in place. At this time, Ware would have been five years old. Despite the improvement, schooling remained erratic with locations frequently changing between houses and churches in town and schoolhouses in the surrounding country communities. Most of the teachers were male and varied in quality. The first informally received his certification after a state official quizzed residents about who might make the best teacher. They recommended this settler due to his ability to "read, write, and cipher," and he reportedly received his credentials after a simple chat. Another early teacher was known to not show up to class until he could sober up on Mondays due to his weekend escapades. Still, yet another from this time appeared especially well-liked, as his former students later planned a reunion with him around the turn of the century.³²

In 1882, husband and wife, college educated teachers John A. McIntire, Jr. and Lilly Maggy McIntire started working at Stockdale, first at a private school, and then the town's first public school.³³ Ware, by then twelve years old, appears in records for their 1882-1883 school year. Rules for this term, written by John and signed by parents and students, were strict with number one being: "A student who is too large or too small to

³² Birdie Lorenz, *Stockdale: A Glimpse Into The Past*.

³³ Freda Elaine Garner, "Stockdale Had Important Part in Early Wilson County History," *Floresville Chronicle-Journal*, September 16, 1960.

be corrected is too large or too small to attend school and will not be admitted.” Also, “Each sex [was] required to keep their respective sides of the school grounds.” As for Ware personally, in perhaps an early show of her independence, she received the following admonitions in the disciplinary record, “On October 26 Ella Ware and Rosa Jackson were taken to task for talking in violation of the rules. And again on November first Ella Ware ‘gets water while I am forbidding same.’”³⁴

All in all, Ware came from humble scholastic beginnings, yet did at least have an educated female role model in Mrs. McIntire.³⁵ While her early academic experience appeared positive, it in no way could have readied her for the rigors of medical school. When asked if she always wanted to become a doctor, even as a child, she just replied, “Well I always thought it would be interesting to be a doctor.” It is unlikely she could have ever imagined it would become a reality for herself. Yet, from a young age, Ware’s father instilled his favorite word “stamina” in his daughter, “something which he thought was important for everyone to have.”³⁶ What Ware may have lacked in academic preparation, she made up for in determination, and like many accomplished people, this may be the secret to her success.

In turn of the century Texas, female students actually completed high school more frequently than male students because young men had more opportunities to drop out and work in skilled labor. After graduating, many of these young women began to work in the state’s rapidly growing cities as cotton mill operatives, commercial laundry workers,

³⁴ Early Settler, “Early Days In And Around Stockdale, *Stockdale Star*, April 30, 1952.”; “Old School Records Are Revealing,” *Stockdale Star*, undated newspaper clipping.

³⁵ Lorenz, *Stockdale: A Glimpse Into The Past*.

³⁶ “Fiftieth Anniversary Of Medical Practice Observed By Dr. Ella Ware, Local Physician,” *Stockdale Star*, May 12, 1949.

garment workers, milliners, telephone operators, or did light manufacturing work, all the while making “half or less” the wages of working men. Small towns like Ware’s offered far fewer prospects for employment for women. For an example of this, Judith McArthur and Harold Smith turn to the experience of one woman in the introduction to their work

Texas Through Women’s Eyes: The Twentieth Century Experience:

Gertrude Beasley remembered grimly how her family made ends meet in Abilene without a male breadwinner. Her mother took in boarders and, when they were scarce, asked the neighbors for sewing. Gertrude resentfully waited on the boarders’ table and eventually taught in a one-room district school, where she could exert her authority over defiant adolescent boys only with a heavy switch.³⁷

School teaching remained one of the only formal positions open to women in these communities.

Education also proved the favorite field of the crop of women who continued to college and became working professionals. By 1900 women made up more than fifty percent of Texas’ teachers, but still lacked representation in positions in higher education. In 1910, just three women lawyers worked in the state.³⁸ In *Beyond Her Sphere: Women and the Professions* (1978), Barbara Jean Harris notes that in the United States in general, “Women found it more difficult to become lawyers than doctors, for example, because the legal profession was institutionalized and had, in general, been granted licensing powers earlier than the medical profession.”³⁹ This proved true in Texas, where women, indeed, held more of a showing in the young and disorganized field of medicine. Still, this generally meant in the career of nursing, not doctoring. In early twentieth century

³⁷ Judith N. McArthur and Harold L. Smith, *Texas Through Women’s Eyes: The Twentieth Century Experience* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2010), 3.

³⁸ McArthur and Smith, *Texas Through Women’s Eyes*, 3, 8.

³⁹ Barbara Jean Harris, *Beyond Her Sphere: Women and the Professions* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978), 82.

Texas, while “ninety percent of nurses were women,” “less than two percent of doctors were.”⁴⁰

Admission to Medical School

The women tended to start medical school at slightly older ages than many of their male classmates, but their ages also varied widely. Entry requirements at UTMB remained the same regardless of the applicant’s sex, and a great many of the thirty-four women included in this study entered medical school with only a high school education. The program allowed this in its early days, and even later under affiliations with some public schools.⁴¹ A good portion of the men in Ware’s class, however, held bachelor’s degrees or at least attended a college preparatory program before attending UTMB.⁴² In contrast, it appears only around eight of the thirty-four female students obtained bachelor’s degrees prior to attending medical school, usually a Bachelor of Science. At least one, Margaret Roberta Holliday Clark, followed this with a Master of Science degree.⁴³ Instead, before deciding to pursue a medical education, many of the women, including Ware, taught school, others did secretary or stenography work, and at least one acted as a trained nurse and a masseuse.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ McArthur and Smith, *Texas Through Women’s Eyes*, 8.

⁴¹ *Catalogue of the Department of Medicine* (Galveston, TX: The University of Texas, 1897-98), 208-210.

⁴² *General Register of the Students and Former Students of the University of Texas*, Compiled for the Ex-Student’s Association by W.J. Maxwell under the general direction of John A. Lomax, Secretary, 1917.

⁴³ *General Register of the Students and Former Students of the University of Texas*, 1917.

⁴⁴ “Miss Jennie Sherrin,” Galveston, Texas, 1908, U.S. City Directories, 1821-1989.; “Miss Rose Ella Devlin,” Galveston, Texas, 1896, U.S. City Directories, 1821-1989.

Any educational or employment background allowed most applicants exemption from tests in “English, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, [and] general history.”⁴⁵ Professors lamented that these generous prerequisites, especially in science, led to a student body woefully unprepared for the modern medical school curriculum. They warned all students of “...long hours that will tax your physical and intellectual powers to the limit... In the struggle the weakest intellectually and physically among you will succumb...,” and cautioned, “...it behooves you, if you aspire to endure, to lead a thoroughly sanitary life, to avoid dissipation of every kind and in fact to do everything calculated to keep a sound mind in a sound body.” In keeping with this, the school also required applicants have their “...moral character and fitness certified by two responsible persons.”⁴⁶ While UTMB’s overall undemanding admission requirements made entry very accessible, making it through the program would be another story. As will become evident in the next chapter, women had several other factors working in their favor. And as for Ware, she also had her father’s favorite quality, *stamina*.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ *Catalogue of the Department of Medicine*, 1897-98, 209.

⁴⁶ “Medical College Begins New Term,” *Galveston Daily News*, October 2, 1910.

⁴⁷ “Fiftieth Anniversary Of Medical Practice Observed By Dr. Ella Ware, Local Physician,” *Stockdale Star*, May 12, 1949.

CHAPTER III

EDUCATION

Women's Medical Education Across the United States

To understand the unusual accessibility Ware received through a Texas medical school education, it is helpful to take a further look at the developments in women's entry into medical education across the United States. As previously mentioned, female medical school attendance in the Northeast first grew through their admittance to independent medical schools in the mid-1800s. This eventually even included seventeen separate women's medical colleges. As mentioned, the women did not enter established schools, however, until the 1890s. In this case, philanthropists or the women themselves bought their way into the elite "male only" medical schools that were ready to accept support for the growing costs of running more innovative, modern institutions. Yet, these promising trends all proved short-lived. In contrast to Texas' relatively welcoming atmosphere at the turn of the century, women's medical school attendance in the Northeast actually began to face growing opposition.⁴⁸

As it turned out, after the initially positive impact on women's medical school acceptance rates, the push towards greater standardization in medicine backfired. The expense of updating facilities and curriculum caused many of the institutions that popped up during more flexible times to merge or close their doors. Privileged, young white male students began to balk at female students taking up the now scarcer places in

⁴⁸ C.C. Colbert, *The Other Civil War: American Women in the Nineteenth Century*, revised ed. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1999), 141-146.; "Consolidating the System," in Paul Starr, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine: The rise of a sovereign profession and the making of a vast industry* (New York: Basic Books, 1982).; Mary Roth Walsh, *Doctors Wanted No Women Need Apply: Sexual Barriers in the Medical Profession, 1835-1875* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1976), 107-108.

medical school and the profession. Potential students of lower socio-economic status and racial minorities also suffered.⁴⁹

In the Southern United States, state-sponsored medical schools took longer to emerge, and the age-old method of training through apprenticeship remained custom for quite some time. Usually completed under an established male physician, this avenue of preparation may have been less conducive to women than formal, public institutions whose policies they could challenge.⁵⁰ And need to challenge they would. As state-supported institutions emerged in the South, it became apparent they, for the most part, would not admit women. In fact, outside of Texas, most did not do so until after the turn of the century from around 1905 to the 1920s and later. The Southern medical schools also held large disparities between the year they first founded, on average around 1820s to the 1870s, and the year they first admitted a woman.⁵¹ By accepting women since founding in 1891 and graduating their first woman in 1897, Texas' UTMB became one of the first medical schools in the South, with a program comparable to the high quality Northeastern schools, to be open to women.⁵²

The two earliest established medical schools in Texas, UTMB and Baylor College of Medicine, also differed from most of the Southern schools in that once they welcomed their first female student, their acceptance did not become an anomaly. They continued

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Mary Roth Walsh, "Women in Medicine Since Flexner," in *Beyond Flexner: Medical Education in the Twentieth Century*, Barbara M. Barzansky and Norman Gevitz, eds. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1992), 54.

⁵¹ See section 2 in Appendix for sources on the dates women were first admitted to Southern Medical Schools.

⁵² See section 3 in Appendix for more on the first female graduates from Southern medical schools.

to graduate women at a low but consistent rate. Also of note, Kansas graduated a woman as early as 1893 from one of the older private medical schools not recognized in this study, and once the first female graduated from an established medical school there in 1906, the state school graduated a dozen more women by 1920. In this way, Texas and Kansas related more closely to the Western United States, where medical schools sustained a quite active matriculation of women around the turn of the century. Some institutions in the West and Midwest began admitting women soon after the Northeast. For example, what later became Stanford Medical School welcomed their first female student in 1877, and “by 1884 four out of the 16 members of the graduating class were female. In the 1880s and 1890s, the percentage of women in the medical school class ranged between 5 and 25 percent, and by the turn of the century women had established a lasting presence.”⁵³ These medical school trends followed the trend of general college admittance of women in the South and West, in that “although by 1870 eight midwestern and western state universities had admitted women, only seven southern universities, including the University of Texas, had done so by 1912.”⁵⁴

In Texas, and possibly other similar areas, female medical students avoided obstacles the women in the Northeast began to face. This included caps on the amount of women students, separatist education of narrow focus or non-comparable quality, sometimes intense resentment from professors and male students, and the expectation of stiff competition and particularly unequal wages in their future practices. Although not

⁵³ Constance M. Chen, “Women’s Admissions: If a woman wanted to become a doctor in California in California in the late 1800s, Stanford’s medical school was one of the few she could attend,” Fall 2000: *Stanford Medicine*, 17, 3.

⁵⁴ Elizabeth Hayes Turner, *Women, Culture, and Community: Religion and Reform in Galveston, 1880-1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 151.

necessarily a positive, the Texas medical students also seemed to not hear as strong of a call for involvement in potential divisive progressive causes such as suffrage or birth control, which could lead to public stigma.⁵⁵ Instead, in turn-of-the-century Texas, the conditions actually came together to offer Ware and the other early female students an environment ripe with opportunity and little conflict.

Environment & Public Reception at Texas' First Medical School

In the still mostly rural state of Texas in the late nineteenth century, the city of Galveston grew into a center of trade and immigration, unlike anything the state had ever seen. Located on a barrier island, it acted as a perfect gateway to the entire Southwest, and became home to enterprising, modern millionaire merchants and financiers that replaced a pre-Civil War planter class elite. The population skyrocketed, and shipping lines, railroads, trolleys, and even a beach resort graced the harbor city. Gilded Age Galveston offered plenty of Southern and coastal charm with ornate Victorian homes lining boulevards lushly landscaped with stately live oaks, tall, swaying palm trees, and brightly colored oleander bushes. A mobile-minded gentry, many who were Northeastern transplants and immigrants, held a sense of influence and spirit for investment that encouraged putting money into projects that could better their playground of a city. As Galveston grew, it welcomed many firsts for Texas, including a national bank, public library, newspaper, opera house, telephone line, electric lights, hospitals, and fortuitously for Ware and the other women, a medical school.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Riska, *Medical Careers and Feminist Agendas*, 2.; Walsh, *Doctors Wanted No Women Need Apply*, 107-108.

⁵⁶ Gary Cartwright, *Galveston: A History of the Island* (Fort Worth, TX: TCU Press, 1991), 118-120, 142-143.

When officials opened the doors to UTMB in 1891, they did so with public support. Galveston shipping magnate John Sealy indirectly spurred such development by leaving a large fund for charitable causes in his will. His wife and brother offered to use the money to build a hospital, but only if the state located its first medical school nearby and used the facilities to train students. Legislators approved of this idea, and Galveston and the state officials joined together to purchase land and build the medical school. It is unlikely Ware had ever laid eyes on such a structure, a massive, ornate feat of architecture with arches and marble columns. Nicknamed “Old Red” due to the color of its brick walls, the building survived two devastating hurricanes throughout its history, and still stands today.⁵⁷

The construction of “Old Red” symbolized factors that made the area welcoming for the early female medical students. As noted by historian Heather Wooten, the building’s mixed design styles, building materials, and methods reflected “the numerous ethnic groups that mingled daily along Galveston’s wharves.”⁵⁸ This status as an immigrant city allowed for a fair amount of vice, but also open-mindedness.⁵⁹ On the other hand, the grandeur of the building reflected the modernization of a city, home to forward thinking elites, who held a Progressive Era appreciation for the new “scientific” medicine’s role in addressing society’s ills.

Early on, unfettered by the usual toils of housekeeping, upper class white women in Galveston began to form a club culture. They had not yet discovered political

⁵⁷ Wooten, *Old Red*, 17, 35-37.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Cartwright, *Galveston: A History of the Island* (1991), 144.

activism; rather the 1890s proved to be a wellspring decade, as women gathered together and focused on self-improvement and commitment to the preservation of patriotic ideals.” This type of thought allowed for a growing appreciation for white women’s higher education as a refinement, even for Southern women.⁶⁰

Despite the tide turning towards white women’s education and the women’s relative ease in admittance to medical school, female students were still a subject of public opinion. Ware and the other women may have not been pushing boundaries in the increasingly competitive Northeast, but by studying medicine, they stepped outside of their prescribed gender role in the sometimes more socially conservative South. Despite the city’s laidback environment, some residents questioned the strangeness of medical students to begin with, walking around with their “bags of bones” and perhaps looking for subjects to abduct for experiments.⁶¹ For these alarmists, female medical students likely drew even that much more attention.

Some highly educated individuals also responded negatively. A year after Ware entered UTMB, the university’s president in Austin, Dr. Leslie Waggener, expressed his thoughts on the matter, telling the Texas Women’s Press Association:

I understand that many young women are looking forward to studying medicine as a profession and that already there is hardly a large city, even in the South, in which there are not one or two “female doctors.” Against these personally I have not a word to say. But I deplore the effect of the example they set. The work of a doctor or surgeon is not work for a woman. Because she is naturally a good nurse is no reason why she should cease to be the nurse and become the physician...We must have her watchful care, her tender sympathy, her anxious solicitude, but love must be the motive, not a fee.⁶²

⁶⁰ Elizabeth Hayes Turner, *Women, Culture, and Community: Religion and Reform in Galveston, 1880-1920*, 121-122, 184.

⁶¹ *Cactus* 1899, 78.; Wooten, *Old Red*, 75.

⁶² Leslie Waggener, “Women’s Rights,” *The Alcalde* (February 1916): 314.

A renowned professor of Ware's, Dr. William Keiller, also did not hold much respect for women medical students. Later pupil Edith Bonnet noted he "...only managed to tolerate having his [later female] colleague Dr. Charlotte Schaefer on the staff because 'she looked through a microscope and that was a nondescript and innocent adventure.'"⁶³ Keiller's own daughter Violet was one of the first thirty-four women graduates. Still, despite this blatant critique by the university's highest-ranking official and lack of understanding from at least one of the professors, it appears some of the staff at the medical branch offered a much more positive stance on their first female students.

For instance, when Ware sat down for her first opening address at the school, she heard Professor R.R.D. Cline of the School of Pharmacy strongly indicate his support of female pupils to the entire student body, proclaiming: "Since it has been conclusively demonstrated that women reason and imagine as well as men, that they are as quick of apprehension, have as vigorous an intellect which is as susceptible of development as men, they should share the same opportunities with men, and all walks of life should be thrown open to them."⁶⁴ He then decisively concluded that a woman's education "...should be of the same kind and degree as that of a man."⁶⁵ In addition to Ware, Marie Delalondre Dietzel, M. Charlotte Schaefer, a Mrs. J. Blair, and female pharmacy school students heard this speech.⁶⁶

⁶³ Silverthorne and Fulgham, *Women Pioneers in Texas Medicine*, 89.

⁶⁴ Wygant, "A Note on the Early Medical Education of Women at UTMB": 3. Cline's full name is Raoul Rene Daniel.

⁶⁵ "Beginning of the Fifth Annual Session of the State University," *Galveston Daily News*, October 2, 1895.

⁶⁶ "At Medical College. One Hundred Young Men Want to Write 'M.D.' After Their Names," *Galveston Daily News*, October 1, 1895. Mrs. J. Blair does not appear to have completed her degree at the school.

Some University of Texas officials held that the women's presence offered advantages as "pillars of virtue," commenting: "The orderliness of our students, always remarked by those familiar with other colleges, is generally attributed to the restraining presence of the young ladies."⁶⁷ In 1894, speaking of Marie Delalondre Dietzel and another female student, Sallie Thomas, Professor James E. Thompson noted: "The advent of lady students among you I hail with pleasure, for I am firmly convinced that their presence will prove beneficial in correcting certain inelegant mannerisms and habits which the gregarious male is prone to acquire."⁶⁸ As historians Elizabeth Silverthorne and Geneva Fulgham report Frances Daisy Emery also received the following praise upon her graduation in Dallas:

'Among the graduates in the front row of seats appeared a bright winsome little woman, a fair Minerva whose presence in the class was a feature of unusual interest.' The winsome Minerva was Frances Daisy Emery, one of two cum laude graduates in the class of sixteen men and one woman. As Dr. O. L. Fisher, president of the university, presented Dr. Emery's diploma, he commented on her 'refining influence' on the class.⁶⁹

Still, others focused on the positive effect of the institution's coeducational policy on the women themselves and championed the program far and wide. For example, in a 1901 letter to the editor of the *New York Medical Journal*, UTMB Assistant Demonstrator of Anatomy John T. Moore wrote:

Sir: In your April 27, 1901 number 1 note a communication from Dr. Helen MacMurchy on Hospital Appointments; Are they Open to Women? In the Medical Department of the University of Texas women are admitted on the same terms as men. There are now two women holding appointments in the school and hospital—Dr. Charlotte M. Schaeffer, last year pathologist to the John Sealy

⁶⁷ "Social Life," *Cactus* 1896, 19.

⁶⁸ "A Learned Address," *The Galveston Daily News*, October 2, 1894.; Sallie Thomas was from Jefferson, Texas.

⁶⁹ Silverthorne and Fulgham, *Women Pioneers in Texas Medicine*, 78-79.

Hospital, now demonstrator of histology and embryology; the other Dr. Ella Devlin, resident interne in the John Sealy Hospital.⁷⁰

And news of the women students also went beyond the academic circle, across newspapers in the state. Write-ups on UTMB in the *Galveston Daily News* regularly mentioned the presence of female students, with their increasing numbers even spurring a special paragraph in an article chronicling the school's outstanding accomplishments.⁷¹ Similarly to the "pillars of virtue" argument, however, the women sometimes garnered attention for their ornamental effect. For example, the *Dallas Morning News* reported of the 1896 opening ceremonies at the college, "There were ladies too, the attendance of the fair sex being about forty. They were all the decoration the hall needed for the occasion."⁷² And while the Stockdale sections of the San Antonio newspapers proudly provided updates on Ware's educational endeavors, when reporters from Stockdale's county seat wrote to *Galveston Daily News* of her venture, they once again focused on appearance, saying: "[Ware] is a fine looking young lady, and Wilson county is glad to claim her."⁷³

Benefactor

While overall, many UTMB staff members and public supported the female students, women's education at the university sparked the very special interest of another, quite prominent source. San Antonio entrepreneur and philanthropist George W.

⁷⁰ John T. Moore, "'WOMEN PHYSICIANS IN TEXAS,' Galveston, Texas, August 3, 1901," *New York Medical Journal* (August 17, 1901): 328.

⁷¹ "Medical College Opens Sept. 27," *The Galveston Daily News*, September 16, 1910.

⁷² "Future Physicians. Opening of the Medical Department of the State University," *Dallas Morning News*, October 3, 1896.

⁷³ "Floresville," *The Galveston Daily News*, July 18, 1897.

Brackenridge personally believed in equal employment opportunities for women in all professions.⁷⁴ As a member of the University of Texas Board of Regents, he became particularly occupied with why more women did not attend the state's then only medical school. UTMB officials explained they lacked living quarters for female students, an issue that remained unresolved since coming to their attention soon after opening. Prior to the availability of on campus housing, Ware, like many of the other students, male and female, boarded at houses through the Galveston Boarding House Trust for about fifteen to twenty dollars a month *not including board*. For instance, Ware lived just a short distance from the college at 903 Strand Street.⁷⁵

Brackenridge, however, quickly donated around \$40,000 to remedy the housing problem. He recruited a female physician, two male professors, and a medical school professor's wife to help plan the building and entrusted some of the aforementioned local Galveston clubwomen to manage it. He also agreed to maintain the structure itself, until it became self-supporting.⁷⁶ The amenities included a kitchen and dining hall for students of both sexes on the first floor. The upper two more private floors, comfortable sitting rooms, living rooms, bathrooms, electric lighting, steam heating, and twenty-eight single and two double bedrooms fully furnished with metal bedframes, oak furniture, and rugs, all for women.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ "University Hall, Galveston," *The University of Texas Record* 1, no. 1 (December 1898): 38.

⁷⁵ *Catalogue of the Medical Department*, 1897-98, 177.; "Miss Ella Ware," Galveston, Texas, 1896, U.S. City Directories, 1821-1989.

⁷⁶ "The University Hall Club," *Cactus* 1903, 321. The female physician passed away before its completion.

⁷⁷ *Catalogue of the Medical Department*, 1897-98, 177.; "University Hall History," *Cactus* 1908, 383.

When the dormitory, known as University Hall, opened in April of 1897, Ware became one of the first three residents.⁷⁸ The early occupants enjoyed a small discount compared to the Galveston Boarding House Trust rates, with room *and board* for around fifteen to twenty dollars a month, which also became adjustable by the student's ability to pay. The female students took pride in their new lodging and decorated their accommodations with school pennants and women's portraits.⁷⁹ Brackenridge's support remained steadfast even though in some of the early days the spacious hall appeared to house only about ten women or less, counting female university staff. With an optimistic "build it and they will come" attitude, he displayed high hopes for an influx of women medical students. For UTMB's part, they proudly proclaimed:

So far as we know, this is the only co-educational institution in the United States which can boast such a building—designed and operated exclusively for the comfort of women who are willing to brave the frowns of a too conservative public and fit themselves for the profession of Medicine, than which there is none nobler.⁸⁰

Brackenridge also financially supported the women enrolled at UTMB with both scholarships and loans. Even for students who came from a successful family, a medical education required quite substantial financial resources, which could prove prohibitive for some, especially women.⁸¹ In an effort to attract students in its early days, UTMB did not charge regular tuition, but students incurred other fees and expenses. For example, while records are patchy and incomplete, Ware paid charges such as \$55 to the college in

⁷⁸ Ibid. Brackenridge officially opened the hall with a ceremony later in June.

⁷⁹ "Brackenridge Hall," *Cactus* 1908, 384.; "University Hall, Galveston," *The University of Texas Record*: 38.; "University Hall Views" and "University Hall," *Cactus* 1904, 282, 328.

⁸⁰ "History of Brackenridge Hall," *Cactus* 1908, 383.

⁸¹ Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science*, xix.

September of 1895, \$55.55 in September of 1896 (possibly for four labs), \$5 for a lab in 1897, and \$10 for a surgery class in 1898.⁸² Students covered living costs and purchased numerous textbooks ranging from around two to ten dollars each.⁸³ As a further illustration of the costs that could be encountered for medical students in the state, historian Elizabeth York Enstam found at Baylor College in Dallas in 1906 Hallie Earle:

...paid fifteen dollars a month for her room in a Dallas boardinghouse and fifty cents a day for meals. Her total basic expenses were around thirty dollars each month. She had to pay five dollars a cord for firewood for her room, plus streetcar fares when her courses required observations of medical procedures at Saint Paul Sanitarium. In addition, there were expenditures for books, supplies for classes, and occasional purchases of clothing.⁸⁴

Brackenridge made the availability of his assistance very flexible to encourage use, opening it to incoming freshmen, as well as offering fellowships to those continuing their education.⁸⁵ He also personally persuaded women to pursue medical degrees at the Texas institution, and granted ten women his scholarship in 1910 alone.⁸⁶ Throughout the years, Brackenridge seemed to help accrue other financial aid options as well, including two scholarships endowed by the Woman's Club of San Antonio, the Isabella H. Brackenridge Scholarship (named after Brackenridge's sister) and San Antonio Woman's Club Scholarship.⁸⁷ As most early female students received assistance, it can

⁸² Accounting Department Ledger 1891-1902, MS 8.1.8, University of Texas Medical Branch-Moody Medical Library, Truman G. Blocker, Jr. History of Medicine Collections.

⁸³ *Catalogue of the Department of Medicine*, 1897-98, 250-252.

⁸⁴ Elizabeth York Enstam, *Women and the Creation of Urban Life: Dallas, Texas, 1843-1920* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1998), 128.

⁸⁵ "History of Brackenridge Hall," *Cactus* 1908, 383.

⁸⁶ "Medical College Opens Sept. 27," *The Galveston Daily News*, September 16, 1910.

⁸⁷ "University Hall," *Cactus* 1904, 328.

be hypothesized that Ware likely garnered aid of some kind.⁸⁸ Per university catalogues and yearbooks, it does not appear the male students held access to a comparable level of financial aid options.

Curriculum

Although UTMB claimed a generally accredited program from its founding, as previously noted, the institution ambitiously set its sights on ranking with some of the most prestigious medical schools in the country, sparing no effort “to place the school, its laboratories, museums, and library, upon the highest plane of working excellence.”⁸⁹ Upon the discovery of the X-Ray machine in Germany in 1895, faculty and students at the Texas school even promptly jumped in the game. After getting the directions translated from German to English, they designed their own version using parts from a Singer sewing machine, and became one of the first institutions in the United States with this new technology.⁹⁰ They adopted many policies, like a longer, more intense degree plan, just in the time Ware studied there. This tightening of educational standards did not, at least initially, seem to have the same repressive impact on women’s medical education as it eventually had in the North. Seats at the young Texas school remained available to pretty much anyone who could survive the curriculum.

Also important, and already mentioned, while some purported “coeducational” institutions in the North still held separate classes for their female students, UTMB

⁸⁸ Wygant, “A Note on the Early Medical Education of Women at UTMB”: 3-4.

⁸⁹ *Catalogue of the Department of Medicine*, 1903-1904, 182.

⁹⁰ Henry M. Burlage and Margot E. Beutler, *Pharmacy’s Foundation in Texas* (Austin, TX: Pharmaceutical Foundation of the College of Pharmacy, The University of Texas at Austin, 1978), 47-49.

offered truly coed lectures.⁹¹ Ware's professors, rather than modifying the curriculum for what society might deem appropriate for female students, tailored coursework to cover beneficial topics such as medical cases prevalent in South Texas.⁹² This adds to the evidence that much of the staff at the school believed women could and would practice medicine just as men.

The faculty themselves held degrees from well-respected schools in Louisiana, Pennsylvania, New York, Virginia, and England, and taught courses in an ever-expanding array of fields.⁹³ Classes at the university ran six days a week for seven-and-a-half months, with very few holidays, and little to no time for social activities. In just the first year Anatomy lab alone, dissections took place from eight to twelve hours a week, with an additional six or more hours of labs required for other classes. For every course, professors expected students to perform recitations and written examinations in incredible detail.⁹⁴ This intense schedule, supplemented by Ware's own stamina, fostered the strong work ethic that she later evinced throughout her career.

In addition to plentiful lectures and lab work, Ware also received extensive hands-on clinical experience at the university's own large, eight ward John Sealy Hospital, the

⁹¹ Catherine J. Whitaker, *The Early Years of the University of Michigan Medical School: The Upjohn Family Experience The Michigan Historical Collections* (Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan Historical Collections, 1982), 8.; Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science*, 71.

⁹² *Catalogue of the Department of Medicine*, 1897-98, 216.

⁹³ *Catalogue of the Department of Medicine*, 1897-98, 206-208.; "Faculty," *Cactus* 1898, 35. At Ware's time this included: anatomy, bacteriology, chemistry and toxicology, climatology, dermatology, diseases of the ears, eyes, nose, and throat, general medicine, gross morbid anatomy and autopsies, history of medicine, materia medica and therapeutics, medical jurisprudence, mental and nervous diseases, pathology, pediatrics, pharmaceuticals, physical diagnosis, physiology and hygiene, obstetrics and gynecology, surgery, and the theory and practice of medicine.

⁹⁴ *Catalogue of the Department of Medicine*, 1897-98, 239-241. *Catalogue of the Department of Medicine*, 1898-99, 12-17.; "The Medical Department: Retrospective and Prospective," *Cactus* 1902, 94-95.

hospital's outpatient clinics, and the nearby St. Mary's Infirmary Hospital. This type of applied training also remained particularly difficult to obtain for many early female medical students in the Northeast. While some officials in the Northeast begrudgingly accepted women's presence in lecture halls, their actual physical practice of medicine seemed to cross the line and elicit more objections from hospital staff, especially at institutions not centered on the care of women and children.⁹⁵ Female students in Galveston, however, saw an extremely broad sampling of medical cases with the hospitals treating upward of 4,000 unique patients in one year alone that Ware studied there. Students in their third year acted as assistants during regular and OB/GYN surgeries, and other opportunities for work experience existed.⁹⁶ For example, before Ware's third year, she traveled back to Galveston early from her summer vacation to serve as an assistant physician at the university hospital.⁹⁷

Student Life

Much as the officials' "pillars of virtue" argument for women's presence in medicine focused on their impact on male students, historians assert period objections to women's presence often held the same focus: on how it affected men. Officials worried that women's presence in the "intimacies of the dissecting room, the surgical theater, the hospital ward, or the examining room" would negatively affect men's "moral self-control

⁹⁵ *Catalogue of the Department of Medicine*, 1897-98, 205.; More, Fee, and Parry, *Women Physicians and the Cultures of Medicine*, 3-5. *Send Us a Lady Physician: Women Doctors in America, 1835-1920*, edited by Ruth J. Abram (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1985), 96.

⁹⁶ *Catalogue of the Department of Medicine*, 1897-98, 230-238. These patients needed care for a multitude of conditions, including alcoholism, amputations, anemia, aneurisms, burns, cancers, contagious diseases, coronary diseases, digestive disorders, fractures, gunshot and stab wounds, infections, influenza, poisonings, pneumonia, shipping and railroad injuries, rare diseases, and sexually transmitted diseases.

⁹⁷ "Floresville," *The Galveston Daily News*, July 18, 1897.; "Wilson County," *San Antonio Light*, July 25, 1897.

(read: sexual self-control).”⁹⁸ Despite a shortage of specific sources on Ware’s own social experience as a medical student, insight can be ascertained from the cumulative experiences of the other early female students. The evidence indicates this negative mindset is minimal at UTMB.

Female students are frequently pictured in the yearbook alongside male students in various settings. For example, in 1901, two women are shown holding front row seats for a surgical demonstration in the operating room, and in 1913, with female attendance at an all-time high, at least seven women appear dispersed throughout one Nervous Clinic class of around forty-five students.⁹⁹ Female students in formal class photographs nearly always garner front and center placement, perhaps reflecting their place in the South’s honor culture and a certain appreciation for the novelty of classmates of the opposite sex. The freshman class of 1902, which included three women, reflected their class’ makeup with an illustration of both a juvenile boy and girl medical student in the annual.¹⁰⁰ Overall, instead of relations between men and women being insecurity-based, they seemed to reflect the University of Texas’ official statement on coeducation at their whole system of schools:

Nor could an advocate of co-education find an instance more favorable to this theory than this University; for we have never known the antagonism and unharmonious relations which have, in some instances, attended like experiments. Mutual sympathy and respect has been here the unfailing attitude of the young men and women.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ More, Fee, and Parry, *Women Physicians and the Cultures of Medicine*, 2.

⁹⁹ More, Fee, and Parry, *Women Physicians and the Cultures of Medicine*, 3.; “Scene in Operating Room,” *Cactus* 1901.; “Nervous Clinic Class,” *Cactus* 1913, 334.

¹⁰⁰ “Freshman Class,” *Cactus* 1902, 109.

¹⁰¹ “Social Life,” *Cactus* 1896, 19.

Including Ware, twelve of the thirty-four women graduated as the only female in their class. As Margaret Holliday Clark (class of 1906) remarked on her education at UTMB: ‘Practically all of it was spent in classes with young men, when I was the only young lady or woman in the class.’¹⁰² Interestingly, she saw this as advantageous, as she was uncomfortable with some of the culture of her own gender. In her senior yearbook entry, she even provided the striking quote, “What a strange thing is man, and what a stranger woman!”¹⁰³

Clark’s further reflections on her schooling provide a female contemporary’s complex personal view on the experience of coeducation. Recalling how George Brackenridge convinced her to turn down a scholarship to Woman’s Medical College of Pennsylvania (the nation’s first all-female medical school) in favor of attending UTMB, she emphasized that it was a decision she never regretted. She held different feelings about her all-female postgraduate education, stating:

After finishing [UTMB], I went to the Woman’s Medical College to study along lines specially suited to me and my work. I stayed there about two months. If I had stayed there long, I would have stopped practicing medicine. The reason was that there were a lot of women together. There was not a man in the world that knew anything about operating, nevertheless some of the greatest surgeons of the world were there. It was simply the woman’s standpoint. They were together eternally and there was some amount of jealousy. In my work with the young men at Galveston, I found them at all times chivalrous, ready to study and help you out and give you a larger outlook in life. That, of course, is an isolated example, but you can take it as an illustration.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² *University of Texas Record* 11 (Austin, TX: The University of Texas, 1913): 96-97.

¹⁰³ “Seniors,” *Cactus* 1906, 334.

¹⁰⁴ *University of Texas Record*, 96.

It seems while Clark held the upmost respect for women's medical abilities, she did not appreciate the culture at the women's hospital, and instead, preferred her experience with a coeducational environment at the Texas medical school.

In her later position as women's physician at the University of Texas, Clark shared how she had concluded the main issue with education had nothing to do with coeducation. The problem was a general unpreparedness for the collegiate environment, and plagued both male and female students alike. For her, the solution included "...catch[ing] young people, both boys and girls, for the preliminary training, especially in character, so that they will have enough backbone to withstand the temptations that come in college life."¹⁰⁵ Clark likely learned about the need for coping mechanisms and character development from her own educational path, as she gained her Bachelor's degree at age nineteen, Master's degree at age twenty, and medical degree at age twenty-four. While Ware did not enter medical school until age twenty-five, coming straight from a small rural town she likely also lacked academic preparedness. Once again, the same could be said for the male medical students, who mostly came from small towns as well.¹⁰⁶

Not everyone did hold up to the rigors of medical school; men and women alike started but did not complete the program. Up until at least 1911, half of the women in every class began coursework but did not finish, or in some cases, finished elsewhere at perhaps less demanding schools. Ware's own class dropped from one hundred and forty to eighty-five members in its freshman to sophomore year alone, but in this case, more than trying academic factors contributed to the unusually high dropout rate.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Heather Green Wooten, *Old Red: Pioneering Medical Education in Texas*, 71.

Texas, and particularly the port city location, brought with it a demanding geographic climate. Owing to this, an epidemic hit Galveston. First suspected to be the more serious “scourge of the South” yellow fever, the outbreak triggered quarantines and caused many to avoid the area. In the end, the illness turned out to be the less severe dengue fever, but still affected Ware’s class numbers dramatically. The class’ history that year ruminated on the experience of the epidemic: “Fear faded and the largest, most cosmopolitan and democratic aggregation of doctors ever assembled at this Medical Mecca were soon re-united....” As they reassembled, “...the one thought uppermost in all minds was: who ha[d] returned?” Using a play on student names, the class history described a small sampling of those students: “There was the King with his Jester, his Baker, his Taylor, and the Ladies of his court.” This meant male students R.W. King, (an unknown Jester), W.P. Baker, and Holman Taylor. Ware and Jennie Aloysius Sherrin (class of 1909, but then in this class) made the abbreviated, symbolic roll call as “the Ladies of his court,” apparently not letting the period belief in the frail nature of the female body deter them from returning to the city.¹⁰⁷

It appears that most male classmates saw Ware and the other female students more as amusing anomalies than threats. Much as early Dallas medical student Hallie Earle reassured her family in a letter home, “The boys are all nice to me...,” yearbook quotes written about the women at UTMB echo a congenial acceptance of their presence.¹⁰⁸ Majorie Mason Jarvis’ class noted she was: “A living example of negativism. She grows younger each year,” Anna Marie Bowie was called: “[Marjorie] Jarvis’ rival

¹⁰⁷ “History,” *Cactus* 1898, 70-71.

¹⁰⁸ McCarthur and Smith, *Texas Through Women’s Eyes*, 41.

for the applause of the class upon arrival ten minutes late,” Bertha Stanley Byram was: “Essentially an optimist, whose optimism is worth while,” and of Jessie Walker Pryor the class somewhat comically stated: “‘Jane.’ We all know her worth, so why speak of it?” The yearbook quotes on the male students reflected very similar jovial tones, suggesting the women fit in well.¹⁰⁹

The male students also took their female classmates seriously, and gave them distinct praise for their individual qualities of strength and expectations for promising careers. Minnie L. Maffett garnered remarks on “[having] the advantage of being able to look down upon her classmates. When she speaks they hear her; when she expresses her opinions none oppose her. She has strong convictions and defends them ably. She is a good student, a jolly companion, and it is predicted she will go far in her chosen profession.”¹¹⁰ Of Ruby K. Embry it is noted: “Miss Embry has most ably served the class as a permanent official and this permanency is only equaled by a well-known red sweater. An apostle of civilization her influence has extended from the Hall to certain members of the class. We are expecting much from our only lady.”¹¹¹ Clara Kocher Duncan received praise on being “...a genuine student of medicine: a co-ed that is one of the fellows. She is co-operative, congenial, enthusiastic, and ambitious.”¹¹² Finally, Emma Beck is called: “...a rare specimen of humanity that attends to her own affairs.”¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ “Senior Medics,” *Cactus* 1920, 88-89, 92, 94.

¹¹⁰ “Senior Medics,” *Cactus* 1914, no page number.

¹¹¹ “Senior Medics,” *Cactus* 1916, 375.

¹¹² “Senior Medicine,” *Cactus* 1919, 431.

¹¹³ “Senior Medics,” *Cactus* 1920, 88.

Of course, lacking the tension between male and female students that some programs in the Northeast displayed, did not hinder a sense of male privilege at the Texas school. Though the exact reasoning behind why the 1904 male freshmen prayed “Oh! to be thru with women doctors” remains a mystery, the issues men had with women’s attendance at the university seem to revolve around how it affected themselves. A “Co-ed Doxology” printed in the yearbook that same year demonstrated their self-serving take on the matter well, reading:

Praise George from whom all blessings flow,
Praise him all Co-eds here below,
Praise him ye maids whose charms are lost;
Praise Charlotte some but George the most.¹¹⁴

This seems to reference philanthropist George Brackenridge’s efforts to encourage women to study at the university, and perhaps M. Charlotte Schaefer, who acted as UTMB’s first female professor, as a representative of all coeds. Tellingly, in the men’s eyes the female students lost their charms as they expressed interest in something other than being objects of desire. The men lamented over the loss of what they believed should be a crop of love interests for themselves.

Male students also displayed an inherent sense of privilege when a shortage of affordable housing led them to feel entitled to some space in the sparsely populated women’s University Hall. They saw this wish fulfilled when temporarily allowed to occupy the building during post-1900 hurricane repairs, while the female students switched to accommodations at a men’s fraternity house.¹¹⁵ Yet, once it came time to return the hall to its original purpose, the male students resented their orders to move out.

¹¹⁴ “Grinds,” *Cactus* 1904, 338.

¹¹⁵ “The University Hall Club,” *Cactus* 1903, 321.; “The Young Men’s Dining Club,” *Cactus* 1904, 333.

The men ended up buying a building of their own and creating “The Young Men’s Dining Club” to provide housing and meals for themselves, and, in turn, inspired the women to do the same at University Hall to help board themselves at cost.¹¹⁶ Still, it seems they always looked wistfully upon the spacious women’s dorm, with one quoted as singing out, “Oh! Think of the home over there.”¹¹⁷

The women obviously studied in an atmosphere of engrained gender bias. Class histories in yearbooks used male pronouns exclusively, and the men strongly related the act of becoming a doctor to fulfilling their own period gender role. In the history of the class before Ware’s, the male students romanticized their journey from “...a hundred as true representatives of youthful manhood as may be found in our bonnie Southland...” “...inspired by the parting kiss of a loving mother or the tender words of a loyal sweetheart...” to men whose “...boyish countenance, ever betraying the inner man, has assumed a graver, a more dignified mien, as well as—a beard.”¹¹⁸ Another later class styled themselves as follows:

As an exception, the Sophomore Class is one not divided into clans, factions or fraternities, but maintaining a brotherhood within its own organization: a class who passed, without exception in Therapeutics: a class not hampered by social functions or dominated by feminine whims: but physically, mentally and politically, shoulder to shoulder and maintaining a masculine gender...¹¹⁹

The terminology the men used to describe their return to UTMB after the catastrophic 1900 Galveston hurricane also included such phrases as “manly faces,” “master workman,” and “...future physicians who the University of Texas will delight to

¹¹⁶ “University Hall,” *Cactus* 1904, 328.

¹¹⁷ “Grinds,” *Cactus* 1908, 385.

¹¹⁸ “History of ’98,” *Cactus* 1898, 66.

¹¹⁹ *Cactus* 1904, 294.

call her sons.”¹²⁰ After this flourish on the men’s bravery, it is mentioned one female student, Claudia Potter, populated their numbers. Of Potter they state: “These confident fellows might be depressed by the thought of the weight of the ‘cap and gown,’ when they shall have reached them, as observed from the importance of the Seniors, were it not for the gentle tones of a cheering voice, the noiseless fall of a dainty foot as a girlish form softly glides among them, sustaining their failing courage and leading them all to admire her—Miss Potter.”¹²¹ In this case, Potter is seen for her purpose to the men as an ornamental cheerleader, rather than for her own act of facing the post-storm city.

Once again, women as a refining presence is a recurring theme. This may especially be due to the contrast of, as historian Heather Wooten terms them, “frontier Texas mores and manners” displayed by some of the male students. What those students might have termed “highfalutin professors” (men recruited from elite northern and English institutions) remained vexed over the young Texans wearing their guns and holsters to class, even if they politely left them on benches at the entry to the room. Wooten reveals the instructors may have had reason to fear the practice, as during a dispute in an 1895 dissecting class, there was a pistol drawn in “Southern gentlemanly” defense of one’s honor.¹²² Amusingly, Ware, who came from a small rural town, likely remained unruffled by any similar occurrences and may have even felt quite at home. It also seems the Southern gentleman’s code could have a positive impact by inspiring the men, as Margaret Holliday Clark phrased it, “to remain chivalrous,” towards the women,

¹²⁰ “History of Medical Class, 1904,” *Cactus 1901*, 80.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Wooten, *Old Red*, 76.

who held high places in the South's culture of honor. This, perhaps protected the women from some of the more vulgar insults and assaults to which female medical students in the Northeast became privy.¹²³ Overall, it can be ascertained Ware and the other female students experienced Texas medical school in an environment of self-perceived superiority and boisterousness by the male students, who as the majority, remained the norm.

While the women generally also garnered respect, it appears they developed their own strategies to fit in and be taken seriously. One example is visible through their choice of clothing. Like notable early American female physician Sara "S." Josephine Baker, who "actually ordered clothes from her dressmaker that would closely mimic male fashion," the women dressed in line with men's professional wear. This meant donning high-collar light blouses and dark skirts, sometimes adding jackets and neckties.¹²⁴ Plain dark dresses also fit the bill, and they always wore their hair in functional updos. Female students are even often difficult to distinguish from male students in group photographs. Still, the women seemed to move freely between exhibiting this no-nonsense image and expressing their era's feminine ideals, perhaps literally tailoring their appearance to the situation. The special occasion of individual class pictures led many to display a flair for period fashion, wearing hair accessories, hats, cameos, brooches, or necklaces, and dresses with lace and other embellishments.¹²⁵

¹²³ Gloria Moldow, *Women Doctors in Gilded-age Washington: Race, Gender, and Professionalization* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 39.

¹²⁴ More, Fee, and Parry, *Women Physicians and the Cultures of Medicine*, 3.

¹²⁵ See, for example, "Freshman Class" and "Sophomore Class," *Cactus* 1902, 107, 110, "Junior Medical Class" and "Freshman Medical Class," *Cactus* 1903, 279, 286-287.

Women students quite liberally participated in class government, most commonly in the period gender role-suitable position of secretary-treasurer, but also as reporters, vice-presidents, and presidents. They served on the student council and as editors of university publications and the yearbook. Mollie Amelia Geiss and Jesse Walker Pryor belonged to a medical honor society, Alpha Omega Alpha.¹²⁶ Of course, this acceptance in scholarly organizations did not usually extend to fraternal societies, meaning Ware and the other female students did not necessarily get the “benefits that certainly accrue from close associations and fraternal relations” in groups like UTMB’s famed Jolly Bone Jugglers.¹²⁷

Yet, this did not seem to isolate them. Although many women stood as the only female in their class, other women nearly always simultaneously studied at the university, which surely offered at least a small sense of community. Retta Morgan joined an anti-fraternity organization, in which she acted as the only female member among many men.¹²⁸ Some female students appeared to make informal connections with the medical school fraternities, as Ellen Charlotte Cover and Edda Von Bose both served as guests to fraternity events while students at UTMB.¹²⁹ Others, like May Agnes Hopkins Reitzel (class of 1911), held onto ties to sororities they joined as undergraduates.¹³⁰ She also, however, became the first woman to join Alpha Kappa Kappa, a male fraternity at

¹²⁶ *Directory of Alpha Omega Alpha* (The University of California, 1936), 349.

¹²⁷ “The Jolly Bone Jugglers,” *Cactus* 1898, 128.

¹²⁸ “Roll,” *Cactus* 1907. Morgan did not go on to graduate from UTMB.

¹²⁹ “Alpha Kappa Kappa Hospitality,” *The Galveston Daily News*, November 3, 1911.

¹³⁰ “May Agness Hopkins: Grand President,” *Themis of Zeta Tau Alpha* 6, no. 1 (November 1908): 35-38.; Natalie Owens, “Notable Kappa Chapter Zetas,” *Zeta Tau Alpha*, <https://www.zetataualpha.org/cms400min/Template5SF.aspx?id=3486>.

UTMB.¹³¹ Overall, with graduating classes numbering so small to begin with, it seems Ware and other women often upheld life-long personal and professional relationships with former male classmates regardless of their frequent exclusion from fraternal societies.¹³²

Little is known about the women's other extramural activities. The fact that Ware made ties with fellow alumni, as well as the fact that some of the other female students even ended up marrying classmates, seems to suggest opportunities for interaction outside of class existed. With the university's location on the island of Galveston, "bathing scenes" and "strolls by the water" regularly appear in yearbook montages with women in attendance, although it is not clear if they are female medical students.¹³³ On at least one occasion, Mary Cleveland Harper did join her class on a fishing trip, and is quoted as warning her peers, "Don't waste it boys, it's our only keg."¹³⁴ Overall though, students painted a very dull image of the medical branch in comparison to the University of Texas' Austin campus. They explained in the student magazine, the *Alcalde*:

The talk is all shop-talk, at meals, at night between the acts at the theatre, even sometimes in unguarded moments while calling. There is no beautiful campus, covered with bluebonnets and poppies, and populated by strolling couples. Instead, at intervals over the rough shell sidewalks, there rushes a horde of busy men and women whose clothes are designed more for service than for display. Occasionally one sees the opposite sexes walking together, but if one listens to

¹³¹ "May Agness Hopkins," *The Flexner Report: A Centennial Perspective* (Galveston, TX: Moody Medical Library, October 2010).

¹³² M.W. Rogers M.D., "Dr. Ware Tribute Praised," *San Antonio Express*, November 2, 1954.

¹³³ See, for example, "Bathing Scene," University of Texas, *Cactus 1900*.

¹³⁴ University of Texas, *Cactus 1904*, 337.

their conversation, he will hear discussed the romantic and sentimental topics of extirpation of the gallbladder, typhoid, fibroids, and kindred ills.¹³⁵

For their part, the male students did devote a good deal of their very rare leisure time to romantic endeavors, penning love stories and poems that populated yearbook pages.

Assured that with the glint of a medical degree, their marital prospects skyrocketed, they also organized a lavish end of the year senior ball to kick off their search for wives.¹³⁶

The women students, on the other hand, often seemed less keen to find husbands or, held their own opinions about marriage. The 1903 yearbook quotes “Medic. Co-eds,” as stating: “Where singleness is bliss, ‘tis folly to be wives.”¹³⁷ The following year, the “Lady Medicos” thought much the same, with their quote reading: “Man delights not me,” and pondering, “Are there no beautiful flowers without thorns?”¹³⁸ Yet, Sarah Rudnick’s senior quote curiously read: “The height of my ambition is to be wife No. 2 of some *good* man. I am the fair co-ed and should be admired!”¹³⁹ A yearbook quote on Una Howe indicates she faced plentiful romantic attention while at the school, reading: “Being our only girl, Una occupies quite an enviable position. She says she is in love with the whole class, but in the end it seems it will be a case of the survival of the fittest. ‘Tis better to have loved thee and lost, than never to have loved at all.”¹⁴⁰ She later married the presumably “fittest” classmate. Claudia Potter deflected similar romantic

¹³⁵ “From the Medical Department,” *Alcalde* 2 (November 1914), in Henry M. Burlage and Margot E. Beutler, *Pharmacy’s Foundation in Texas* (Austin, TX: Pharmaceutical Foundation of the College of Pharmacy, The University of Texas at Austin, 1978), 81.

¹³⁶ See, for example, University of Texas, *Cactus* 1906, 390.

¹³⁷ University of Texas, *Cactus* 1903, 323.

¹³⁸ University of Texas, *Cactus* 1904, 337-338.

¹³⁹ University of Texas, *Cactus* 1918, 393.

¹⁴⁰ “Senior Medics,” *Cactus* 1912.

advances by the male students and is referred to in her class history as “a gentle co-ed whose presence reminds the faltering heart of a dear sister or perhaps someone dearer still, the thought of whom inspires him to redoubled efforts.”¹⁴¹ She never married.

Graduation

UTMB’s first thirty-four female graduates from the period of 1891-1921, averaged twenty-nine years of age upon receiving their degree, with the youngest being just eighteen and the eldest fifty-five. Ware fit the average, graduating at age twenty-nine. The class of 1900 became the first to have two female graduates, and not until 1913, did this occur again. Most classes thereafter contained two or three women, but some reverted back to one or none. In the period under consideration, the last two years, 1920 and 1921, are the most diverse on record. The school saw five women graduate in 1920, as well as a Chinese man and a Japanese American man. Although no women graduated in 1921, the first Hispanic man did.¹⁴² The school previously graduated another Japanese American student in 1903, who even served as president of his senior class.¹⁴³ Still, like most period medical schools, the doctors UTMB produced remained predominantly and overwhelmingly male and white.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ University of Texas, *Cactus* 1902, 108.

¹⁴² *Cactus* 1903, 1920, 1921.; Census records.; Cindy George, “UTMB carries on heritage to produce more minority doctors,” Chron.com, March 6, 2010, <http://www.chron.com/news/houston-texas/article/UTMB-carries-on-heritage-to-produce-more-minority-1704707.php>.; India Ogazi, “UTMB addresses health disparities among Hispanics,” *Galveston County Daily News*, The UTMB Newsroom, December 23, 2014 <http://www.utmb.edu/newsroom/article10194.aspx>.; Texas Physicians Historical Biographical Database.

¹⁴³ “Senior Class Officers,” *Cactus* 1903, 274.

¹⁴⁴ “Drs. Hector P. Garcia and Herman A. Barnett honored at Texas Capitol,” The UTMB Newsroom, May 13, 2009, <http://www.utmb.edu/newsroom/article4920.aspx>. More records on UTMB’s diversity read as follows: A Filipino woman appears to graduate in 1940. The school did not report to graduates its first Hispanic female until 1946, although one of the early female graduates included in this study, Ellen Carlotta/Charlotte Cover (class of 1913), appears to have Mexican ancestry. The first black male did not graduate until 1949, and finally, the first black female graduate graduated much later than all of the others

The early female students often earned some of the highest marks at the school. Ware's only academic hiccup seemed to spur from the school changing to the longer program while she attended, leaving her deficient on paper for a time due to her three years of courses suddenly being spread over four years.¹⁴⁵ She ultimately graduated third in her class despite the change.¹⁴⁶ Also excelling, M. Charlotte Schaefer graduated in the top six of her class, Margaret Holliday Clark made the honor roll for being one of five students receiving an overall average of ninety percent or greater, and Ray K. Daily graduated second in her class.¹⁴⁷ In her senior yearbook entry, Clara G. Cook is called "...a model student...[whose] close application to duty makes her deserving of the good grades she has made."¹⁴⁸ Many of the female medical school graduates also did well on the Texas State Board Medical Exam.¹⁴⁹

In 1897, the time-honored tradition of a graduation ceremony took a special turn when Marie Delalondre Dietzel and four female pharmacy students, including two nuns, became the first women graduates of UTMB. The college proudly announced the achievement in the newspaper. At the commencement exercises, Dietzel received a

in 1969. Information on the first female Asian students or male or female Native American students is not readily available.

¹⁴⁵ Deans Office Record Book 1897-1929, BV 15.1, University of Texas Medical Branch-Moody Medical Library, Truman G. Blocker, Jr. History of Medicine Collections.

¹⁴⁶ Mary Lea Ware Pearson, "Dr. Ella Ware."

¹⁴⁷ "Department of Medicine: Degrees and Honors," *Catalogue of the University of Texas*, 1906-1907, 281.; Lynwood Abram, "Houston's a better place, thanks to 'Dr. Ray' Daily, Chron.com, May 23, 2005, <http://www.chron.com/opinion/outlook/article/Houston-s-a-better-place-thanks-to-Dr-Ray-1916550.php>.; Sherry S. McLeRoy, *Texas Women First: Leading Ladies of Lone Star History* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2015), 112.

¹⁴⁸ "Senior Medics," University of Texas, *Cactus 1914*.

¹⁴⁹ "Report of the Result of the Examination for License to Practice Medicine, held June 30, 1908, by the Texas State Board of Medical Examiners," *Texas Medicine* 4, no. 5 (September 1908): 137-138.; "Report of Examination Texas State Board of Medical Examiners, Austin June 19, 20, and 21, 1917," *Texas Medicine* 13, no. 9 (May 1917-April 1918): 137.

round of applause at the mere mention of her name. The speaker addressed her and the thirty-two other male students as “young lady and young gentlemen” and commented on the class’ unique makeup by stating: “We have here to-night another evidence of our modern civilization. Men have been wont to think of women as the weaker vessel, but we have here to-night an evidence of the great modern principle that woman is not only to minister to the wants of man with tenderness and care, but she is here to share with him all that science offers.” More applause sounded. Dietzel, apparently just seventeen years old, did not actually receive her diploma until later due to not even meeting the legal age requirement, but the event remained momentous nonetheless. After giving a play by play of the ceremony itself, the university explained the significance of the occasion even further, proactively seeking to dispel any misconceptions about the women’s abilities, by stating:

While women have been admitted on equal terms with men to all the lectures and other exercises of both schools of medicine and pharmacy since the organization of the medical department, it is worthy of mention that this is the first occasion on which they have been recommended for degrees. It is a source of gratification that the woman made notable in the history of this college by being the first of her sex to secure the degree of medicine, is a modest and gentle lady, yet brave and independent. Four women have completed the course in pharmacy and will enjoy the distinction of being the first female graduates of that school. They go out well trained pharmacists and should be cordially welcomed to the degree they so well deserve by the members of the profession of pharmacy.¹⁵⁰

As for Ware, she completed her degree as the second woman to do so in the history of the department of medicine, the first under the four-year plan. Though she never seemed to face much doubt in her academic skills based on her sex, odds ran against all early medical students making it through. Her graduating class, which began one hundred forty students strong, ultimately consisted of just forty-four men and herself.

¹⁵⁰ *The Galveston Daily News*, May 16, 1897.

She had braved the formidable challenge and came out on the other end, graduating with honors. She was a doctor.

The school held their commencement exercises at Galveston's Grand Opera House on the evening of Ware's twenty-ninth birthday, Saturday, May 13, 1899. The invitations were noted to be particularly handsome and bore the motto:

What higher plane can one attain
Than conquest over human pain?¹⁵¹

The University of Texas President Dr. George T. Winston specifically noted of the year's crop of graduates:

“This university is now graduating physicians, pharmacists and trained nurses who have had a more careful and extended training than is given in any other institution south of Baltimore. Our course is four years and the system is thorough. Most of our graduates come from the ranks of the people. They have energy, character and sympathy with humanity...”¹⁵²

Once again, sitting with her class, as she had on that first day of medical school four years prior, Ware became puzzled when she heard her name singled out to come up to the platform. There, her classmates presented her with the gift of a Tieman's brand medical bag full of all of the instruments she would need in her practice, as she would later recall “the best available at that time.” “She had never expected favors because she was a woman and this gesture came as a complete surprise.”¹⁵³ And perhaps in the best statement available on her personal educational experience, Ware always recalled this as

¹⁵¹ “University Commencement,” *Dallas Morning News*, May 10, 1899.

¹⁵² “President Winston Talks,” *Houston Daily Post*, May 14, 1899.

¹⁵³ “Fiftieth Anniversary of Medical Practice Observed By Dr. Ella Ware, Local Physician,” *Stockdale Star*, May 12, 1949.

one of the greatest thrills of her life, feeling the particular action made evident the overwhelming acceptance she felt at the Texas medical school.¹⁵⁴

Postgraduate Education

After medical school, the women usually completed postgraduate work outside of John Sealy Hospital, the hospital affiliated with UTMB. This was thought to be because according to previous historical accounts, John Sealy did not offer internship or residency positions to women until 1925. At this time, two female graduates, Edith Marguerite Bonnet and Frances Ralston Vanzant, brought the discrimination they faced in gaining appointments to the attention of the state's first female governor Miriam A. "Ma" Ferguson, and following a battle visible in the press, became "the first female interns at John Sealy Hospital" under the provision that they would not take on male genitourinary cases.¹⁵⁵ While scholarly accounts have proposed that prior to this incident, the hospital did not offer positions to anyone other than the top male students, this does not actually seem to be the procedure surrounding appointments around the turn of the century.

In the 1897-1898 catalogue it is noted the top four students received appointments as internes at John Sealy, with no mention of their sex being a determining factor.¹⁵⁶ And in fact, the school reportedly offered Ware a chance to intern at John Sealy or any other area hospital of her choice because of "her excellent scholastic standing." However, since a medical degree did not yet require an internship, Ware chose to immediately

¹⁵⁴ "Dr. Ella Ware to Be Feted By Her Patients," *San Antonio Express*, October 15, 1954.; Steen, interview.

¹⁵⁵ Silverthorne and Fulgham, *Women Pioneers in Texas Medicine*, 90.

¹⁵⁶ *Catalogue of the Department of Medicine*, 1897-98, 253.

return to Stockdale in 1899 to practice, and only later decided to complete postgraduate work at the even more prestigious New York Polyclinic in 1901.

UTMB records indicate all four of the women who later became pathologists held some form of internship at the university.¹⁵⁷ The availability of positions also extended beyond budding pathologists, as M. Charlotte Schaefer (class of 1900), who later became a professor at the school, held a residency, Ella Devlin Fritch (class of 1900), who later became a general practitioner, formally acted as an intern, and Claudia Potter (class of 1904), who later became an anesthesiologist, held an internship as well.¹⁵⁸ The UTMB professor who specifically wrote a letter to the editor the *New York Medical Journal* in 1901 to address appointments reported them open to women and the 1908 yearbook actually states UTMB "...is one of the few co-educational institutions in this country which offers equal advantages to men and women in all the departments of the Medical Branch, including hospital appointments."¹⁵⁹

Whether through lack of consideration or their own choice, the women still did not achieve placement at John Sealy Hospital or other area hospitals at anywhere near the rate of men. An example is that of Margaret Holliday Clark (class of 1906). Clark's name appears as the second in a list of five students who attained a ninety percent or higher on their examinations, yet she either did not receive or accept one of the four

¹⁵⁷ Elizabeth Silverthorne, "Potter, Claudia," *Handbook of Texas Online*, June 15, 2010, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fpoeq>; "Miss M. Charlotte Schaeffer," Galveston, Texas, 1901, U.S. City Directories, 1821-1989.; "Miss Mary Alice Wood," Galveston, Texas, 1909, U.S. City Directories, 1821-1989.; "Miss May Frances McAdams, Galveston, Texas, 1913, U.S. City Directories, 1821-1989.

¹⁵⁸ "Deaths," *Texas State Journal of Medicine* 8, no. 9 (January 1913): 252.; John T. Moore, "'WOMEN PHYSICIANS IN TEXAS,' 1901: 328.; Sherry S. McLeRoy, *Texas Women First: Leading Ladies of Lone Star History* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2015), 112.

¹⁵⁹ "History of Brackenridge Hall," *Cactus* 1908, 383-384.; John T. Moore, "'WOMEN PHYSICIANS IN TEXAS,' Galveston, Texas, August 3, 1901," *New York Medical Journal* (August 17, 1901): 328.

prestigious internships offered. Male students gained the spots, and according to the list, at least three of these men appear to have scored lower than Clark on the exam.¹⁶⁰ Ware and some of the other women may have missed out on postgraduate opportunities in much the same way.

Outside of John Sealy Hospital, only two additional female UTMB graduates appeared to complete postgraduate work in Texas, both at the State Hospital in Austin. Like obstetrics, gynecology, and pediatrics, psychiatry remained a both open and desired field for some women.¹⁶¹ Like Ware, many of the women completed their educations in the Northeast, with New York being the most popular location. A few others did their postgraduate work in the perhaps more progressive western frontier states of California and Minnesota.¹⁶²

Just as the women possibly faced some exclusion when it came to the more respected, formal positions at Texas hospitals, they also encountered limits in states with a longer history of women's medical education. The hospitals they received postgraduate admission to, such as New York Women's and Children's Hospital and Babies' Hospital of New York, primarily cared for women and children, whether or not the women wished to make this their chosen field of practice. Throughout her life, Ray K. Daily (class of 1913) raised awareness of the difficulty of just finding hospitals to train at with housing available for women. In order to further pursue her desired field of ophthalmology, she

¹⁶⁰ *Catalogue of the Department of Medicine, 1906-1907*, 281.

¹⁶¹ *Send Us a Lady Physician: Women Doctors in America*, 239.

¹⁶² "The Byrams: Missionaries to North Korea," *Ethnê*, July 23, 2006, <http://www.ethne.net/?p=794>.; Silverthorne, "Potter, Claudia," *Handbook of Texas Online*, 2010. Bertha Elvira (Stanley) Byram and her physician husband completed their postgraduate work in Berkley, California and Claudia Potter attained hers at the Mayo Clinic in Minnesota.

even found it necessary to travel outside the United States to Austria.¹⁶³ Whether thanks to good fortune or planning, Ware received her education at the more broadly focused New York Polyclinic, one of the first graduate schools of medicine in the world.¹⁶⁴ The Polyclinic prepared her for her role as a general practitioner well.

¹⁶³ Suzanne Campbell, "Ray Karchmer Daily," *Jewish Women: A Comprehensive Historical Encyclopedia*, March 1, 2009, Jewish Women's Archive, <http://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/daily-ray-karchmer>.

¹⁶⁴ "The History of New York State Book 12, Chapter 13, Part 7," in *The History of New York State* (New York: Lewis Publishing Company, Inc., 1927), Edited by Dr. James Sullivan, Transcribed by Holice B. Young, 2004, <http://www.newyorkroots.org/bookarchive/historyofnewyorkstate/bk12/ch13/pt7.html>.

CHAPTER IV

PRACTICE

Not the First or the Only: Acceptance of Women Medical Practitioners in Texas

Women practiced medicine in the state both with and without degrees long before the first female graduates from Texas institutions even began their careers. In fact, women held a central role in healing throughout much of human history. In Texas, this included Indian medicine women (long before Spanish, French, or Anglo-American colonization) who served their communities at least as early as the 1500s, later, it encompassed women of all races who provided healthcare during the turbulent, often physician-lacking times of the Spanish colonial period, Mexican national period, Texas Revolution, Republic of Texas, and early statehood.¹⁶⁵ Women physicians, formally educated outside of Texas, also began working in the state prior to Texas' first female graduates. While state licensing did not appear until 1873, and even then, the term "educated" for doctors appeared loosely interpreted, a presence of trained women physicians definitely existed. Ursula Catherine Harrison, who came to the state around 1845, may have been one of the first, and at least twenty-two other women appear to practice medicine in Texas around 1870-1900.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁵ Silverthorne and Fulgham, "Early Healers," in *Women Pioneers in Texas Medicine*, 3-29. "Timeline," Women in Texas History: A Project of the Ruthe Winegarten Memorial Foundation for Texas Women's History, <http://www.womenintexashistory.org/timeline/>.

¹⁶⁶ *Census of Women Physicians*, Compiled by Committee of Medical Women General Medical Board Council of National Defense (New York: American Women's Hospitals, 1918).; Red, "Petticoat Medicine," in *Medicine Man in Texas*, 104-110.; Silverthorne and Fulgham, *Women Pioneers in Texas Medicine*, 71.; Texas Physicians Historical Biographical Database. "Women Physicians in Texas," *Texas State Journal of Medicine* 12, no. 1 (May 1916): 40. "One of First of Sex to Practice Medicine," newspaper obituary for Ursula Catherine Harrison. This included Minnie Clifton Archer, Ida E. (Shope) Bishop, Francis Elizabeth Leake-Cummings, Ellen (Lawson) Dabbs, Grace Danforth, Bella Constance Eskridge, Susan (McGuire) Finn, Lucy (Woodward) Garner, Rosa B. Gates, Jennie A. (Sausser) Green, Ursula Catherine Harrison, Elizabeth (Down) Henry, Margaret/Margueret Ellen Holland, Sofia Dalia (Herzog) Huntington, Margaret Ellen Holland, Josephine Kingsley, Juliet E. Marchant, Florence E. (Collins)

In 1897, the same year Marie Delalondre Dietzel graduated from UTMB, Frances “Daisy” Emery Allen became one of the first women graduates from a Texas-based institution, the Fort Worth Medical Charter School. This facility is not included in the study because it did not draw state funding and eventually merged with another school, but Allen’s accomplishment is no less noteworthy to the annals of Texas history. Allen closely paralleled Ware, in that she garnered enthusiastic support from her father, but unlike the female students at UTMB, she faced an initial rejection of her application from the Fort Worth school. Since its print requirements did not forbid women’s attendance, she eventually gained entrance on this technicality. Like many of the women at UTMB, Allen graduated at the top of her class, second in a small class of seventeen, and sought post-graduate education outside the state in Washington, D.C.¹⁶⁷

In 1900, the privately funded Baylor University also opened a medical department in Dallas and graduated its first female student, Ella M. Maddux the next year. Six more women followed by 1915.¹⁶⁸ Baylor grad Hallie Earle (class of 1907) fit the profile of the early UTMB female graduates perfectly. Supported by her family, she graduated as the only woman in her very small class of seven, holding the record for highest grade

Matthews, Mary Susan “S.” Moore, Emma Maria (Maddux) Nelson, Francis Louisa Rowley, Elizabeth Uncapher, and Mary Jane “Polly” Whittet.

¹⁶⁷ Judith M. McArthur, “Allen, Frances Daisy Emery,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, June 9, 2010, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fal64>.

¹⁶⁸ “Baylor University Department of Medicine, Dallas, Texas,” *The Baylor Bulletin* 20, no. 4: 58-64. This included Thena Robinson and Ella Sturdiven in 1905, Harriet “Hallie” Earle in 1907, Alice Moses and Cora Eva Teague in 1913, and Beth Angeline (Michel) Hill in 1915.

point average at the school for many years.¹⁶⁹ Other women graduated from various charter medical schools set up in Dallas, Fort Worth, and Austin.¹⁷⁰

In addition, regardless of whether they held state educations, women physicians continued to populate directories across Texas and the state's section in the *Polk's Medical Register and Directory of North America* into the twentieth century. In 1903, for the first time, a black woman physician, Mary Smith Moore, opened a much-contested hospital in Galveston with her husband who was also a doctor.¹⁷¹ In 1910, the Public Health Education Committee of the American Medical Association listed sixty-three women physicians as practicing in Texas and called for any additional names. In 1916, forty-nine women physicians appeared on an invitation from UTMB to mingle with current female students at an open house, and by 1918, around seventy women physicians made the Texas section of the *Census of Women Physicians*.¹⁷²

Earlier in 1908, the national publication *The Woman's Medical Journal* reported on the discriminatory climate in the Southern state of Louisiana for failing to admit women into their medical societies. They followed this with a glowing review on Texas' acceptance of women physicians, stating:

We are gratified to be able to report a very different state of affairs in another

¹⁶⁹ Sharpless, "Earle, Hallie," *Handbook of Texas Online*, 2010.; Silverthorne and Fulgham, *Women Pioneers in Texas Medicine*, 83.

¹⁷⁰ "Dr. Nettie Marx Kline," The History Drive-thru: Historical bits & bytes from the Texarkana Museums System, <http://texarkanamuseums.wordpress.com/2012/03/09/dr-nettie-marx-kline/>; Texas Physicians Historical Biographical Database. This included Nettie (Marx) Klein in 1903, Mary (King) Robbie in 1904, Mary A. (maiden name unknown) Farrar in 1905, Riveire L. (Cromwell) Rogers in 1906, Minnie Bell (Barker) Chunn in 1907, and Lily Roberts and Julia (Florence) Widney in 1908.

¹⁷¹ Chester R. Burns, "Health and Medicine," *Handbook of Texas Online*, June 15, 2010, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/smhzc>.

¹⁷² The number for the *Census of Women Physicians* is an estimate because a few named actually appear to be male physicians who held gender-neutral monikers.

Southern state, where a most liberal and progressive spirit is evident. Women are admitted to the State University of Texas, at Galveston, on equal terms with men; are accorded full recognition and are required to take the same course of study and do as thorough work...One of the graduates of the university, Dr. Charlotte Schaefer, is on its faculty as a professor of histology, biology and embryology. At Galveston the two leading pathologists are women, Dr. Martha Wood, of the Texas University, and Dr. Ethel Lyon, of the Woman's Medical College of Philadelphia. Dr. Margaret Holiday, one of the graduates of the Texas University, has established a sanitarium in Austin, and another, Dr. Porter, is pathologist in the Hospital at Temple, Texas. The medical women throughout the state are doing well, many of them in general practice, but several have become prominent in eye, ear and throat work, and several in nervous and mental diseases. This state is an inviting field for the medical woman and the Journal is pleased to call the attention to its readers to this Southern state which is so fair and liberal in the treatment of medical women.¹⁷³

All in all, this introduction to the earliest women physicians in Texas reveals the climate in the Lone star state. While their numbers remained small, there was a positive recognition of their presence, even outside the state.

Where to Practice

While the urbanizing effects of the Industrial Revolution began to touch Texas at the turn of the century, the state remained primarily rural and rooted in agriculture.¹⁷⁴

The 1900 UTMB yearbook section very aptly opens with an artwork entitled "The Country Doctor" picturing a male doctor on a house call in the dead of winter. Outfitted in a heavy coat and hat and carrying his medical bag, he is beckoned into a secluded home by a woman with a lantern.¹⁷⁵ It foreshadowed the life to come for countless Texas physicians, but failed to reflect the experience of most of the female UTMB graduates.

¹⁷³ "Women Physicians in Texas," *The Women's Medical Journal* 18, no. 9 (September 1908): 192-193.

¹⁷⁴ Robert A. Calvert, Arnoldo De León, and Gregg Cantrell, "Early Twentieth-Century Texas" in *The History of Texas*, 4th ed. (Illinois: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 2007), 240.

¹⁷⁵ "The Country Doctor," *Cactus 1900*, 89.

The vast majority of Texas' first female medical school graduates carved out careers for themselves in cities, with only a few practicing for short periods in small towns, usually at the start of their professional lives.¹⁷⁶ It seems the women, like many modern physicians, began to find urban areas offered favorable conditions with concentrations of patients, opportunities for specialization, and positions at hospitals, laboratories, and universities. Working through established urban medical institutions in these cities also likely offered added legitimacy, job security, and resources to the women.¹⁷⁷ As May Agnes Hopkins Reitzel put it: "I couldn't have dreamed in my wildest dreams how wonderful Dallas has been to me and to all women physicians. But now I know the doors are open. Many hospitals and schools now want the woman physician. There are more and more opportunities for us."¹⁷⁸

Dallas had not always offered the most welcoming environment for women physicians. Earlier in 1890, women apparently experienced some problems in acquiring a clientele there. Independent scholar Ruth Hosey Karbach explains "the transplanted southern merchants and their wives who comprised the city's large middle class were reluctant to patronize women physicians. One woman doctor left the city after sixteen months, and less than 1 percent of Dallas physicians were women, the lowest rate of any major Texas city." Nearby Fort Worth, however, appeared more open to the concept early on, with eight percent of all doctors in the city identifying as female, "a higher rate than Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, or Los Angeles." Karbach argues that factors in

¹⁷⁶ This appears to include Una Howe (Hasskarl), Rosalie McAdams, and Frances Daisy Emery Allen, if considering areas with a population less than 5,000.

¹⁷⁷ *Send Us a Lady Physician: Women Doctors in America*, 24.

¹⁷⁸ Cara East and Debbie Bridges, "Women physicians at Baylor University Medical Center," *Baylor University Medical Center Proceedings* 17, no. 3 (July 2004): 304-317.

the city's growth, similar to those which appeared to allow for women's medical education in Galveston, allowed for women to establish successful practices in Fort Worth:

Its seven railroads attracted manufacturing concerns, and a variety of businesses sent goods to supply farmers and cattlemen to the West. With the railroads came an influx of people from the northern and eastern United States and Canada, which created a vigorous cultural mix with a western mentality and progressive ideas.¹⁷⁹

As Dallas and other Texas cities grew along similar lines, this likely increased their appeal to women physicians, as Reitzel described.

Yet, Ware did not follow this path. UTMB officials asked her to stay on at the university with the promise of a prestigious full professorship.¹⁸⁰ While society considered teaching a more acceptable career choice than medicine for a woman at the time, Ware declined the offer in favor of returning to serve her community, saying, "her people needed a doctor."¹⁸¹ Hospitals outside of Texas in both "the great cultural and medical centers" of New York and San Francisco even offered her clinical posts, "rare as she was as a woman M.D. in those days, she resolved to an even rarer career for a woman by deserting the big cities and returning to the life of a country doctor."¹⁸² In Ware's own words, 'I came home and got started in general practice and just never could get away.'¹⁸³ Once again, as with the ease in her admittance to medical school in Galveston,

¹⁷⁹ Elizabeth Hayes Turner, Stephanie Cole, and Rebecca Sharpless, editors, *Texas Women: Their Histories, Their Lives* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2015), 182-183.

¹⁸⁰ "Dr. Ella Ware to Be Feted By Her Patients," *San Antonio Express*, October 15, 1954.; Mary Lea Pearson, "Dr. Ella Ware," In *Stockdale- A Glimpse into the Past*, by Birdie Lorenz.; Steen, interview.

¹⁸² Louis Engelke, "Woman Doctor, 80, 'Celebrates,' in Hospital," *San Antonio Evening News*.

¹⁸³ "Fiftieth Anniversary Of Medical Practice Observed By Dr. Ella Ware, Local Physician," *Stockdale Star*, May 12, 1949.

she simply opened a practice in her hometown seemingly without doubt by the local residents in her ability to practice medicine as a woman.

The other female UTMB graduates who briefly practiced in small Texas towns also seemed to receive acceptance, as did earlier pioneer rural woman physicians in the state. This included Sofie Herzog Huntington, who certainly made her mark in Brazoria County beginning in the late nineteenth century. In fact, any hostility Huntington faced seemed to relate more to her status as an immigrant, unfamiliar with local customs, than her sex.¹⁸⁴ Also, beginning around 1893, Juliet E. Marchant, navigated LaPorte, Texas' muddy roads by carriage and foot when necessary "with her little black bag in hand," "her life and service" was called "a blessing" to her patients there.¹⁸⁵ Mary Jane "Polly" Whittet likewise served as president of the Atascosa County Medical Society from 1885-1929.¹⁸⁶

Similarly to how turn of the century urban environments in Texas allowed for women's medical education and practice, these women physicians' rustic environment likely played a role in their acceptance. A remote setting fostered an enduring frontier attitude, which seemed to allow for a more open-minded approach to cater to the growing societal need for trained doctors. This seemed especially true for Ware's community, as well as several of the towns where early female physician Daisy Emery Allen and her husband practiced for a short time. These areas actively attempted to lure physicians to

¹⁸⁴ See, Amanda Jean Brand, "Doctor Sofie Herzog and New South Brazoria, Texas: Gender, Medicine, and Entrepreneurship," (M.A. thesis, Southwest Texas State University, 2000).

¹⁸⁵ Red, "Petticoat Medicine," in *Medicine Man in Texas*, 104-110.

¹⁸⁶ Marilyn Baker, "From Prairie to Presidency: Women change the face of Texas medicine," *Texas Medicine* 99, 1 (January 2003): 62-63.

open practices and did not protest when they received women physicians.¹⁸⁷ Since given the opportunity, the citizens of Stockdale appreciated Ware being “one of their own” and someone who understood their way of life, over an outsider.¹⁸⁸

The community’s particular appreciation for doctors is evidenced through memories of its earliest physicians. A village first appeared in the Stockdale area around 1863. Daniel Franklin Boatwright, practiced for a time in the town until 1893, when he died from accidentally being shot by someone trying to kill a snake on a fishing trip. Upon his unfortunate death it is noted, “He was a popular and useful man in this section and will be universally mourned.”¹⁸⁹ Another revered practitioner, Benjamin Franklin Johnson practiced for twenty-one years in Stockdale, carrying his medical supplies in saddlebags as he made house calls until his death in 1910.¹⁹⁰ Upon his passing, it is noted, “He will be missed in his community probably more than any other citizen, for he loved the people and served them faithfully.”¹⁹¹ Some of the first physicians in Stockdale were Thomas Reynolds Chew, who helped name the town, and Thomas Marion Stroud, who was already retired when he appeared in the 1880 census. In fact, in its early days, Stockdale seemed to be somewhat of a hub for physicians, with Drs. Gray, Carrington,

¹⁸⁷ McArthur, “Allen, Frances Daisy Emery,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, 2010.

¹⁸⁸ Steen, interview.

¹⁸⁹ “Accidentally Shot and Killed,” *The Dallas Morning News*, May 14, 1893.; Register of Vanderbilt University, 1888, 97. Daniel Franklin Boatwright obtained his education from Vanderbilt University in 1888.

¹⁹⁰ *The Standard Medical Directory of North America* (Chicago: G.P. Engelhard, 1902), 511.; Karon Mac Smith, *On the Watershed of Ecleto and Clear Fork II*, 113. Benjamin Franklin Johnson obtained his education from the University of Louisville, Kentucky School of Medicine in 1884.

¹⁹¹ “B.F. Johnson,” in Arthur Wayne Hafner, ed., *Directory of Deceased American Physicians, 1804-1929: a genealogical guide to over 149,000 medical practitioners providing brief biographical sketches drawn from the American Medical Association's Deceased Physician Masterfile* (Chicago: American Medical Association, 1993).; “Dr. B.F. Johnson,” *Texas State Journal of Medicine* 5, no. 12 (April 1910): 452.

Batt, Boone, Hayes, Thompson, and Oliver also practicing around the area.¹⁹² Prior to the standardization of medical education, doctoring remained one of many roles for many, for example:

A doctor in 19th-century Texas did not necessarily have to wear a collar, but he had to be more than a skilled practitioner. He needed to be a jack-of-all-trades. Here's how someone described Dr. Johnson Calhoun Hunter, who had come to Texas in the 1820s: 'He could deliver a baby, ride a plow, go hungry, trade with the Indians, run a traverse, pilot a scow, adjudicate a case, please a woman, cut a bull, teach a school, sire...children, and deliver mail.'¹⁹³

In around 1880 in Stockdale, Hosea Bethel "H.B." Brown practiced and helped purchase land for the Stockdale Cemetery.¹⁹⁴ A doctor more contemporary to Ware's time, James Bird Holland, began his career around this period and practiced until his death in 1911, holding the longest tenure up until that point in Wilson County. Despite all of these physicians practicing so long ago, the town still included them in histories well into the twentieth century.¹⁹⁵ This reflects Stockdale residents' continuing appreciation of having local physicians to tend to their healthcare needs, particularly those who stayed and became part of the community, also acting as civic leaders and investors in local businesses.

Ware's ready acceptance around the turn of the century in particular, can also be attributed to the Stockdalian's Progressive era desire to cultivate an image of prosperity.

¹⁹² Early Settler, "Early Day In And Around Stockdale," *The Stockdale Star*, April 24, 1952.

¹⁹³ Mike Cox, "Frontier Medicine: Texas Doctors Overcome Disease and Despair," TMA Sesquicentennial Article, *Texas Medicine* (January 2003).

¹⁹⁴ "Graduates of the Spring Session of 1858," *The Eclectic Medical Journal* 17, no. 1 (1858): 27.; Lorenz, *Stockdale: A Glimpse Into The Past*, 106, 109-110. Hosea Bethel "H.B." Brown obtained his education from Ohio's Eclectic Medical Institute in 1858.

¹⁹⁵ Early Settler, "Early Day In And Around Stockdale," *The Stockdale Star*, April 24, 1952.; "Stockdale Had Important Part in Early Wilson County History, *Floresville Chronicle Journal*, September 16, 1960.; "Holland," *San Antonio Express*, March 29, 1911.

With the town moving past survival mode, when just dealing with threats like Indian attacks and famine were priorities, settlers could focus on cultural development. Even though Stockdale continued to primarily identify as agrarian and never evolved on the industrial front, it, like many small towns, held onto a New South spirit of community boosterism.¹⁹⁶ For appearances, having their own educated doctor, and even the novelty of her being a woman, became a real coup. When Ware undertook plans to open her very own hospital in 1909, the *San Antonio Express News* ran a feature article in their Sunday edition entitled “Stockdale Woman Physician is Building a Modern Sanitarium.” Not only did this boost the town’s image, but the entire county’s, as the *Wilson County Journal* later sent in comments to the nearby city of San Antonio’s newspaper stating, “The sanitarium is a valuable addition to the growing town of Stockdale and will be a good thing for the county in general.”¹⁹⁷ Again in 1911, the Stockdale section of the *San Antonio Express* proudly reported on “a great many improvements under way,” listing current construction projects in the town, which included a brand new doctor’s office being put in by Ware.¹⁹⁸

The Country Doc Practices

Offers of big city hospital appointments never swayed Ware, as she knew her own small town needed a doctor, a void she wished to fill. As one newspaper elaborately put it, “To the young graduate the medical needs of Wilson County folk who lived close to chicken coops, peanut patches and the cornfield meant more in her heart than Fifth

¹⁹⁶ See Brand, “Doctor Sofie Herzog,” 69-90.; Kimberley Johnson, *Reforming Jim Crow: Southern Politics and State in the Age Before Brown* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 70.

¹⁹⁷ “Spirit of the Texas Press,” *The Daily Express*, December 1, 1909.

¹⁹⁸ “Improvements at Stockdale,” *San Antonio Express*, December 9, 1911.

Avenue or the Golden Gate.”¹⁹⁹ Upon her return to Stockdale in 1899, she just felt eager to get to work. Reports even indicate she may have begun practicing as early as July 12, 1898, in her third summer home from medical school before she returned to the school as an assistant physician and completed her final year, but this date could be erroneous. Regardless, after Ware’s graduation, she was ‘examined and found qualified to engage in medical practice’ by the state board on May 18, 1899.²⁰⁰ Coming upon her third decade in life as a newly minted physician, an exciting chapter promised to unfold.

Right off the bat, Ware established an office next to Smith’s original drugstore on the town’s Main Street.²⁰¹ She delivered Harriet “Hattie” (Steele) Haskell, likely her first Stockdale baby, on August 20, 1899.²⁰² From this point forward, she only took breaks from her practice to complete post-graduate training in 1901 and to update her education at various times throughout her career.²⁰³ Ware’s quickly growing status as a local physician is evident through county birth and death records in which her name becomes more and more prominent as the attending doctor. It appears that within only five years, she established herself as the go-to practitioner for baby deliveries, with records indicating her delivering over half of Stockdale’s children. Furthermore, her reputation as the primary general physician in the area developed as citizens experienced the type of

¹⁹⁹ Louis Engelke, “Woman Doctor, 80, ‘Celebrates,’ in Hospital,” *San Antonio Evening News*, undated newspaper clipping.

²⁰⁰ Bert Wise, “Stockdale Honors Doctor Ella Ware,” *San Antonio Express*, undated newspaper clipping.; Texas Physicians Historical Biographical Database.

²⁰¹ “Fiftieth Anniversary Of Medical Practice Observed By Dr. Ella Ware, Local Physician,” *Stockdale Star*, May 12, 1949.

²⁰² Lorenz, *Stockdale: A Glimpse Into The Past*.

²⁰³ Pearson, “Dr. Ella Ware.”; Steen, interview.; “Stockdale” *San Antonio Express*, May 17, 1914.

modern care she provided due to her up-to-date training, and some of the older male practitioners who lacked either a formal or current education fell out of popularity.²⁰⁴

As previously mentioned, Ware's career differs from most of the other Texas women doctors of her time in that she worked in a rural area for its entirety. She took extraordinary pride in this rare position, and liked to be called "The Country Doc." Yet sometimes, this role, like her sex, brought some special considerations. In fact, as will be shown, her rural practice may have brought *more* factors to contend with than her sex. In rural medicine, physicians often cover a wide region. Although the furthest she traveled in her early days was said to be thirty-three miles, Ware did not only treat those in her town of Stockdale, but the rest of Wilson County, and occasionally in the surrounding counties of Bexar, Karnes, Guadalupe, and Gonzales.²⁰⁵ Like many of the country docs of her day, and perhaps with a touch of her own father's beloved stamina, she dutifully made herself available twenty-four hours, seven days a week, rain or shine.²⁰⁶ Birth records alone indicate her frequently attending two and sometimes even three or four births in the same day. "Many, many times she would just be getting in from a hard night as others were starting their day. She just took a bath, put on clean clothes, and went right to the office."²⁰⁷ Very few times did she herself take ill, but when she did, it made the news, and despite feeling under the weather, she often ended up practicing from the confinement of her home. Some instances included a sprained ankle from a fall

²⁰⁴ Lorenz, *Stockdale- A Glimpse into the Past*.; Birth Records, Floresville: Wilson County Courthouse, 1899-1949.

²⁰⁵ "Dr. Ware Day Set at Stockdale," *San Antonio Express*, October 17, 1954.; Lorenz, *Stockdale- A Glimpse into the Past*.

²⁰⁶ "Ella Ware Fete Cancelled," *San Antonio Light*, May 13, 1949.

²⁰⁷ Steen, interview.

sometime around a trip to Galveston in 1906 and “a siege of crysipelas” (an inflammatory skin irritation) in 1916.²⁰⁸ In 1940, at age sixty-nine, she still reported working sixty hours a week.²⁰⁹

Despite opening an office, she, like many rural physicians, spent the majority of her time traveling for house calls. In the early days, she went by horse and buggy, starting with one snow-white steed named Martin.²¹⁰ She and Martin trekked through the night and at sometimes-breakneck speeds in order to make all of her calls.²¹¹ After her rounds, she could reportedly “point her old horse homeward and tell him to “Go Home,” while she laid down on the seat to rest before her next call.²¹² Later, she owned four horses and two carriages, a large buggy pulled by two horses “used for country trips when a driver accompanied her” and a smaller one she drove herself for town calls. She instructed chauffeurs to always have the carriage harness ready to drop on the horses at a moment’s notice, even going so far as to install an alert bell and pulley system in her garage to hasten the process, and reminded them to bring a grubbing hoe “to dig their way out of muddy country roads.”²¹³ She also packed herself a brick she heated up in

²⁰⁸ “Stockdale,” *San Antonio Gazette*, September 22, 1906.; “Personals,” *Texas Medical Journal* 31, no. 11 (May 1916): 478.

²⁰⁹ Census records.

²¹⁰ “Dr. Ella Ware to Be Feted By Her Patients,” *San Antonio Express*, October 15, 1954.

²¹¹ “Historic Moments in Wilson County, Texas: Dr. Ella Ware, Wilson County Physician,” Wilson County Historical Society Archives, June 1, 2008.
<http://wilsoncountyhistory.org/Moments/Dr%20Ella%20Ware.pdf>.

²¹² Dulce Lea Ware, letter to author, 2015.

²¹³ “Five Years Later...Community Will Pay Homage to Woman Physician,” *The Bonham Daily Favorite*, October 19, 1954.; Dave Fittery and Mary Lucille Ware Fittery Parsons, interview by author, May 26, 2015.

patients' homes to place on the buggy floor for warmth.²¹⁴ Ware later became one of the first people in Stockdale to purchase an automobile and eventually owned multiple vehicles. She continued to employ chauffeurs, but also drove herself at times up until age seventy-nine.²¹⁵

Ware often traveled by buggy up until the end of her career as few paved roads existed in the area for quite some time, not until 1949 for many areas. She considered lighter carriages "less likely (than cars) to get stuck," and when they did, "easier to get out of the mud."²¹⁶ Practicing medicine in rural Texas brought with it other unique challenges as well. She needed oil lamps to illuminate her early appointments, as most of Stockdale did not have electricity until 1923, and some homes outside the town did not get power until much later. Other conveniences of modern society lagged in implementation, for example, a water and sewer system did not come to the town until the 1930s.²¹⁷

Yet, Ware worked well with what she had, and residents treasured her. They specifically appreciated her kind and gentle, very cordial bedside manner.²¹⁸ In fact, as similarly revealed by historian Judy Tzu-Chun Wu about the first Chinese American woman physician, Margaret Jessie Chung, "...patients perceived her as a good physician,

²¹⁴ Ted Akin, "Stockdale Memories," March 25, 2008.

²¹⁵ "Pickups by Barney," *San Antonio Express*, February 17, 1924.;
 "Dr. Ella Ware to Be Feted By Her Patients," *San Antonio Express*, October 15, 1954.

²¹⁶ "Paving and Gravelling of Stockdale Streets Will Begin in Near Future," *Stockdale Star*, February 7, 1949.

²¹⁷ "Fiftieth Anniversary of Medical Practice Observed By Dr. Ella Ware, Local Physician," *Stockdale Star*, May 12, 1949.; Jeannette Woods Cheek, "The Best of Times," in *Stockdale: A Glimpse Into The Past*, by Birdie Lorenz.; Lorenz, *Stockdale- A Glimpse into the Past*.

²¹⁸ Dave Fittery and Mary Lucille Ware Fittery Parsons, interview.; Edith Akin, interview.

not in spite of, but because of, her sex.”²¹⁹ One patient even recalled the extra touch Ware put into designing her office’s waiting room to be warm and comfortable with rocking chairs and a settee, and how she always had a fresh coat of paint on the building’s exterior.²²⁰

Like many female physicians and healers who traditionally focused on preventative care and diet, she also relied upon nutrition as a milder cure for ailments, a custom her patients seemed to appreciate.²²¹ Ware’s prescriptions included raw eggs and milk for strengthening and oranges or a big pot of turnip greens to combat malaise, both of which she often personally brought to the patient.²²² Ware also often compounded medications herself. One patient relayed her experience:

I remember Dr. Ware making a call at out house in 1920, but she still used her black buggy, and she carried her ubiquitous, well-worn, black bag of doctor’s instruments and medicines. It was a mysterious and wonderful bag from which she measured out calomel onto little papers, then folded them into small packets for each dose. It was supposed to thin the blood after the winter.²²³

Another patient similarly recalled Ware using calomel powders, later declared toxic due to the risk of mercury poisoning, to treat any general sickness.²²⁴ And still another humorously recounts one of her go-to remedies around 1919-1920:

Dr. Ella Ware was our doctor, and she made her house calls in a buggy. My mother was sick in bed, so Dr. Ware came to see her. I had one older sister and

²¹⁹ More, Fee, and Parry, *Women Physicians and Cultures of Medicine*, 107.

²²⁰ Edith Akin, interview.; *Stockdale Standard* 1924.

²²¹ Elisabeth Brooke, *Medicine Women: A Pictorial History of Women Healers* (Wheaton, IL: Quest Books, 1997), 9.; Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English, *Witches, Midwives, and Nurses: A History of Women Healers* (Old Westbury: The Feminist Press, 1973), 24.

²²² Edith Akin, interview.; Steen, interview.

²²³ Jeannette Woods Cheek, “The Best of Times,” in *Stockdale: A Glimpse Into The Past*.

²²⁴ Edith Akin, interview.

one younger sister. My brother Bert was probably quite small. We were very bashful, but our curiosity was stronger than our fear. We wanted to know what the doctor was doing, so we peeked our heads around the door where Dr. Ware was seeing our mother. Dr. Ware looked up, saw us and said, “Come here.” In that day, when a grownup said something, all we knew was to obey. When we went over to her she opened her black satchel and took out a spoon as well as a bottle of castor oil. Using the same spoon, she gave us each a dose of castor oil.

The next day when she came back to see our mother, we vanished when we saw the buggy coming.²²⁵

Fellow Texas physician Pat Ireland Nixon appropriately noted:

Doctor Ware’s career bridged the gulf between the old and the new in medicine. More progress was made in medicine in these 50 years than in all previous medical history. She began with calomel and quinine and ended with insulin, penicillin, and cortisone. She was a student all her life. She accepted with eagerness new drugs and new methods as they were developed. And yet she was conservative. She chose to “Be not the first by whom the new is tried, Nor yet the last to cast the old aside.”

The 1949 article published upon the fiftieth anniversary of her medical school graduation, also drew attention to how she “... refuses to give in to the march of the years and uses all the latest in modern drugs and discoveries.”²²⁶ Nevertheless, Nixon believed it “...very sure that as late as 1950, if she thought some of these tough constitutions of Wilson County required it, she would have given them a teaspoon of calomel and thought nothing of it.”²²⁷

The widespread acceptance and adoption of one of the most significant advances in modern medicine, germ theory, occurred just prior to Ware’s education. Being knowledgeable of the importance of hygiene let her start out her career already having an edge over older male physicians in the rural area, who lagged in implementing

²²⁵ “Memory from Paul Dettman,” Letter from Roberta Dettman to the author, May 5, 2008.

²²⁶ “Ella Ware Fete Cancelled,” *San Antonio Light*, May 13, 1949.

²²⁷ Pat Ireland Nixon, “Dr. Ella Ware,” 1954, Pat Ireland Nixon Collection, University of Texas Health Science Center at San Antonio Libraries.

preventative measures. It made sterilization a primary concern and Ware's medical bag accommodated this need in a unique way. It contained a compartment on the bottom to hold a pan she paired with a small, portable kerosene stove, less than a foot tall, on which she placed the pan to boil water. Yet despite the townspeople's overall appreciation of her up-to-date education, Ware faced patients, who accustomed to older therapeutic methods, did not understand her "obsession" with disinfecting for unseen bacteria, and sometimes balked when she "wasted time" to sterilize tools.²²⁸ On one occasion, she really befuddled locals by yelling to "boil water, boil water!!" at the scene of a man run over by a train out in the middle of nowhere.²²⁹

Being a rural physician in those days also often included performing surgery, and Ware equipped her office with an operating table for this purpose.²³⁰ In examples of her care, she carefully extracted a bullet from one man's hand, and when Stockdale resident Lester Akin broke his leg as a boy, she set it with her own hands and put his leg in a plaster of Paris cast.²³¹ "Old folks of Wilson County [even] recall that Dr. Ware's skilled surgical hands could be as adept as those of a wainwright or blacksmith at making a new singletree, if need be, when one on her buggy broke in rough country."²³² While she regularly did minor procedures and routine surgeries, she did not typically do

²²⁸ Pat Lorenz, interview by author, Stockdale, February 12, 2008.

²²⁹ "Memory from Mary Jo Salter," e-mail from Pat Lorenz to the author, February 4, 2008.

²³⁰ Dave Fittery and Mary Lucille Ware Fittery Parsons, interview.

²³¹ Ted Akin, 2008.

²³² Louis Engelke, "Woman Doctor, 80, 'Celebrates,' in Hospital, *San Antonio Evening Express*.

advanced surgeries alone, and called surgeons to come work with her or sent patients to colleagues in the nearby city of San Antonio.²³³

Part of Ware's reluctance to undertake more difficult surgical cases could be attributed to the lack of proper facilities in the secluded area. The nearest hospital, located in San Antonio, required a forty-mile plus trip. Prior to the automobile, patients could only be transported by train, which made for a long, uncomfortable ride for someone in need of emergency care.²³⁴ Executing delicate procedures in her office or homes sometimes became the only alternative. For this reason, Ware actually opened her own private "modern sanitarium" by her home in 1909. Calling it "a realization of a dream," she equipped it to handle "special and surgical cases" and invited other members of the profession to treat their patients there.²³⁵ With the confidence of her new facilities, Ware, who already served as company physician for the Southern Pacific Railroad, also took on the role of local surgeon for the Galveston, Harrisburg, and San Antonio portion of the railway, positions she held for forty-five years.²³⁶ Still, without antibiotics and blood bank-run transfusions, and with cruder methods of anesthesia like chloroform, ether, and nitrous oxide, even simple procedures like appendectomies became risky feats.

²³³ Edith Akin, interview.; Lorenz, interview.

²³⁴ Lorenz, *Stockdale- A Glimpse into the Past*.

²³⁵ "Dr. Ware's Private Sanitarium at Stockdale," *Texas State Journal of Medicine* 5, no. 8 (1909): 322.; Steen, interview.; "Stockdale Woman Physician is Building a Modern Sanitarium," *The Daily Express*, November 14, 1909.

²³⁶ "Dr. Ware Day Set at Stockdale," *San Antonio Express*, October 17, 1954.; *General Register of the Students and Former Students of the University of Texas*, 1917.

In fact, Ware lost at least four patients due to appendicitis and/or complications from appendectomies.²³⁷ In the case of Andrew Wesley Smith, the husband of Ware's practical nurse, he began suffering his attack of appendicitis in June of 1917. "He passed it off and didn't do anything about it," until July 2nd, when he fainted. Ware called in San Antonio physician Frank Paschal to operate, and she administered ether anesthesia. It is unknown if his appendix had become infected by this point, but the doctors nevertheless deemed Smith's operation a success. Still, he developed what they reported as ether pneumonia and died on July 5, 1917.²³⁸

In the end, the sanitarium did not seem to take off as well as Ware's regular practice, and the isolation of the rural area continued to play a part in medical treatment. Once, in 1931, a Stockdale man, John E. Wheeler, or "Big John" as the locals called him, made a record trip from Stockdale to San Antonio in an hour and ten minutes to obtain an oxygen tank in an effort to save the life of one of Ware's patients, twenty-one year old John Carroll suffering "a complication of pneumonia with typhoid fever." The San Antonio Fire Department met the man, sirens blaring, on the outskirts of the city at Ware's request.²³⁹ In another instance in 1931, the same man transported the victim of a serious vehicular accident, the son of a prominent Bexar County judge, to San Antonio for Ware.²⁴⁰ Not until the 1940s, did closer hospitals finally become a reality with the

²³⁷ "William D. Halland," 1930, "James Hamilton," 1911, "Juanita Rifos," 1922, "Andrew Wesley Smith," 1917, Wilson County, Texas Death Certificates.

²³⁸ "Andrew Wesley Smith," 1917, Texas Death Certificates.; "Story told to Ronald Akin by his grandmother Clara Smith," Smith Cohea Caraway Family Papers.

²³⁹ "Record Trip Made For Oxygen Tank: Stockdale-San Antonio Run Time Hour, 10 Minutes," *San Antonio Express*, July 19, 1931.

²⁴⁰ "County Judge's Son in Accident: Herdsman in Critical Shape, Wurzbach Slightly Hurt As Truck Overturns," *San Antonio Express*, June 13, 1931.

opening of Blake Hospital and Oxford Hospital in the county seat of Floresville. With automobiles and paved roads more common, Seguin Hospital in the nearby town of Seguin and Santa Rosa Hospital in San Antonio also became popular. Ware eventually managed cases at the Santa Rosa Hospital, such as that of W.M. Carr, who underwent an operation for kidney stones there in 1947.²⁴¹

As previously mentioned, Ware called in colleagues for greater expertise, but she also teamed up with physicians to offer her own skill.²⁴² In one example, in 1906, she worked with older physician, James Bird Holland. Unlike many of the earlier physicians in the area, Holland was actually formally educated, graduating from the Medical Branch of Peabody at the University of Nashville Medical College in 1860. He practiced in Stockdale, for many years with his own faithful companion, a dog, at his side, until his death in 1911.²⁴³ Still, his education predated Ware's and many modern medical advances by several decades. So it was together the doctors rendered aid to Charlie Denning, a seven-year-old who "...fell from a windmill tower...seriously injuring himself." The San Antonio newspaper received a same day "special correspondence" on the incident, and reported "it cannot yet be ascertained what the results will be," but Denning recovered, and perhaps due in part to the more modern medical care rendered by Ware.²⁴⁴

²⁴¹ "W.M. Carr Undergoes Operation At Santa Rosa," unknown newspaper clipping, February 19, 1947.

²⁴² Edith Akin, Interview.

²⁴³ Lorenz, *Stockdale: A Glimpse Into The Past*.; Freda Elaine Garner, "Stockdale Had Important Part in Early Wilson County History," *Floresville Chronicle-Journal*, September 16, 1960.

²⁴⁴ "Boy Is Injured," *The Daily Express*, May 13, 1906.; Census records.

Attempts to save others in accidents like burns, drowning, farm equipment mishaps, gunshot wounds, or lightning strikes did not always yield positive results. Even with Ware's more modern brand of medicine, doctoring, as always, remained a practice, which besides her own skill, depended on the diagnostics tests and treatments available at the time. Even one's best efforts could often be futile. The physicians in the area, including Ware, conducted very few, if any, autopsies and causes of death are sometimes prefaced with "probably." Some cases also remained mysteries or debatable. One example is the strange 1917 death of Alma (Smith) Wallace at age thirty-three:

She died in convulsions taking several men to hold her down. Dr. Ella Ware told Clara Smith, many years later, she felt Alma had died of rabies. Alma had white rats as pets and they often bit her. This and the convulsions made Dr. Ware think Alma's illness was rabies.²⁴⁵

On her death certificate, however, another local physician, Clyde Christian Hake, wrote it off as an ongoing case of Pellagra, a deficiency in the vitamin niacin, which is somewhat commonly listed as a cause of death in the area, but Ware believed it to really be rabies.

Epidemics and infections also proliferated, and with their nature still not fully understood, it left physicians with just the option of "doing the best they could" to manage them.²⁴⁶ The previously mentioned implementation of hygiene practices helped, but another key development, antibiotics, were not discovered until 1928, more than half way through Ware's career, and were not even in widespread use until later. Thus, with sometimes only palliative methods, she dealt with cases of diseases including cholera,

²⁴⁵ "Story told to Ronald Akin by his grandmother Clara Smith," Smith Cohea Caraway Family Papers.

²⁴⁶ Chester R. Burns, "Epidemic Diseases," *Handbook of Texas Online*, June 12, 2010, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/sme01>.

dengue, diphtheria, dysentery, malaria, measles, meningitis, pertussis, tetanus, tuberculosis, typhoid, and typhus.

While according to death records during Ware's years of practice, Stockdale normally experienced somewhere around ten to thirty deaths from all causes each year, the 1918 Influenza Pandemic struck the community hard.²⁴⁷ In that year alone, a huge spike of seventy-one deaths occurred, of those, at least thirty seem directly attributed to influenza. Young adults suffered especially. The deaths rates remained high throughout the rest of the epidemic, which lasted until around 1920. During this time, Ware employed a black man to take care of her home. She enlisted him to make huge pots of soup that she took to the sick families, making endless carriage trips back and forth for days on end until the crisis ended, often with just her trusty horse chauffeuring.²⁴⁸

Aside from epidemics, dying from something as commonplace as strep throat also remained a real possibility, as was the case of a fourteen-year-old whom Ware treated, sadly recording his occupation as "school boy" on his death certificate.²⁴⁹ Without vaccines, children also commonly died from diphtheria, measles, tetanus, pertussis (whooping cough), and general enteritis or stomach bugs. They held better odds if they could make it past the two-year age mark, but many likely now preventable deaths occurred. Ware sadly recorded the occupation of another girl as "child at home."²⁵⁰ In still another example, she sent a special correspondence to the San Antonio newspaper on the sudden death of a young patient from diphtheria, "little Glenn Moffitt, 6," "...ill only

²⁴⁷ Ted Akin, 2008.

²⁴⁸ Dulce Lea Ware, 2015.

²⁴⁹ 1941, Wilson County, Texas Death Certificates.

²⁵⁰ 1920, Wilson County, Texas Death Certificates.

six days, having complained of being terribly sick while at school Thursday of last week.” “He started school only this year,” she reported. “He was the only son of Mr. and Mrs. R. L. Moffitt.”²⁵¹

Knowing her patients so well required Ware, like other rural physicians, to maintain emotional control. It helped that unlike when she could just watch powerlessly as her own mother suffered through illness, she now held tools to act. She devotedly saw many a patient both in and out of this world, from hearing their first cry to sitting with them until their last breath. She often cared for up to three generations of a family, unless “the stork beat her there.”²⁵² She treated her own family members, and delivered a great many of the children of her siblings, other relatives, and eventually, great nieces and nephews. Ware delivered one of these great nieces, a five-and-a-half pound Dulce Lea, when she arrived early on her parent’s visit to Stockdale.²⁵³ Finally, she attended her own father and three of her brothers on their deathbeds and signed their death certificates.²⁵⁴

Maternal Care

Despite acting as a general physician, maternal care accounted for a very large portion of Ware’s rural practice. She is noted to have delivered over 6,000 babies in her career, an estimate, which based on birth records, seems accurate. Around the turn of the

²⁵¹ “Diphtheria Causes Death,” *San Antonio Express*, February 6, 1932.

²⁵² “Fiftieth Anniversary of Medical School Observed By Dr. Ella Ware, Local Physician,” *Stockdale Star*, Mary 12, 1949.

²⁵³ “Between Us Storks,” *The Waco News-Tribune*, July 17, 1938.

²⁵⁴ “B.F. Ware,” 1930, “Calvin Anderson Ware” 1931, “W.R. Ware,” 1947, “R.M. Ware Senior,” 1948, Wilson County, Texas Death Certificates.; “W.R. Ware Passes Tuesday At Home Of Dr. Ella Ware,” *Stockdale Progress*, 1947.

century, midwives still attended somewhere up to seventy-five percent of all births in the state, with physician-assisted childbirths remaining rare for small Texas communities, especially in minority populations, for quite some time. Even in the city of Fort Worth in 1931, a physician estimated ‘that over sixty percent of all deliveries were handled by midwives, and the more affluent were going to Dallas to have their babies.’²⁵⁵

Interestingly, in Ware’s rural area with limited education and poverty, just about everyone benefited from this “affluent privilege” of an attending doctor. Although some surely remained unreported, very few midwife or unassisted births appear in birth records throughout her time of practice.

Just like Ware’s nutrition-based treatments, homebirth allowed for the kind of humanistic care popular with female physicians and healers throughout history.²⁵⁶ She could care for women in their homes, while adding a touch of modern medicine, using her training for the delivery, and bringing babies she determined needed further care to her own home for a makeshift form of neonatal intensive care.²⁵⁷ In at least one case in 1938, a crude incubator equaled just an oval granite dishpan and jars of warm water to place around the newborn, but it worked.²⁵⁸ At age seventy-eight, Ware cared for one of the last premature babies she delivered “...for 27 hours in her own home before he was

²⁵⁵ Celia Neavel, Mary Walker, Helen Austin, and Yvonne D. Knudson, “Lay Medicine,” in *Rural Medicine in Texas – A Study*, Texas Rural Health Field Services Program University of Texas at Austin School of Nursing, December 1982.; Cheryl Ellis Vaiani, “Women and Health,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, June 15, 2010, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/smwbn>.

²⁵⁶ Riska, *Medical Careers and Feminist Agendas*, 3.

²⁵⁷ “Ella Ware Fete Cancelled,” *San Antonio Light*, May 13, 1949.; Steen, interview.

²⁵⁸ Dulce Lea Ware, 2015.

out of danger.”²⁵⁹ Not all mothers in rural Texas held the choice of a trained female physician for their deliveries, but it appears they found it valuable when they did, frequenting her more for this purpose than available male physicians. Women accompanied Ware at the births, her sister Mayme and other aides she employed assisting, and female family members of the expectant mother sitting by for added support like making meals. She dispatched her nurses and aides after the births to check on the mothers and newborns and help with breastfeeding. Ware herself also made visits to check on babies that were born without her aid.²⁶⁰

She did not lose many, if any, mothers directly in childbirth. However, the pregnancy and postpartum period remained somewhat precarious. A sixteen-year-old Mexican American woman died before giving birth from preeclampsia and pulmonary edema and another Mexican American woman died a few days after giving birth due to uremic poisoning and a preexisting case of cirrhosis of the liver.²⁶¹ Ware heroically saved the lives of both her nephew’s wife and baby, previously mentioned, in an instance of the very serious condition of placenta previa, in which the placenta started to come away from the uterus before the baby was born.²⁶² Despite her success with avoiding maternal mortality, stillbirth remained common, as did infant death.

These losses most frequently reported to result from “premature birth.” Gestation dates are not usually included on death certificates, but two are specially noted as “only

²⁵⁹ “Ella Ware Fete Cancelled,” *San Antonio Light*, May 13, 1949.

²⁶⁰ Edith Akin, interview.

²⁶¹ 1912, 1924, Wilson County, Texas Death Certificates.

²⁶² Dulce Lea Ware, 2015.

six-month pregnancies.”²⁶³ Other complications also arose that explained loss of life. “Failure of blood to coagulate, hemorrhage from umbilical, excessive blood loss and its effects lasting six days” is noted as the cause of one death, “exhaustion and extreme weakness” as another, “renal malformation” as another, and “a central hernia” as another.²⁶⁴ Ware saved the life of at least one baby brought to her by the father, Calvin Furr, by taking a soldering iron to the newborn’s bleeding umbilical cord stump to cauterize it.²⁶⁵ In Mexican American infant deaths attended by all area physicians, malnutrition is sometimes noted. Ware recorded “chilled, extreme cold and poverty” in one of these cases, “tubercular meningitis, born and reared in tuberculosis home, very unsanitary surroundings” in another, and “syphilis from the mother” in another.²⁶⁶

Difficult births also played a role in infant survival. She reported eclampsia and placenta previa of a mother contributed to one stillbirth, “severe choking and compression due to excessive wrapping around body umbilical cord cutting of (entirely) circulation lived (feebly) 2 minutes” to another, “cyanosis,” or bluish discoloration “from mother’s condition” to another, “enormous size of baby-too large to be born alive” to another, and finally, “difficult forceps extraction born dead, with the size and shape of the mother’s pelvis contributing” to another.²⁶⁷

Overall, without surviving case reports from her general practice, an examination of birth records provides a unique look at the challenging cases Ware dealt with on a day-

²⁶³ 1921, Wilson County, Texas Death Certificates.

²⁶⁴ 1912, 1927, 1944, Wilson County, Texas Death Certificates.

²⁶⁵ Ted Akin, 2008.

²⁶⁶ 1936, 1938, Wilson County, Texas Death Certificates.

²⁶⁷ 1919, 1931, 1937, 1925, Wilson County, Texas Death Certificates.

to-day basis. While, Ware became her area's go to obstetrician, this did not necessarily only relate to her sex. In isolated areas, one physician often addressed a wide variety of a community's needs, including childbirth, and contemporary male general practitioners just as often held the highly regarded position in their rural communities. Still, Ware's female patients appreciated having a woman physician. In a case of the best of both worlds, it seems they felt she offered elements from traditionally female-centered homebirth couched in science.

The Business of Practicing

Due to updating their educations, the female physicians traveled more extensively than most turn-of-the-century women. While Ware seemingly limited her own trips to within the contiguous United States, she certainly logged many more miles than the average woman living in her rural Southern community. She went to New York several times, including for her post-graduate education in 1901, for six weeks of lectures in 1908, and to attend the New York Post-Graduate School in 1909. In 1914 she traveled to Chicago for several weeks to take a postgraduate course and she also studied in San Francisco at some time.²⁶⁸ It is noted she always took "a very full schedule and specialized in laboratory."²⁶⁹ She returned to Galveston on occasion to take advantage of summer sessions UTMB offered "...free of charge...to those Texas physicians desirous

²⁶⁸ "Five Years Later...Community Will Pay Homage to Woman Physician," *The Bonham Daily Favorite*, October 19, 1954. Pearson, "Dr. Ella Ware."; Steen, interview.; "Stockdale," *San Antonio Express*, April 2, 1901.; "Stockdale," *San Antonio Express*, May 17, 1914.; "Stockdale Society News," *San Antonio Express*, April 5, 1908.; *Post-Graduate*, 24, no. 1 (June 1909): 658.; *The University of Texas Record* 4 (1902): 157.

²⁶⁹ "Fiftieth Anniversary of Medical Practice Observed By Dr. Ella Ware, Local Physician," *Stockdale Star*, May 12, 1949.

of continuing their studies along advanced lines.”²⁷⁰ Finally, Ware regularly made trips to the nearest city of San Antonio for meetings and supplies, staying a few days at a time at local hotels. She mostly traveled alone, but sometimes with family members, and “shunned vacations” except for these necessary work trips.²⁷¹

Practicing in Stockdale and surrounding rural areas, home to a rather large percentage of low-income residents, did not always make for the most monetarily lucrative career. Ware often received payment in the form of goods, including wood, hay, pigs, turkeys, chickens, eggs, a load of watermelons, other garden produce, and sometimes even land.²⁷² There is record of her taking at least one case for payment to town officials, in which the settlement read, “Dr. Ware was to be paid \$6.00 for house call and lab test for diphtheria in the case of Hazel Wilkinson.”²⁷³ But, she generally charged as much as she felt a family could afford, meaning nothing in some cases.²⁷⁴ Other times, families, “‘them that just didn’t have it at the time’ paid for the last child she delivered when the next one came.”²⁷⁵ Residents also knew Ware to consider just a warm

²⁷⁰ “Additional Physicians Register for Clinics,” *Galveston Daily News*, May 28, 1924.; “Stockdale,” *San Antonio Express*, May 17, 1914.; “Stockdale,” *San Antonio Express*, March 9, 1919.; “Stockdale Society,” *The Daily Express*, September 23, 1906.; “Interesting News from Stockdale,” *San Antonio Gazette*, September 22, 1906.; “Stockdale,” *San Antonio Express*, March 9, 1919. “Hotel Arrivals,” *The Galveston Daily News*, September 17, 1906.

²⁷¹ “Five Years Later...Community Will Pay Homage to Woman Physician,” *The Bonham Daily Favorite*, October 19, 1954.

²⁷² Akin, interview.; “Five Years Later...Community Will Pay Homage to Woman Physician,” *The Bonham Daily Favorite*, October 19, 1954.; “Dr. Ella Ware to Be Feted By Her Patients,” *San Antonio Express*, October 15, 1954.

²⁷³ Lorenz, *Stockdale: A Glimpse Into The Past*.

²⁷⁴ Louis Engelke, “Woman Doctor, 80, ‘Celebrates’ in Hospital, *San Antonio Evening Express*.; Steen, interview.

²⁷⁵ “Five Years Later...Community Will Pay Homage to Woman Physician,” *The Bonham Daily Favorite*, October 19, 1954. Louis Engelke, “Woman Doctor, 80, ‘Celebrates’ in Hospital, *San Antonio Evening Express*.

meal as payment for a birth. One family felt ashamed they could only offer her cornbread and beans, but this mattered not to her.²⁷⁶ Another woman paid for services with a quilt made out of tobacco sacks, and Ware commended her for working long and hard as the pieces were so small.²⁷⁷ When she did ask for a cash payment, in her early days she charged as little as four to six dollars for a delivery. Later, she charged ten dollars and up to twenty-five dollars if she traveled a long distance.²⁷⁸ By 1938, she charged one couple thirty-five dollars, which the husband made in payments.²⁷⁹ Once, two “city men” involved in a car accident became amused over her charging them only two dollars for treatment and twenty-five cents for bandaging.²⁸⁰ One young Mexican American patient, a Rosalio Garza, relied upon donations by a sociedad mutualista (mutual aid society), the Mexican Blue Cross, to pay for care provided by Ware, and received three dollars for membership to the organization, six dollars in cash, and four dollars and forty cents in provisions.²⁸¹

Despite serving in an area with poor residents, a thriving business and entrepreneurial mindset allowed Ware to still become successful within her own community. As mentioned, in about only five years she established her clientele, and soon entered a period of economic prosperity. In 1906, she, as a feme sole, purchased three and a half acres of land from her brother Bartlett and his wife for \$330. That same

²⁷⁶ Ruth Childress, conversation with author, Stockdale, Texas, March 30, 2008.

²⁷⁷ Steen, interview.

²⁷⁸ Marilyn McGrew, Family Papers.; “Money, Letters Pouring in to Dr. Ella Ware,” *San Antonio Express*, October 29, 1954.

²⁷⁹ Edith Akin, interview.

²⁸⁰ Newspaper clipping, *San Antonio Express*, unknown date.

²⁸¹ “La Cruz Azul Mexicana de Stockdale Socorre a un Enfermo,” *Prensa*, March 19, 1927.

year, for \$700, she also bought sixty-six acres of land along Ecletto Creek. In 1909, she erected her sanitarium and her third consecutive office building and by 1911, purchased more property and built a new office on Main Street, paying extra to have a very old, beloved cedar tree on the site removed with roots intact to spare it.²⁸² This office had an adjoining building she rented out as a store. Throughout this time, she also kept several boarders at her home for added income. Not long after, she built yet another office “on a lot where the peanut building [was] by Mr. H.P. Smith, druggist.” She kept this arrangement for forty more years.²⁸³ In 1912, she bought her first automobile, a REO.²⁸⁴ As previously mentioned, she later owned multiple business coupes (as opposed to a regular touring car or 4-door coupe), and in 1924 she is one of the very few women listed in the San Antonio newspaper auto news section for having made purchases alongside “prominent oil men.”²⁸⁵

Soon after she returned to Stockdale to establish her practice, her father also opened a large, successful store of his own on Main Street, adding to the family’s clout.²⁸⁶ In 1911, the same year Ware built her office in town, her father and brothers filed a state charter for “C.A. Ware and Son” with a capital stock of \$35,000.²⁸⁷ Known

²⁸² Steen, interview. “Stockdale,” *San Antonio Express*, December 23, 1911.

²⁸³ “Fiftieth Anniversary of Medical Practice Observed By Dr. Ella Ware, Local Physician,” *Stockdale Star*, May 12, 1949.

²⁸⁴ “Dr. Ella Ware,” Mary Lea Ware Pearson.; “Fiftieth Anniversary of Medical Practice Observed By Dr. Ella Ware, Local Physician,” *Stockdale Star*, May 12, 1949.

²⁸⁵ “Pickups by Barney,” *San Antonio Express*, February 17, 1924.

²⁸⁶ Census records.; Texas Death Certificates.; Karnes and Wilson County Land Transaction Records.

²⁸⁷ “State Charters Filed,” *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, March 16, 1911.

as “the store” in town, C.A. Ware and Son Hardware carried everything “from pink, silk parasols to wagons.” Of Ware’s ever business-minded father it is humorously said:

If Mr. Ware was over-stocked with some goods that were not moving quickly enough to please him, he would try to sell these items to his customers, regardless of what they had asked to purchase. A man entered his store one day to buy some axle grease, which Ware did not have in stock. A few minutes later the man was seen leaving the store shaking his head and carrying a small bag of lemons.²⁸⁸

In the 1930s, when Ware herself built “one of the nicest homes in town,” she inspected each every load of lumber for knotholes or other flaws.²⁸⁹ In the 1940s, she reported income from other sources in addition to her practice. She also began to outfit the home with new, modern appliances.²⁹⁰ When Ware erected her hospital the newspaper reported, “Dr. Ware is a member of an old family of Southern Texas and, in addition to her zeal as a physician, she is a capable business woman and has made a reputation for ability in the world of business as well as science.”²⁹¹ The local pharmacist, who did business with her for many years, also alluded to this skill of Ware’s when writing on the ability of doctors to make money in Stockdale.²⁹²

All told, she held a unique place in the community in that she had more money than most women, and even most residents, to manage all to herself. She liked nice things, but when it came down to it, Ware often used the fees she did collect “to buy groceries and household necessities for patients” and aid in other ways as “...when

²⁸⁸ Lorenz, *Stockdale: A Glimpse Into The Past*.

²⁸⁹ Akin, interview. Dave Fittery and Mary Lucille Ware Fittery Parsons, interview.

²⁹⁰ Dave Fittery and Mary Lucille Ware Fittery Parsons, interview.

²⁹¹ “Stockdale Woman Physician is Building a Modern Sanitarium,” *The Daily Express*, November 14, 1909.

²⁹² L.R. Smith, “Stockdale Apology Asked,” *San Antonio Express*, November 12, 1954.

patients were near destitute, [she] would always arrive with food, clothing, or other articles.”²⁹³ In one example early on in 1904, she bought a half-acre of land from Antonio Martinez for the equivalent of \$40, \$20 in cash and \$20 in “his children’s actual necessities they now being in actual want and unable to secure food” and bought another half acre he conveyed to some other residents, perhaps to hold the property for him.²⁹⁴ Still, in another humorous and possibly embellished story, it is said she did become very concerned about finances during Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s Bank Holiday of 1933, in which, worried about the town’s bank being unhealthy, she reportedly tried to climb in the window and retrieve her money.²⁹⁵

Throughout Ware’s career, she hired several employees including assistants, custodians, drivers, housekeepers, lab workers, servants, and nurses, providing jobs for many of the locals.²⁹⁶ Ware employed many young adults, particularly women just out of high school, eventually some whom she delivered. Ella Miller, an African American woman, recalled how as a girl, she cleaned Ware’s office and helped load and unload her doctor case for fifty cents a week.²⁹⁷ She taught most of her nursing employees their

²⁹³ “Dr. Ella Ware to Be Feted By Her Patients,” *San Antonio Express*, October 15, 1954. “Dr. Ware Day Set at Stockdale,” *San Antonio Express*, October 17, 1954.

²⁹⁴ Wilson County deed records.

²⁹⁵ “Memory from Betty Byrd’s Father,” Pat Lorenz relaying a conversation with Betty Byrd’s father, interview by author, Stockdale, February 12, 2008.

²⁹⁶ Steen, interview.; “Stockdale Honors Dr. Ella Ware, ‘Country Doctor,’” Woman’s Collection, Texas Women’s University.; Census records. Throughout the years workers included, but were not limited to: Walter Chavis (servant), Helen Birkner Christa (assistant), Mary Drzymala Jarzombek, (maid), Frances Kolodziej Kotara (aide and chauffeur), Ella Miller (aide and custodian), William H. Norris (chauffeur), Clara Allyne Reed Smith (nurse), Mary Taylor Robinson (nurse), Annie Skloss Wiatrek (servant), and Lucy Wiatrek Dugi (servant).

²⁹⁷ Ella Miller, “Helping Others,” in *Stockdale: A Glimpse Into the Past*, by Birdie Lorenz.

skills, as few held formal training.²⁹⁸ Ware's longest serving employee, Augustine Morales worked for her for thirty years.²⁹⁹ He and his wife Belen Garza Morales later worked as a team, living on her property, where he acted as Ware's chauffeur, tended her animals, and garden and she did the doctor's cooking and cleaning.³⁰⁰ Ware never charged one of her practical nurses, Clara Smith, a young widow with eight children, for medical care for her family. She had treated and signed the death certificate for Clara's husband, who died after the previously mentioned operation for appendicitis.³⁰¹ In 1912, Ware's own sister, Mary Ann "Mayme" Ware, gained her diploma as a trained nurse after completing a two-year program at the Physicians and Surgeons Hospital in San Antonio. Thereafter, she lived and often worked with her sister.³⁰²

In a hazard of the profession no doctor was immune to, Ware did at least once face a lawsuit. It came from M.C. Mills, a man she treated for pneumonia for three weeks, after which she consulted on his case with prominent San Antonio physician Frank Paschal.³⁰³ She and Paschal decided to perform a procedure to drain Mills' lung, leaving a tube in overnight, which became lost in his lung. Paschal and Floresville physician J.W. Oxford later completed another operation to remove the tube in San Antonio. Mills sued Ware and Paschal for damages of "\$12,500 because 'his health was

²⁹⁸ Edith Akin, interview.

²⁹⁹ "Dr. Ella Ware to Be Feted By Her Patients," *San Antonio Express*, October 15, 1954.

³⁰⁰ Dave Fittery and Mary Lucille Ware Fittery Parsons, interview.

³⁰¹ Edith Akin, interview.; "Andrew Wesley Smith," 1917. Texas Death Certificates.

³⁰² "Eight Get Diplomas As Trained Nurses: Exercises for Physicians and Surgeons School Are Held at Woman's Club," *San Antonio Light*, May 16, 1912.

³⁰³ Pat Ireland Nixon, "Pascal, Frank," *Handbook of Texas Online*, June 15, 2010, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fpa44>.

permanently destroyed.” It is unknown what became of the suit.³⁰⁴ There is also unsubstantiated talk of a surgical case she attended in the community of Kosciusko, over which she reportedly nearly lost her medical license, and was required to have a Physician’s Assistant with her when she operated in the future. It is unclear whether this is the same or a different case, or if it is even factual.³⁰⁵

In the end, Ware acted as head of her household and a breadwinner throughout most of her working years, except for when she first moved back from school. At that time, she lived together with her brother, Bartlett, who was a twenty-seven-year-old salesman at their father’s general store. Their siblings Richard, a twenty-four-year-old bookkeeper, Sophronia, a twenty-two-year-old boarding house keeper, and Neppie, a fifteen-year-old student, also lived at the residence. In 1910, Ware, age thirty-nine, acted as head of her own household, with three of her sisters living with her, Sophronia, age thirty, with no employment, Neppie, age twenty-four, a retail merchant at their father’s general store, and Mayme, age twenty, with no employment. A total of five other young adults also lived at the home, including a nineteen-year-old hospital nurse, twenty-two and twenty-four-year-old public school teachers and boarders, and fourteen and eighteen-year-old female and male servants. By 1920, Ware’s father, age seventy-two, moved in with her although his wife still lived, and he is nominally listed as the head of household. Mayme, by then a trained nurse, also lived at the home, as did a chauffeur. Then in 1930, Ware is back to the position of head of the household, with her father still living with her, as well as a twenty-year-old maid. Finally, in the last census available from 1940, Ware

³⁰⁴ “Tube Left in Lung Results in \$12,500 Suit: Wilson County Farmer Sues Two Physicians,” *San Antonio Express*, November 21, 1929.

³⁰⁵ Lorenz, interview.

acted as head of the household, made up of her sister Mayme, a private nurse, and a nineteen-year-old lodger and servant.

Her Medical Community

Although there are years Ware acted as the only physician in Stockdale, in addition to the aforementioned Benjamin Franklin Johnson and James Bird Holland, other male physicians practiced in the town throughout different points in her career. Towards the start, this included H.A. Dealton (educated at a Texas institution, 1892), who practiced in the area from at least around 1902-1903, Charles R. Watkins (unknown medical school, 1896), who very briefly practiced in Stockdale and later nearby Floresville, Jacob Thompson Burrows (Texas Medical College, a private precursor to UTMB, circa 1872-1874), who practiced in Guadalupe County, then Floresville, and finally Stockdale until around the time of his death in 1909, and J. Gordon Springer (education unknown), who practiced in the town around 1912.³⁰⁶

Later, Clyde Christian Hake, who gained an allopath license in Texas in 1907, practiced quite frequently in Stockdale despite his lesser credentials, beginning around 1913 until he died in 1922. Ware even gave the information for his death notice in *The Directory of Deceased American Physicians*.³⁰⁷ Joseph Wakefield Jones, who attended Eclectic Medical Institute in Cincinnati, Ohio from 1888-1889 and received more training in Missouri in 1894, practiced in the area from 1910 until around the time of his death in 1933, with “a short break” in which he moved to LaCoste, Texas, until the Great

³⁰⁶ “Wilson County Medical Society,” *Texas Medicine* 7, no. 2 (June 1911): 72.

³⁰⁷ Census records. *The Standard Medical Directory of North America*, 1902, 511. *Polk’s Medical Register and Directory of the United States and Canada*, 4th ed. (Detroit and Chicago: R.L. Polk and Co. Publishers, 1896), 1451.

Depression hit, and “the Stockdale people convinced him to return.”³⁰⁸ William Henry Buchanan May (University of Tennessee, 1914) very regularly practiced in the area around the 1925-1930s, and David Thompson Wood, a naturopathic doctor, opened a hospital and practiced, with his wife Ethel acting as a nurse, from 1940 until his death in 1954. Ethel at some point pursued either a naturopath’s license or some medical degree of her own in Nashville, Tennessee, and may have returned to the town to practice.³⁰⁹

Finally, at times, doctors from surrounding communities of Floresville, Nixon, and Fall City saw patients in and around the town and a few other men briefly practiced in the community but soon stopped, perhaps not finding it very profitable.³¹⁰ Stockdale also supported several, sometimes self-appointed, sometimes educated druggists, who dispensed medical advice of their own, as well as a dentist. All in all, throughout the years, the region actually offered a wide variety of male healthcare practitioners to choose from, but the absolute great many of people still chose Ware.

A reporter later asked the daughter of J.W. Jones, one of the aforementioned doctors who practiced in Stockdale for several years, “How did your father and the lady doctor get along?” She replied, “Oh they were competitors, I mean professional competitors, but personally they got along fine—they liked each other.”³¹¹ In another

³⁰⁸ “Eclectic Medical Institute of Cincinnati Matriculation Records,” Lloyd Library and Museum, 75, <http://www.lloydlibrary.org/EMI-1845-1939.pdf>.

³⁰⁹ Edith Akin, interview.; *Stockdale Progress* newspaper clippings, 1945, 1946.

³¹⁰ This included: Cullen Whitworth Archer and Jerry William Oxford (UTMB) of nearby Floresville who saw patients in and around the town. Nathan Avant Elder, Arch Corley Koonz, Virgil Cleyborn Littlefield (UTMB), M.C. Wheat, and Jefferson Woolsey of Nixon and Richard Coke Youngblood of Falls City sometimes did the this as well. A few other physicians only very briefly treated patients in Stockdale, perhaps finding it not very profitable, including Brenno Hugh Fultz around 1927-1928, Robert E. Rahm around 1937, and Albert Mouzon Gantt around 1939.

³¹¹ Hart Sitwell, “Texas Trails: Stockdale Had Woman Doctor,” *San Antonio Light*, January 6, 1967.

case, Ware did become offended when a patient took their daughter, who Ware had delivered, to naturopath D.T. Wood to have her tonsils removed. Ware confronted the mother as she passed by her office when walking to Wood's sanitarium, and "pitched a fit," "going on and on about bringing her child into the world and now betrayed by her."³¹² Ultimately, for fifty years Ware "out-practiced" all of the Stockdale-based physicians, except perhaps James Bird Holland, who, as the most-established physician in the area prior to her, practiced for a great number of years prior to his death in 1911.

While Ware joined the Texas Medical Association soon after graduating and the American Medical Association in 1907, her wide-encompassing rural practice left little time for research, writing in medical publications, and advancing in the scholarly circle.³¹³ She did keep "quite an extensive medical library at home and at the office" and "enjoyed reading her books when the time permitted."³¹⁴ She regularly attended Karnes-Wilson and Wilson County Medical Association meetings and held various offices, including censor, vice president, and president.³¹⁵ She also hosted gatherings, for example, on one occasion the society's members and their wives along with special guests Dr. and Mrs. Pat Ireland Nixon and Dr. A.O. Severance of San Antonio dined at

³¹² "Memory from Mary Jo Salter," e-mail from Pat Lorenz.

³¹³ "Members Medical Association," *Transactions of the State Medical Association of Texas* 36 (Austin, TX: State Medical Association of Texas, 1904): 318.; "New Members," *The Journal of the American Medical Association* 48, no. 6 (February 1907): 538.

³¹⁴ "Fiftieth Anniversary of Medical Practice Observed By Dr. Ella Ware, Local Physician," *Stockdale Star*, May 12, 1949.

³¹⁵ "Stockdale," *San Antonio Express*, March 26, 1933.; "District Societies," *Texas State Journal of Medicine* 3, no. 9 (January 1908): 243.; "Society News," *Texas State Journal of Medicine* 10, no. 12 (April 1915): 529.; Texas Physicians Historical Biographical Database.

her home, at which Severance presented “an interesting paper.”³¹⁶ Ware attended events, such as entertainment given in honor of the Southwestern Medical Association at Sutherland Springs, and went to meetings in San Antonio, including annual conventions of the Fifth District Medical Society, a society composed of fourteen area counties. At the 1904 meeting, attendees heard speeches from a very male-centric line up including, the chief surgeon for the Southern Pacific Railroad, the president of the Business Men’s Club, the San Antonio mayor, judges, and a senator. The event also featured a “smoker,” traditionally a men’s party, given by the local entertainment committee. With a reported excellent attendance, Ware still appears to be the only woman physician present.³¹⁷ At least around 1945, and possibly in other years, Ware interestingly also belonged to the Fifth and Sixth District Women’s Auxiliary to the Texas Medical Association, a volunteer organization primarily made up of physicians’ wives formed in 1918 to promote “health-related community service, legislation, and political action.”³¹⁸ Finally, despite these showings, the state’s field of medicine remained quite disorganized into the twentieth century.³¹⁹ Ware’s local medical association appeared rather independent, rarely even sending in minutes and reports to the state association. In the end, this likely

³¹⁶ “Karnes-Wilson Counties Medical Society met July 14, at the home of Dr. Ella Ware,” *Texas State Journal of Medicine* 38 (1942): 358.

³¹⁷ “Fifth District Doctors: Large Attendance at Second Annual Meeting at San Antonio—Smoker Closed Proceedings,” *The Galveston Daily News*, August 26, 1904.; “Medical Men in Session: Fifth District Has Instructive and Interesting Meeting in City,” *San Antonio Express*, April 5, 1912.; “Physicians Meet Here: Fifth District Medical Association Holds Session,” November 17, 1910.; “Physicians’ Meeting Largely Attended,” *San Antonio Light*, November 2, 1905.

³¹⁸ “Women’s Auxiliary to the Medical Association of Texas,” *Texas State Medical Journal* 41 (June 1945): 104.

³¹⁹ Marilyn Baker, “Texas Medicine Chronicles a Century of Medical History,” *Texas Medicine* (July 2005).

also aided in Ware's acceptance among her contemporaries, as she mainly interacted with a small medical community to whom she closely related.

Her Female Contemporaries Practice

As previously mentioned, while Ware practiced in her rural area, her fellow female UTMB alumni generally did so in urban environments, that is as urban as Texas could be considered in the first half of the twentieth century. A few likewise practiced out of the state. Eight of these women appeared to practice general medicine or have no particular specialization. As suggested by their postgraduate work, many others concentrated in the fields of women and children, whether out of personal preference or availability of work. This included at least nine of the female graduates, with complex areas of interest including diseases of women and children, missionary work focused on pediatric cases, pediatric endocrinology, obstetrics and gynecology coupled with abdominal surgery, and university and school health services for female students. In addition, pathology seemed to be a favored field, with four women choosing to make it their career. Two women worked as psychiatrists, and the mental health field appeared to interest others, who while not committing their careers to it, worked stints at institutions. While only two women exclusively acted as professors of medicine, many taught at universities and hospitals in addition to practicing.³²⁰ Of the remaining women, two worked as anesthesiologists, two specialized in public health, and one practiced ophthalmology. Finally, two of the women's professional history is unclear.³²¹ Overall,

³²⁰ Marie "M." Charlotte Schaefer and Violet Hannah Keiller served as full time professors. In a few examples, in addition to their practices, Ray K. Daily taught at Baylor University College of Medicine, May Agnes Hopkins Reitzel taught at Baylor College of Medicine, Minnie L. Maffett taught at Baylor University College of Medicine and Southwestern Medical Foundation in Dallas.

³²¹ Census records.; Hospital articles.; Newspaper articles.; Texas Death Certificates.; *Texas Handbook Online*.; Texas medical journals.; University records.; U.S. City Directories, 1821-1989.; Mary Robert

the early Texas graduates' career focuses varied, and other early women physicians in Texas, educated outside the state, worked in an even wider range of fields.

Some works erroneously report that Marie Delalondre Dietzel, the first woman to graduate from UTMB, never practiced after obtaining her degree. This mistake perhaps stems from Dietzel never listing an occupation on censuses, as well as a general lack of information available on her life. Various records indicate that after reaching the legal age of eighteen, she filed for a medical certificate and opened an office in Galveston. She practiced for several years, at least up until marrying in 1906, and likely for some time thereafter.³²² The Texas women graduates accomplished many other new feats. In just a few examples, M. Charlotte Schaefer became the first woman to present a paper before the Texas Medical Association and served as UTMB's first female faculty member, Martha A. Wood became the first female to formally work as a pathologist in Texas and cofounded one of the first pathology laboratories (Schaefer also did work in pathology), Claudia Potter became the first woman anesthesiologist in the United States, possibly the first anesthesiologist in Texas, and after studying nitrous oxide at John Hopkins Hospital, became the first doctor to use gas anesthesia in Texas. Finally, Margaret Holliday Clark served as the first physician for women at the University of Texas Austin Health Services when it opened and Ada Ben Halbert Graham did the same at Baylor University. Earlier pioneer female physicians also left their mark. Florence E. Collins Matthews became one of the first women to join a medical association in the United States, the Texas Medical

"Robbie" (Davis) Matlock appears to work with her physician husband as possibly both a doctor and a nurse and Emma Jane (Beck) Rector seems to work with her horticulturist and florist husband as an assistant, yet her death certificate does list her occupation as "doctor."

³²² Census records.; "Filed Their Certificates," *The Galveston Daily News*, April 13, 1897. *The Galveston Daily News*, May 30, 1897.; "Miss Marie P Delalondre," Galveston, Texas, 1898, 1899, 1901, 1903, 1905, 1906, U.S. City Directories, 1821-1989.

Association in 1887, and Sofie Herzog Huntington served as the first woman railroad surgeon in the United States, and later the first female chief surgeon for a railroad.³²³

As previously mentioned, few of the other female grads experienced the effects of the rugged Texas terrain quite as much as Ware, but in a mostly rural state, no one remained untouched. Dallas grad Daisy Emery Allen and her physician husband traveled to hard-to-reach areas in the small towns they practiced by bicycle and later, motorcycle, May Agnes Hopkins Reitzel reportedly “kept a revolver under her seat” for her house calls around Dallas, and Hallie Earle also owned a gun for the same purpose.³²⁴ It is unknown if Ware employed any of these tactics. Despite practicing in cities, Martha A. Wood and Claudia Potter often attended surgeries in patients’ residences and Potter, in her work as an anesthesiologist, still seemed to have some experiences comparable to Ware, for example it is reported by historian Elizabeth Silverthorne:

During the early 1900s transportation was difficult, and many people thought of hospitals only as places to go to die. Consequently, surgery was frequently performed in homes, where Potter had to be on constant guard against the sparks from open fires and stoves that might ignite the highly inflammable anesthetics she was using. She and the surgeons traveled in blistering heat and freezing cold to operate on patients in outlying areas. They went in horse-drawn vehicles, unreliable early automobiles, train cabooses, and once in a terrifying ride in a tiny airplane. The team performed operations on kitchen and dining-room tables and on one occasion, when the patient's house was deemed too dirty to use, in a cotton field on boards set across sawhorses.³²⁵

³²³ Silverthorne and Fulgham, *Women Pioneers in Texas Medicine*, 71.; Elizabeth Silverthorne, “Herzog, Sofie Dalia,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, June 15, 2010, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fheec>.

³²⁴ Cara East and Debbie Bridges, “Women physicians at Baylor University Medical Center,” *Baylor University Medical Center Proceedings* 17, no. 3 (July 2004): 304-317.; Silverthorne and Fulgham, *Women Pioneers in Texas Medicine*, 80, 87.

³²⁵ Silverthorne, “Potter, Claudia,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, 2010.

Other women physicians, who obtained their educations outside the state, did practice in rural Texas areas, and at least parts of these women's careers match up with Ware's time of practice.³²⁶

Only one of these women ever appears to practice rural medicine in the same immediate geographical area contemporaneously to Ware, about fifteen to twenty miles away. Lena Fimpel Schreier, born in Wynot, Nebraska on November 23, 1883, "had doctoring in her blood." "Her grandmother was a midwife. Her mother was a neighborhood doctor – without formal training. Three cousins were nurses." Lena's family encouraged her medical school aspirations despite her living in a time "she had to see and do things around patients that a woman wasn't supposed to see or do." "The boys in class," she said, "would have been happy to throw me out." Yet Lena graduated from a Midwestern medical school, the University of Creighton at Omaha, Nebraska, in 1911 in a class of 160 members, including four other women. They became the first female graduates in the history of the school, and remained the only ones for several years.

Apparently, not all the boys disliked Lena, as she married classmate Alexander Rainold "A.R." Schreier. They planned to respectively work as a surgeon and women and children's specialist in some big city, but in their senior year A.R suffered from asthma, and a professor suggested they seek out a milder climate. So together, the couple first located above a drugstore in West, Texas, where the town's newspaper welcomed

³²⁶ For at least some time, the following women and possibly others practiced in then rural Texas communities: Francis Elizabeth Leakes Cummings in San Marcos, Grace Danforth in Granger and Terrell, Rosa B. Gates in McClennan County, Jennie Sausser Green in Corpus Christi, Mary Ann Headley in Hidalgo County, Sofie Herzog Huntington in Brazoria County, Juliet E. Marchant in La Porte, Caroline Peterson Mitchell in Orange, Emma Maddux Nelson in Terrell, Cora Viola Wells in Rogers, Mary Jane "Polly" Whittet in Anchorage.

them as Drs. Schreier and Schreier. Wishing them great success, the paper noted the couple impressively trained in a busy urban practice prior to moving to the rural area.³²⁷ Later, in 1914, both she and her husband joined nine other local physicians in publishing an appeal in the newspaper to receive adequate and timely payment for their services.³²⁸ By the following year, the couple moved, this time to an area close to Ware's community, the towns of Hobson and later Gillett in Karnes County. In 1916, Lena gave birth to her first son, in 1922, her husband bought the drugstore in Hobson, and then in 1924, Lena gave birth to another son, who only survived one month, dying at a hospital in San Antonio.³²⁹

At first during her time in rural south Texas, Lena seemingly held a less active patient load, perhaps due to her role as a new mother. She also likely assisted her husband in cases where only his name is recorded, and some birth certificates do list both of their names together as attending physicians. In Hobson, the couple treated a great number of Mexican American patients, much like Ware in Stockdale. Then, from around 1927 on, Lena, like Ware, developed a strong, independent following in the town of Gillett. In addition to the couple's regular Mexican American contingent, she began to deliver babies for many white mothers, in a sense "taking over" maternal care in an area previously treated only by male physicians. She even treated at least one Stockdale patient on record. A.R. also practiced in the area, but in many of these years, it seems to a lesser extent. By 1940, he suddenly appears married to the daughter of the prior drugstore proprietor.

³²⁷ "Will Locate Here," *The West Weekly News*, August 11, 1911.

³²⁸ "To the Public," *The West Weekly News*, December 18, 1914.

³²⁹ "Hobson, Texas," *Southern Pharmaceutical Journal* 14, no. 11 (July 1922): 488.

In an interview Lena gave on her sixty-year and counting career, she just noted she moved west after husband's passing. Yet A.R. died in 1956, and Lena last shows up in Texas records in 1939, reportedly starting a practice in an unnamed city in a state out West that same year. She did not find happiness in an urban environment however, and randomly found the small town of Huntington, Utah to practice in 1952, saying, 'When I first came here people thought I was crazy.'³³⁰ Lena regularly renewed her license in Utah, Oregon, Texas, and Washington, because according to her, 'you never know when you might want to go somewhere else.' Still, she stayed in Huntington, and died there on March 9, 1981 at the age of ninety-seven. She is buried in Texas in the Gillett Cemetery near her children and presumably ex-husband and his second wife.

Throughout her career, Lena, like Ware, focused on her patients' dietary needs, saying, 'It's appalling the adulterated stuff people put in their mouths. They're just digging their graves with their teeth.' She also acted as a makeshift therapist, sounding very reminiscent to the role Ware, at times, played in her own community, for example, an article notes: "She dispenses moral and spiritual counseling along with pills. She can be stern if she thinks she needs to. Or she can soothe an ache with a few words over the phone." "Her brand of medicine is 'psychological prophylactic' –liberal doses of philosophy to bring mental relief." As she explained herself:

My patients are my friends. Mental suffering is the most painful of all illnesses. People are brainwashed into thinking they're ill. When I was young nobody had ever heard of a gastric ulcer. Now they're common. The way people are drifting mentally is pathetic.

³³⁰ Judy Rollins, "Country Doctor Dispenses Counseling and Medicine," *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 3, 1971.

I spend a lot of time taking blood pressure. That's what my patients want me to do. It satisfies them mentally. Research has shown that fear can be destructive to the body. It can produce a chemical change in the blood.³³¹

Early Texas women physicians often held similar philosophies when it came to how they practiced medicine. As noted by historians Silverthorne and Fulgham, Waco, Texas physician Hallie Earle also embraced a practical approach, offering the following advice to her patients:

In those days of relatively unsophisticated medical techniques, she enhanced her medical advice with common sense, advising pregnant women to emulate mother cats: lazing around in their first months and stretching frequently. She also instructed patients (and guests in her home) to put their feet up when they sat, to help their circulation. She herself set an example by propping up her own feet in their neat black shoes on her desk as she conferred with patients.³³²

The women doctors also related in other ways. Stamina remained the name of the game, like Ware who frequently worked through the night, of Hallie Earle it is also said: "Her energy seems boundless, and she believed in and followed the adage that "a change is as good as a rest."³³³ While the other women may have not have always kept the same irregular hours as Ware and Earle, they did take on ambitious workloads, stretching themselves to the limit, teaching and volunteering in addition to their already busy practices. Also similarly to Ware with her hospital, other early women physicians saw needs in their communities and took action in forming asylums, medical departments, hospitals, schools and even churches.³³⁴

³³¹ Judy Rollins, "Country Doctor Dispenses Counseling and Medicine," *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 3, 1971.

³³² Silverthorne and Fulgham, *Women Pioneers in Texas Medicine*, 88.

³³³ *Ibid.*, 87-88.

³³⁴ For example, Margaret (Holliday) Clark established a private sanitarium in Austin apart from the state's insane asylum to exclusively handle the needs of mentally and physically disabled children ("Elm Grove Lodge," *Texas State Journal of Medicine Advertiser* 4, no. 10 (1909): 16.); Sofie Dalia (Herzog)

As many of the women physicians remained single, they faced an obstacle in obtaining passports to travel internationally, finding it necessary to apply under their often-deceased father's name. Sometimes Ware's female contemporaries helped each other gain passports by writing letters vouching for one another. Mary Eleanor Brackenridge, the sister of George W. Brackenridge, and an activist in her own right, also served as a reference, as did distinguished men from the other women physicians' communities, such as local attorneys and even a United States Commissioner. The women doctors occasionally traveled together and even independently with their young children, and many took trips for leisure later in life.³³⁵

Retrieving payment plagued period physicians, and similar to Ware and the Schreiers and other doctors in West, legal proceedings in the San Antonio newspaper also record women practitioners trying to recoup money owed to them.³³⁶ Like Ware, Daisy Emery Allen received land as compensation.³³⁷ Also reminiscent of Ware, Silverthorne and Fulgham note of Hallie Earle, "Her income was never large, partly because she did so much charitable work, and during the depression she lost some of her investment

Huntington, who paid for an Episcopalian church to be built in her community (Silverthorne, "Herzog, Sofie Dalia," *Handbook of Texas Online*, 2010.) May Agnes (Hopkins) Reitzel helped organize the Children's Clinic at Baylor Hospital ("Women physicians at Baylor University Medical Center," *Baylor University Medical Center Proceedings*: 304-317.); Ray K. Daily helped form the University of Houston (Lynwood Abram, "Houston's a better place, thanks to 'Dr. Ray' Daily, Chron.com, May 23, 2005, <http://www.chron.com/opinion/outlook/article/Houston-s-a-better-place-thanks-to-Dr-Ray-1916550.php>).

³³⁵ See, passport records and passenger and crew lists of Martha Alice Wood, Claudia Potter, May Agnes Hopkins Reitzel, Ray K. Daily (with young son), Ellen Carlotta/Charlotte Cover, Clara Gathright Cook, Mildred Washington Weeks Wells, Sarah Rudnick Jourdin, Bertha Elvira Stanley Byram, Marjorie Mason Jarvis Huston.

³³⁶ See, for example, "Dr. Ellen Charlotte Cover vs. Jose Montez et al: suit on note," *The San Antonio Light*, August 4, 1933.

³³⁷ Silverthorne and Fulgham, *Women Pioneers in Texas Medicine*, 82.

savings.”³³⁸ Many of the women still displayed financial success, with seemingly even greater returns earned by those who practiced in cities. Several owned high value homes in well-to-do neighborhoods, either on their own accord or with their husband, and hired servants.³³⁹ Many also acted as head of their household, supporting family members including their often retired, unemployed, or underemployed parents and siblings.³⁴⁰ Others excelled as businesswomen and became leaders in their communities, like Sofie Herzog Huntington, who invested in local business, Daisy Emery Allen, who dealt in real estate, and Minnie L. Maffett, who served as president of the state and national Federation of Business and Professional Women’s Clubs.³⁴¹

Ware’s female contemporaries also did not leave a great amount of published material. One San Antonio woman physician even recalled, “When finally accepted into membership [in the American Medical Association], many a woman doctor sat alone through society meetings, with empty chairs at each side of her. She was not asked to present scientific papers and ordinary professional courtesies were not accorded to her.”³⁴² And in fact, it is in these situations, the women seem to hit a ceiling, perhaps due to heightened fear of competition at this level. Whatever the reason, what the women did write, gives further insight into their fields of interest, their own views on their place in

³³⁸ Ibid., 88.

³³⁹ Census records.

³⁴⁰ Census records pertaining to Martha “A.” Alice Wood, Margaret Roberta Holliday Clark, May Agnes Hopkins Reitzel, Ray K Daily.

³⁴¹ Silverthorne and Fulgham, *Women Pioneers in Texas Medicine*, 77, 82.

³⁴² “Those Feminine Hands That Heal: Women Play an Increasing Role In the Many Facets of Medicine,” *San Antonio Express*, November 10, 1965.

the profession, and more on the relationships they developed as a doctor with their patients.

An overview of their articles reveals while the female physicians often focus on women and children, around an equal amount of other topics also garner attention. Mildred Washington Weeks Wells made an interesting connection between the two, channeling her work as an epidemiologist through the study of how common childhood illnesses spread through school ventilation systems.³⁴³ Other general observations from the women's writing include that they nearly always use male pronouns when referencing doctors, perhaps acknowledging their own rarity in the field, and they take on a very authoritative voice in their writing. In an article on breastfeeding, Mary Cleveland Harper speaks down to female patients, just as male physicians of the time did.³⁴⁴ Ware is said to have used a confident, authoritative, paternalistic demeanor with her own patients when she thought it necessary.³⁴⁵

Yet, while limited in their representation in the scholarly circle, the women did not face complete exclusion. In 1900, as previously mentioned, M. Charlotte Schaefer became the first woman invited to speak at the Texas Medical Association with her paper "Anchylostoma Duodenale in Texas" on intestinal parasites and the hookworm.³⁴⁶ And in 1916, the *Texas Medical Journal* even released a special issue highlighting the work of

³⁴³ Mildred Weeks Wells, "Ventilation in the Spread of Chickenpox and Measles with School Rooms," *Journal of the American Medical Association* 129, no. 3 (September 15, 1945): 197-200.

³⁴⁴ Mary Cleveland Harper, "Difficulties in Breast Feeding," *Texas Medical Journal* 32 (July 1916-June 1917): 397-405.

³⁴⁵ Steen, interview.

³⁴⁶ Marilyn Miller Baker, "Chronology of Texas Pathology," Appendix One, in *The History of Pathology in Texas* (Texas Society of Pathologists, 1996), 318.

some of the state's women physicians. This, as women physicians in Texas often did, garnered attention far and wide. The *Southern Clinic Journal*, proclaimed it, "...one of the brightest and best of any of our exchanges so far received, and the unusual part of it is that every one of its original articles are contributed by women physicians...We are proud of you as a representative of Southern medical journalism." And the *New York Medical Journal* reported:

DUX FEMINA FACTI. The publisher and manager of the *Texas Medical Journal*—the well known Red Black—is a clever woman, Mrs. F.E. Daniel. A sisterly instinct impelled her to fill the April issue of her admirable publication with original articles by women physicians, and the showing is creditable and interesting. Dr. Ray Karchmer Daily writes on "Vincent's Angina," Dr. Mary Cleveland Harper on "Difficulties in Breast Feeding," Ethel Lyon Heard on "Clean Milk," Dr. Violet H. Keiller on "Renal Tuberculosis," Dr. Minnie L. Maffett on "Abnormal Delinquency," and Dr. Martha A. Wood on "The Blood Smear in Diagnosis."³⁴⁷

Finally, in an issue of the *Medical Review of Reviews*, the editor, Dr. Ira S. Wile, published his complementary review:

In this issue, dedicated to the women physicians of America, we wish to make mention of the fact that the *Texas Medical Journal* is published and edited by a woman. Mrs. F.E. Daniel, the editor, has made a notable success of this journal, and we wish to compliment and encourage her for the valuable periodical which she is building up. The *Texas Medical Journal* devotes a great deal of space to the question of eugenics, and its Motherhood Department is unique. Women physicians would undoubtedly be very much interested in the journal, a sample of which will be sent upon request, by addressing Mrs. Daniel at Austin, Texas.³⁴⁸

Like Ware, her female contemporaries also kept on good terms with their male colleagues and even held lifelong friendships with some. This did not discourage them from confronting the men with their own professional opinion. As previously noted, Ware faced this task when sharing her up-to-date training with elder male physicians in

³⁴⁷ "Dux Femina Facti," *Texas Medical Journal* 32 (July 1916-June 1917): 36-37.

³⁴⁸ "Texas Medical Journal," *Medical Review of Reviews* 21, no. 5 (May 1915): 262.

her community. In an example from a contemporary, Margaret Holliday Clark wrote in an article, “The day is at hand when the physician who diagnoses as hysteria all emotional disturbances coming under his observation will be considered as ignorant and untrained as he who diagnoses appendicitis as ‘colic,’ explaining:

These patients are often accused of being coquettish and erotic. Investigation reveals that they are not coquettish but rather negligent of their personal appearance; vanity, an expression of selfishness, may be present but must not be mistaken for coquetry. As a result of the weakened will-power, these patients are always looking for assistance and naturally the physician becomes the director of their lives and must make all decisions for them, must be the master of their minds. As the physician is usually a man, this relation has led to the erroneous idea that these patients are unduly erotic. This is untrue they must have a stronger, healthy mind to direct them, and circumstances, not sex, determines the role of the physician.³⁴⁹

Attempts at organizing the women physicians of Texas also existed. In 1909, the American Medical Association appointed women physicians across the nation to almost entirely lead the work of the Public Health Education Committee. Austin physician Margaret Holliday Clark led the “great Southwest,” which included Texas, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, and New Mexico. A list of sixty-three Texas women physicians, including Ware, ran in the *Texas State Journal of Medicine*, asking for their participation in a very comprehensive public health agenda, noting, “Lectures will be arranged before women’s clubs, mothers’ and teachers’ organizations, Young Women’s Christian Associations, church and social settlement clubs, etc. Physicians everywhere are called upon to volunteer to deliver gratuitous addresses...”³⁵⁰

³⁴⁹ Margaret Roberta Holliday, “Hysteria. An Inquiry into its True Nature,” *Texas State Journal of Medicine* 4, no. 10 (February 1913): 247-50.

³⁵⁰ “Editorials,” *Texas State Journal of Medicine* 5, no. 10 (February 1910): 373.; See section 4 in Appendix for suggested topics for public health addresses by Texas women physicians.

In 1916, female students at UTMB made a call for Texas women physicians to gather at an open house at University Hall seemingly as a means to supplement the lack of networking benefits offered by fraternal organizations. They noted: "...an opportunity will be given for women physicians to meet each other, and it is hoped that a helpful bond of sympathy and interest will be thus formed, in addition to the incidental pleasures of the occasion." They listed forty-nine women physicians, which once again included Ware, and called for any additional women physicians.³⁵¹

Finally in 1918, women doctors who attended the fifty-second annual State Medical Association of Texas Convention in San Antonio received special mention in the report on the proceedings. This included Dr. Sofie Herzog Huntington of Brazoria, who is billed "the only woman railway surgeon in the United States" (actually probably the only female *chief* railroad surgeon, as other women served railroads by this point); Dr. Violet H. Keiller of Galveston, Dr. Martha A. Wood of Houston, and Dr. Belle C. Eskridge of Houston, as well as "several women physicians from the San Antonio area," which likely included Ware.³⁵²

Finally, it should be noted that women physicians in the Northeastern United States held similar experiences in types of practice to the women in Texas. Some of the Northeastern women reported 'cordial social recognition,' and others reported outright discrimination. "Many expressed deep gratification in such work."³⁵³ In her work, "*Send Us a Lady Physician:*" *Women Doctors in America 1835-1920*, Ruth J. Abrams

³⁵¹ "Women Physicians in Texas," *Texas State Journal of Medicine* 12 (1916): 40.

³⁵² "State Medical Association Proceedings," *Texas Medical Journal* 33, no. 12 (June 1918): 537.

³⁵³ Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science*, 91.

linked appreciation for women physicians to the nineteenth century. In this case, female doctors filled a void in women's healthcare due to Victorian morality, rather than being so equally accepted in general practice, as Ware later was in Texas. As in medical education, women in the Northeast began to face more backlash in practice with the push towards the standardization of medicine, making working as a woman physician more of a struggle there after the turn of the century. Works like Mary Roth Walsh's "*Doctors Wanted: No Women Need Apply: Sexual Barriers in the Medical Profession 1835-1975*," describe this occurrence.

Her Male Contemporaries Practice

Despite Ware's commonalities with her fellow female graduates in their overall acceptance in the state, her fellow male graduates' career paths actually most closely mimicked that of her own and the few other women physicians who practiced in rural Texas. An examination of these men's careers provides an outlet to assess if the rural women physicians' place of practice, more than their gender, may have influenced their work. For comparison, the vast majority of men from Ware's class also maintained private practices as general physicians and surgeons in small Texas towns, many also serving as local railroad surgeons. A few exhibited particular interests in obstetrics and gynecology and pediatrics, and some wrote a couple of articles on this and other topics, but overall, these men also did not leave a great amount of published material. Like some of the early female graduates, several men acted as public health officials.

In examples very reminiscent of Ware, one classmate, Samuel Neal Aston, who practiced in Coleman, Texas, is called a "pioneer doctor" in his obituary and is noted to

have delivered around 3,000 babies, never losing a mother.³⁵⁴ Classmate William Percy Baker, who ended up practicing in rural Washington and Alaska, is deemed an “oldtime country doctor,” so famed in his area that his name “was as well-known there as Abraham Lincoln was to the rest of the county.”³⁵⁵ Like Ware and her traveling stove and at-the-ready horse mounting system, Baker conceived of an idea to help cater to patients in his beloved rural area, “Pioneering in spirit the young doctor outfitted his own little ship, ‘The Pill Box,’ fitted as a traveling dispensary, to serve the isolated needs of fishing villages of southeastern Alaska.” In Schulenburg, Texas, another fellow alum, D.H. Clark, advertised practicing from his office at a local pharmacy in the daytime and his residence at night.³⁵⁶ Rogers Cocke cofounded a sanitarium after seeing a need for one in Marshall, Texas.³⁵⁷ Finally, Z.J. Spruiell of Jewett, Texas is said to have served as “the family physician for hundreds of families for a generation back. A country doctor of the old school, he was held in the high esteem that only the old doctors have known.”³⁵⁸

Outside of Ware’s classmates, other contemporary male physicians who practiced in rural Texas also reported strikingly similar experiences. Bob Bowman chronicled the life of William Thomas “Tom” Arnold, Jr. who practiced in Hemphill, Texas from around 1906-1937. Arnold never received large financial compensation throughout his career at somewhere less than \$4,000 annually. Payments more commonly came in as “fresh vegetables, pigs, chickens, stovewood, homemade preserves, and syrup.” In fact,

³⁵⁴ “Dr. Aston, 89, Coleman, Dies,” *Abilene Reporter*, November 30, 1960.

³⁵⁵ “Frontier doctor for 50 years succumbs of heart attack,” *Port Angeles Evening News*, January 20, 1961.

³⁵⁶ “Drs. Clark & Clark,” *The Schulenburg Sticker*, February 18, 1921.

³⁵⁷ “Kahn Memorial Hospital,” Marshall, Harrison County, Texas, Texas State Historical Markers.

³⁵⁸ “Dr. Spruiell of Jewett Dies in Dallas Hospital,” *The Mexia Weekly Herald*, May 29, 1936.

upon reviewing ledgers after his untimely death, his children discovered patients owed him around \$75,000. They tried to settle this debt, but collected less than \$400. Arnold worked twenty-four-seven, with just the crudest of methods to fight rampant epidemics and only deadening agents for some trying procedures. He also played a role in forming his town's first hospital. Arnold charged two dollars for house calls and: "provided nine months of care and delivery for a mother and child for twenty-five dollars." Displaying the ingenuity common to "country docs," upon declaring feather beds too soft for births, he even "invented a delivery bed he carried in an automobile seat when he replaced his old horse and buggy."³⁵⁹

Minnie Gilbert recorded the experiences of Clarence M. Cash, a country doctor in San Benito, Texas. From around 1898-1961, he "...delivered more than 5,200 babies. Many were named for him. Some had a parent or grandparent he had brought into the world." Cash "...never stopped going to school...." and much like Ware, regularly updated his education at various out of state schools. He even missed a surprise eighty-fifth birthday party when he left early to attend his fifteenth refresher seminar. In his first years of practice, he traveled by horse and performed surgeries on kitchen tables. "Whenever the phone rang at night he was awake and alert instantly. He also taught himself to fall asleep almost as easily. This habit of napping a few minutes in a chair or on a hospital cot while waiting to attend a patient in labor enabled him to maintain a rigorous schedule envied by doctors years younger." Also much like Ware, he practiced through his own malaise. After being in a car accident, he hitchhiked his way to the

³⁵⁹ Bob Bowman, "A Country Doctor," All Things Historical, Dec. 30-Jan 5, 2002, http://www.texasescapes.com/DEPARTMENTS/Guest_Columnists/East_Texas_all_things_historical/CountryDoctorBB102.htm.

hospital to attend a patient's delivery, only tending to his own care after, in which it became apparent he had broken several ribs. Later at age eighty-eight he met with patients from his home twelve days after his own appendectomy. Just as Ware, Cash continued to practice as long as he was able, "...on his eighty-ninth birthday, he was called out of bed at four a.m. by an emergency call from a man he did not know. He never refused night calls."³⁶⁰

In his obituary, Monroe Arthur Thomas of Crockett, Texas is credited with "delivering over 4,000 babies... 'enough to populate a small Texas town.'" It is noted: "From 1901 when Dr. Thomas established his practice until as late as 1949, he was delivering babies in Houston County, first calling on patients on horseback, then in a buggy, then a Model T and finally in a coupe." "Since he was in practice for a long time, he came full-circle; delivering babies of parents and even grandparents that he had ushered into the world years before." "It was a well-known fact that Dr. Thomas did not care for publicity. He had a desire to do something for somebody else and he believed that medicine would be the best way to do that." Like Ware, he carried out philanthropic activities through his work quietly and without fanfare.³⁶¹

In Nixon, Texas, a neighboring community to Ware's, Nathan Avant Elder's practice held even more similarities. Much as in Ware's background that seemed incongruent to achieving medical degree, Elder's own daughter marveled about her father:

³⁶⁰ Minnie Gilbert, "Country Doctor," in "Roots by the River," date unknown, http://www.sanbenitohistory.com/projects/Whats_in_Name_7th/Dr._Cash.html.

³⁶¹ Sharron Randall, "Country Doctor's Life Remembered," *Houston County Courier*, November 2008.

‘I never understood how my dad, a poor farmer’s son and born near Cheapside, ever started the desire, ambition and tenacity to go from a country schoolroom on to an academy in northeast Texas. From there, his college education continued in Tennessee and concluded by obtaining his M.D. (Medical Doctor) degree at Tulane University in New Orleans at the age of 23.’

A small frame building next to his home became his town’s first hospital in 1908. He later rebuilt a two-story structure in which his family lived on the bottom floor and the hospital ran on the second with two nurses on twelve-hour shifts. His daughter recounted:

‘Patients came from all nearby towns and communities. If the distance from home was too far to go in a buggy, the patient’s family was always invited to share the family meals.’

‘Charges, of course, were in line with the economy of the day when \$2 or \$3 were good wages. I believe that the charge for pre-natal care and delivery of a baby was \$20. Major surgery was \$25 and only \$10 for tonsil removal. Many times I remember Dad would come home with a jar of pickles or preserves as payment for his doctoring in patients’ homes. Or perhaps a watermelon or venison would provide variety.

‘Dad kept his own books and at the end of each year he would transfer those accounts that he thought would be able to pay. The other accounts were dropped.’

‘My mother learned – at first by necessity – to assist in all surgery.’ Later she did the same because of her proficiency. My dad often said, ‘Katie can sew up an incision quicker and better than a doctor.’³⁶²

Finally, another early Texas physician, Ellis F. Gates from Eagle Pass, Texas summed up the country doctor mentality well, telling *The Victoria Advocate*, ‘I made about a million house calls...People who are sick should be in bed and a doctor should go to them.’ An excerpt from the article also reflects the experience fluently:

Gates practiced what he preached for nearly 70 years in South Texas. He retired last month.

³⁶² Joyce E. Moore, “Dr. Nathan Avant Elder,” in *On the Watershed of Eclecto and Clear Fork II*, by Karon Mac Smith, 170.

Making house calls didn't earn him a fortune but it made many friends.

'When I first started practicing in 1908, I would charge \$1 for a house call. When I retired it was \$10. But I didn't worry if the people couldn't pay,' he said.

Through the years, patients paid Gates with animals, vegetables and fruits. And sometimes money.

'One night, I came home and found a cow tied to a tree in the yard with a note explaining it was a patient's payment,' Gates said.

And then there was the night Gates rowed a small boat through floodwaters to deliver a baby. He stayed with the mother through the night. Later, the father paid him 75 cents.

'It was all he had,' Gates said.

Gates could speak Spanish and even opened an office across the border in Mexico, where he practiced part of the week. He also organized the first hospital in his town, and recalled, 'If you did any surgery before that, you had to do it on the kitchen table.' Gates lamented, "...the doctors now all want to go to the city. They're not country doctors like me. I'm a country boy. I was a good cowhand and rode horses. I practiced on horseback for my first year and from a buggy for a while after that.' People still dropped by to visit him after he retired.³⁶³

As for male doctors' perception of the women doctors in Texas, the men generally held their female colleagues in high regards. Ware's male former classmates and colleagues wrote into the paper in support of her during her retirement and prominent San Antonio physician and friend Pat Ireland Nixon even eulogized her at her funeral. The same remained true for the other early female physicians, although they sometimes received praise for traditionally female skills, before their doctoring talents. For example, with her previous training in shorthand, Dr. Ella Devlin Fritch served as the

³⁶³ "Texas Country Doctor Recalls House Calls," *The Victoria Advocate*, June 1, 1977.

reporter for the Texas Medical Association, and is praised in the *Texas Medical Journal*, “This lady is most popular with the physicians, and is an expert on stenographic work of this kind.”³⁶⁴

Taken together, the examinations of her female and male contemporaries’ practices demonstrate the complex mixture of factors affecting Ware, who served as both a woman physician *and* rural physician. The male physicians’ rural practices align so closely with Ware’s practice, they provide valuable insight into her career. If pronouns were removed, Ware might even be near indistinguishable from the male country doctors. Yet, the women who practiced in cities in Texas appear to remain mostly unaffected by their sex as well, finding work in hospitals, labs, schools, and even forming large independent practices. As Ware did not have to fight hard for public support in her rural community in need of healthcare, neither did the women in cities, who offered services in under-staffed and budding fields such as anesthesia, mental health, pathology, or women’s health services at universities.³⁶⁵ In the end, it seems Ware and the other women physicians could practice normally in the Lone star state, but could they lead “normal” lives?

³⁶⁴ “Society Notes: State Medical Association of Texas, Thirty-fifth Annual Session, San Antonio Texas,” *Texas Medical Journal* 18, no. 11 (May 1903): 461.

³⁶⁵ More, Fee, and Parry, *Women Physicians and the Cultures of Medicine*, 7-8.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL

Personal Life

An examination of the social aspect of Ware's and the other physicians' lives offers further insight as to how the women managed what society then deemed an unusual life choice. Historians argue early women physicians needed to be "...highly motivated and willing to live unconventional personal lives."³⁶⁶ But for Ware, who took the Southern woman ideology to heart, she just needed to get creative. Never one to draw attention to herself, she simply found alternative ways to comply with her period's gender prescriptions. And for her personally, it was not just an act to maintain, if not going by "the country doc," she preferred Dr. Ella Ware, rather than initials like some female doctors, because she was still very much Ella.

How women MDs navigated traditional social expectations of marriage and procreation, exemplifies how they consistently adapted to living something other than cookie cutter lives. Including Ware, it appears half of the thirty-four early female graduates, never married. Of those that did wed, the vast majority waited until after graduating medical school, with the average age being about thirty-four. This differed from the national average for women, who generally married at about age twenty-two, and contrasted significantly with the average for women in rural Texas farm communities, who often married around age nineteen.³⁶⁷ For comparison, male

³⁶⁶ Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science*, 137.

³⁶⁷ Median Age at First Marriage, 1890-2010, US Bureau of the Census, <https://www.census.gov/hhes/socdemo/marriage/data/acs/ElliottetalPAA2012figs.pdf>; Rebecca Sharpless, *Fertile Ground, Narrow Choices: Women on Texas Cotton Farms, 1900-1940* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 18.

graduates, saw their beliefs about their marital prospects fulfilled with social expectations for husbands and fathers being easily able to join with a career. Of the forty-four men in Ware's class, all married, a handful before entering medical school, more than half right around the completion of their degree, and the rest in a few more years.³⁶⁸

Only two of the early female graduates married before obtaining their medical degrees.³⁶⁹ Seven of the seventeen married women wed physicians, often fellow UTMB alumni, and three others married spouses working in fields related to science, including a biologist, drugstore proprietor, and a horticulturist.³⁷⁰ Of note, the wedding announcement of Una Howe and Robert Albert Hasskarl, who romantically wed on Valentine's Day and Robert's birthday, remarked Howe would retain her maiden name for professional reasons.³⁷¹ After marriage, many of the other women used both their maiden and married names.

Of the seventeen married women, eleven appear to bear natural children. Those that did have children only had one or two, with the exception being Robbie Davis Matlock, who in the 1920 census reported seven children under the age of twelve, and later added two more. She is also not documented to formally work as a physician throughout any censuses or directories, although it is said she initially tried to complete her postgraduate education at the University of Pennsylvania, faced rejection, and instead

³⁶⁸ Census records.; Texas Physicians Historical Biographical Database.; *General Register of the Students and Former Students of the University of Texas*, 1917.

³⁶⁹ This included: Clara Kocher Duncan, who married and divorced before she entered medical school, and Bertha Stanley Byram, who married her husband before they both entered medical school.

³⁷⁰ Margaret Roberta Holliday Clark married Simon J. Clark (UTMB class of 1907), Una Howe (Hasskarl) married Robert Albert Hasskarl (both UTMB class of 1912), Ray K. Daily married fellow student Louis Daily (UTMB class of 1910). Ella Devlin Fritch also married and divorced, but did so after graduating medical school.

³⁷¹ "District Personals," *Texas Medicine* 13, no. 3 (July 1917): 132.

studied nursing before her marriage. Some of her family recalled, “.... the extent of Dr. Davis’ medical practice was the delivery of one baby. They describe her as a strong woman of great religious faith who operated from an orientation that character and faith were of as much value as anything medicine had to offer.”³⁷² There also seems to be evidence, however, she worked with her physician husband and perhaps tried to update her medical education later in life.³⁷³ Ware’s fellow male graduates typically welcomed more children than the women, yet, a few held to small numbers, or fathered no children at all.³⁷⁴

Ware and the other unmarried women physicians may have actually benefited from remaining single as at the turn of the century: “Married women in Texas were more restricted by legislation than unmarried women. For example, the law ‘protected’ a married woman from controlling her own wages, signing contracts, or disposing of her own property without her husband’s approval.” Luckily, regardless of their marital status, all of the women physicians probably remained unaffected by another period disadvantage facing female workers in the state. High unemployment rates led to urging for women, especially married women with a husband’s income, to turn over their jobs to men. In the 1930s, cities like Dallas even discussed firing married women and some

³⁷² “Mary Robert (Robbie) Davis, MD: Class of 1901,” UTMB Exhibit, <http://ar.utmb.edu/ar/Portals/5/Exhibits/Davis.pdf>.

³⁷³ “Mrs. Matlock Dies Saturday, Rites Monday,” *Corsicana Daily Sun*, June 6, 1966; “Bits and Pieces,” unknown newspaper clipping, March 30, 1961.

³⁷⁴ Frank Hobbs and Nicole Stoop, *Demographic Trends in the 20th Century*, Census 2000 Special Reports, Series CENSR-4 (Washington D.C.: US Government Printing Office November, 2002), 12.

Texas school systems banned and let go of wedded female teachers.³⁷⁵ Early fellow female medical school graduate and activist Ray K. Daily spoke out against this practice in general, but the women physicians themselves likely remained secure in their careers due to the high demand for medical care in the rapidly growing state.³⁷⁶

Despite the side benefits to remaining single, Ware mainly saw her choice not to marry as a personal one. She felt she did not have the time for the period responsibilities that accompanied a husband or children. As her niece recalled: “She never considered marriage, saying she was too busy to think about it. Her service was to mankind, not just to one person.”³⁷⁷ Still in 1941, the local Stockdale newspaper ran an article praising her practice, and noted what they regarded as a grand sacrifice on her part, stating: “The good woman followed the gleam of a challenging career and so denied herself the joy of home and family, a great price for a fine woman to pay yet paid without a murmur.”³⁷⁸ This came at a time when others did not always appreciate this type of sacrifice quite so much, particularly in the South. For example, a former male classmate of Ware’s shared the following narrow-minded advice to a woman wishing to pursue a degree in medicine: “[Women] simply cannot follow the profession of medicine and be a wife and mother.”

³⁷⁵ Bruce A. Glasrud and Merline Pitre, *Black Women in Texas History* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2008), 142.; Nancy Baker Jones, Ruthe Winegarten, *Capitol Women: Texas Female Legislators, 1923-1999* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2000), 40.

³⁷⁶ Silverthorne and Fulgham, *Women Pioneers in Texas Medicine*, 136.

³⁷⁷ Steen, interview.

³⁷⁸ *Stockdale Star*, 1941.

He added that despite the importance of the profession, for women, becoming a mother should come first.³⁷⁹

Ware did seem to admire motherhood, but found ways to fulfill a desire for it other than bearing her own children. By the time she started her career, she had already helped raise many of her younger brothers and sisters. All but one of those thirteen surviving siblings married, giving her many nieces and nephews, for which she, as the eldest aunt in a tight-knit family missing its matriarch, also acted as a grandmotherly-figure. The children frequently paid visits to their “Auntie Doctor.” For example, “Master L. Ware of Nixon,” then toddler Lennie Thomas Ware, visited his aunt in 1907, and another nephew, then nine-year-old Chester Dixie Bulgier, returned to Stockdale with Ware to spend the whole summer in 1930.³⁸⁰ In keeping with her role as the family matriarch, she also hosted the family’s Christmas get-together and reunions every year.³⁸¹

A great niece, Mary Lucille (Ware) (Fittery) Parsons, daughter of the aforementioned Lennie Thomas Ware, remembered many later interactions with her great aunt. Her grandfather, Ware’s brother, Thomas Calvin Ware, drove Parsons and her five younger siblings from Mississippi twice a year to visit the family in Stockdale. At other times Auntie Doctor and Auntie Mayme sent “huge boxes with clothes, toys, medicines, etc.” to their home in Mississippi. After Parsons’ father died in a car accident in 1940, Ware even took the children and their mother in for a time around 1947-1949. In Ware’s

³⁷⁹ “Kenneth H. Aynesworth to Mrs. Roy Bedichek,” April 26, 1933, Kenneth H. Aynesworth, M.D. Papers, Moody Medical Library, University of Texas Medical Branch, Galveston, TX. Also in Silverthorne and Fulham, *Women Pioneers in Texas Medicine*, 78.

³⁸⁰ “Stockdale,” *San Antonio Express*, June 29, 1930.; “Stockdale Festivities,” *The Daily Express*, April 14, 1907.

³⁸¹ Edith Akin, interview.

last years, however, family members remember her increasingly espousing upper class standards of refined living and commanding a certain level of respectfulness. Children were expected to be “seen and not heard,” “quiet, no playing, loud talk, or disrespect of any kind.”³⁸²

Other early women physicians also enjoyed being in the presence of children. M. Charlotte Schaefer reportedly handcrafted wooden toys for her nieces and nephews.³⁸³ According to historians Silverthorne and Fulgham, Hallie Earle invited young guests to freely explore her home, search out her feline companions, and:

At Christmastime tables were set up in the log room with toys, games, and coloring books appropriate for various ages, and each child visitor was invited to choose his or her own gift. At other times they were served cheese straws, tea cakes, and lemonade along with large helps of family history, in which Hallie took great pride.

And: “Once when a patient asked her if she regretted ‘not marrying and living a normal life,’ Hallie Earle responded, ‘I didn’t miss a thing.’”³⁸⁴ Pioneer physician Sofie Herzog Huntington also seemed to have to find a way to adapt, in her case, to not having as much time to be a grandmother, as Silverthorne and Fulgham report:

Many people who knew Sofie Herzog Huntington well have commented that she seemed to have a dual personality, and this ability to change roles may be why she was able to successfully combine her career and her family life. From the blunt, no non-sense doctor or businesswoman, she slipped easily into the role of typical, doting *grosmama*.

Her crochet basket was always at hand in her office, and between patients she snatched a few minutes to work on the miles of doilies, shawls, scarfs, and bedspreads she made for her children and grandchildren. Her grandchildren

³⁸² Barbara Ware, letter to author, 2015.; Dulce Lea Ware, 2015.

³⁸³ Sherry S. *McLeRoy*, *Texas Women First: Leading Ladies of Lone Star History* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2015), 112.

³⁸⁴ Silverthorne and Fulgham, *Women Pioneers in Texas Medicine*, 87-88.

adored her, and she talked of them and her children constantly. When she felt she might be boring her friends, she apologized by explaining that when she couldn't see them, she had the comfort of talking about them.³⁸⁵

For Ware, in addition upholding very close ties to her own large family, all of the babies she helped bring into the world also became "her children," and she held a special dedication to them throughout her life. The townspeople referred to those who she delivered as "Dr. Ware Babies," and parents of all ethnicities frequently named their children after her. Grateful patients chose at least three-hundred "Ellas" as first and middle names for their girls and "Ware" as a middle name for a few boys when no family connection to the surname existed, and on one occasion, even named a set of twins "Ella and Stella."³⁸⁶ Ware often acted as a guest of honor at weddings, and her name appears as the first non-family member listed as attendees at a 1932 wedding of Miss Merrill Smith, which the paper dubbed "one of the most outstanding events of the season."³⁸⁷ She assisted in the births of most of the men on the local war memorial, and grieved for them like a mother. One even returned home with a Bible Ware gave him in his casket.³⁸⁸

Maintaining an Image of Femininity

Obviously lacking in time for a period woman's typical domestic duties, she instead, just used her income to hire housekeepers to keep up appearances. This did not mean she could not do these types of tasks. She acted as a maternal figure prior to her

³⁸⁵ Silverthorne and Fulgham, *Women Pioneers in Texas Medicine*, 78.

³⁸⁶ Steen, interview.; Wilson County Birth Records.; "Looking Back," *The Galveston Daily News*, November 4, 1979.

³⁸⁷ "Stockdale," *San Antonio Express*, May 29, 1932.; "Married Saturday Afternoon," *Kerrville Mountain Sun*, November 21, 1946.

³⁸⁸ "Dr. Ella Ware, An Editorial," *San Antonio Express*, October 31, 1958.

career after all, and those who knew her noted her to be a good cook and like Huntington, do excellent crochet work.³⁸⁹ But the housekeepers now made it all possible; they made her meals and prepared her home when she wished to entertain, a frequent occurrence.³⁹⁰ For this purposes, Ware also purchased her own set of ornate fine china, something most women received through marriage.³⁹¹ She planned her home to accommodate entertaining with a large dining room, which had French doors that opened to a parlor with a fireplace.³⁹²

Standout events she hosted included a full turkey dinner in honor of several Baptist reverends and their families, a three-course meal for her father's birthday, and a Christmas tree dressing and dinner party.³⁹³ She also co-hosted a Valentine's Day-themed dinner for high school seniors with several married women of the community.³⁹⁴ And with the help of her sisters, she once held an elaborate New Year's Eve open house to honor some out of town guests. The paper described the festivities as follows:

The folding doors between the front and back parlors were thrown open and formed a large reception room where Dr. Ware and sisters and guests of honor stood in the receiving line. The guests passed from the reception room into the large hall, where each was supplied with a large bandana handkerchief and required, in five minutes, the ladies to make into a becoming cap and the gentlemen auto ties. The dining room was beautifully decorated in pink and white, and during the evening Miss Sophronia Ware, at the punch bowl, served

³⁸⁹ Dave Fittery and Mary Lucille Ware Fittery Parsons, interview.; Dulce Lea Ware, 2015.; Steen, interview.

³⁹⁰ Steen, interview.

³⁹¹ "Dr. Ella Ware Collection," Stockdale Museum.

³⁹² Edith Akin, interview.; Sarah Hairgrove, email to author, March 19, 2008.

³⁹³ "Stockdale," *San Antonio Express*, December 21, 1930.; "Stockdale," *The Daily Express*, September 9, 1906.; "Stockdale," *San Antonio Express*, January 2, 1921.

³⁹⁴ "Stockdale" *San Antonio Express*, February 5, 1933.

white grape punch and pink cake. Fruit cake, fruit and bon bons were among the other delicacies served. About seventy-five guests called during the evening.³⁹⁵

Along with sometimes relying on her sisters' assistance with parties she hosted, Ware also allowed them to use her home for functions she herself did not have time to plan, but enjoyed supporting. On one occasion, Ware opened the doors of her house and hospital to a rather unique event, a town-wide girls' slumber party given by her sister Mayme, in which:

...sixty-five young ladies of Stockdale and vicinity met at the sanitarium building, from which place they promenaded to the lawn at the home of Mr. and Mrs. B.F. Ware, where an informal lunch was enjoyed. Under the leadership of one of the number, whose footsteps each the girls present was bound to follow, they all zig-zagged through the streets, through houses, over vehicles, under bridges, and over fences. Returning to the lawn, they regaled themselves to an old-fashioned watermelon feast. Clad in middy blouses and armed with zinc tubs, tin cans and improvised drumsticks, the youngsters formed a serenade party and visited practically every home in town, dispensing vocal and instrumental music to their heart's content. Returning to the home of the hostess, they slept—or pretended to sleep—the remainder of the night on pallets in the open air and arose early to cook their own breakfast at a camp fire.³⁹⁶

Finally, Ware did not stop at entertaining. She also instructed housekeepers to can fruit and vegetables she then gave away to family, friends, and those in need. Efforts such as these allowed her to still participate in the culture of her gender by portraying an image of domesticity.³⁹⁷

What to Wear

Like in medical school, Ware's physical appearance also played at least a small role in the everlasting act of balancing her roles of woman and doctor. Being a very

³⁹⁵ "Stockdale's Merry Holidays: Novelty Parties Furnish Enjoyment During Past Week—College Girls Entertained," *The Daily Express*, January 6, 1907.

³⁹⁶ "Stockdale," *San Antonio Express*, August 29, 1915.

³⁹⁷ Akin, interview.

statuesque woman of stout build and strong posture, Ware “matched up” to men, and did not need to worry much about others considering her too fragile for the rugged field of rural medicine.³⁹⁸ Much like in her medical school days, she dressed herself in very dignified and modest Victorian clothing, hair up in a Gibson girl hairstyle.³⁹⁹ This again relates to famed early woman physician Josephine Baker who:

...confessed to be loyally grateful to the Gibson Girl for the introduction of shirt-waists and tailored suits into the conventional feminine costume.’ For her, she wrote, they provided ‘protective coloring.’ ‘As it was,’ she continued in her autobiography, ‘I could so dress that, when a masculine colleague of mine looked around the office in a rather critical state of mind, no feminine furbelows would catch his eye and give him an excuse to become irritated by the presence of a woman where, according to him, no woman had a right to be.’⁴⁰⁰

While Ware dressed this way to fit in with period professionals, her clothing also served to stand out in her community and confirm her authority as a professional. For Ware, this included garments of heavy wool fabrics in dark colors like black and navy, coupled with high white lace collars, even when the South Texas temperatures climbed, a feat over which many of her patients marveled.⁴⁰¹ Much later into the century, when Ware continued to wear her dark wool dresses after they had become less common, some children, already wary of the syringes she wielded and nasty tasting medicines she prescribed, humorously saw her as a bit witch-like.⁴⁰² She usually won them over by her kind bedside manner, although one seemed to avoid her completely, recalling standing in

³⁹⁸ Akin, interview.; Steen, interview.

³⁹⁹ Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science*, 120, 125.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., 121.

⁴⁰¹ Akin, interview.; Lorenz, interview.; Steen, interview.

⁴⁰² Herbert Maurice Dixon, conversation with the author, Stockdale, Texas, 2008.

the doorway of her office and watching her inject patients, saying, “She gave shots for everything!! Scared me to death...”⁴⁰³

Appearance obviously held importance and having a makeshift uniform also just led to less decision-making in Ware’s already busy life.⁴⁰⁴ Nearby San Antonio woman physician, Clara G. Cook, mourned the loss of her own Red Cross uniform after she returned from serving in World War I, stating, ‘I don’t know how I am ever going to live without it.’ Prominent clubwoman Marin B. Fenwick supported her in an editorial, saying: “[W]e thought why should she live without and why should anyone live without a uniform if they add so much to one’s comforts. If the war is going to do for the world what we have heard preached in the years that have gone by, it surely ought to make us independent enough to dress comfortably, especially when the uniform is as chic as the uniforms worn by all of the women during war service.”⁴⁰⁵

Yet women’s clothing definitely remained attached to their persona and in that same editorial ran a cartoon entitled “The Transformation,” showing a female service member wearing her wartime uniform, seemingly full of melancholy, dreaming about changing into a happy social butterfly wearing a gown literally complete with wings, with the caption:

To some hearts there’s a thrill about clothes that transcends the most excited adventure even of war—it’s an event merely to select a NEW dress. But think of the thrill akin to that the butterfly feels when about to burst its cocoon and wings—for HER who’s laying aside her uniform and donning once more the fluffy finery HE loves to see HER wear!⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰³ “Memory from Mary Jo Salter,” e-mail from Pat Lorenz.

⁴⁰⁴ Steen, interview.

⁴⁰⁵ “Just Among Ourselves,” *San Antonio Evening News*, January 8, 1919.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid.

Despite this sexist example, women did sometimes harbor a taste for period fashion of their own. Rural physician Lena Fimple Schreier did not experiment with her hair, leaving it in a functional “washer woman do” throughout her whole career, but Ware eventually cut hers into a trendy flapper bob, perhaps for the ease in addition to the style. And while Ware always remained no-nonsense in her appearance for her practice, she also liked to be photographed in fine garments she accrued as her status grew, including a deep purple lace trimmed dress, drop waist dresses, and accessories of pearls, furs, gloves, hats, and brooches.⁴⁰⁷

In the end, it is clear the idea that a woman should wear what she wanted without anyone’s input, or dress just for her own comfort and pleasure, usually remained wishful thinking. While keeping her wardrobe professional and efficient, Ware personally took into consideration projecting this image congruent with Southern womanhood. She never did “avoid ruffles” like Josephine Baker, and even ordered a khaki riding dress made with a full skirt and rode sidesaddle to some of her early cases. This is opposed to pioneer rural Texan female physician, Sophie Herzog Huntington, who split her dresses, so she could “ride astride like a man,” perhaps displaying the forgiving, flexible frontier element to Texas’ environment.⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰⁷ Judy Rollins, “Country Doctor Dispenses Counseling and Medicine,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 3, 1971.

⁴⁰⁸ Brand, “Doctor Sofie Herzog,” 23.; Steen, interview.; Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science*, 121.

Discreet Routes to Activism and Reform

“From 1880 to 1930 woman physicians were highly visible in this nation’s reform movements.”⁴⁰⁹ Although slower to the movements, even Southern ladies became involved in social reform through women’s club culture. And while women in Progressive Era Texas did not always become outspoken activists, many, especially those of the upper and professional classes, supported various reform efforts, especially through modest outlets like churches and schools.⁴¹⁰ With her very busy rural medical practice, Ware primarily lacked the time to become involved in organized movements, but as a working woman, she also could not afford to face the social ostracism that came along with some forms of public crusading.⁴¹¹ Instead, she limited her efforts to her own community, and found ways to discreetly work both through her practice and church.

One of the defining factors of the period was, of course, race. It is covered in this section because it relates to one of the ways in which Ware informally and conservatively approached social reform. To set the scene, her career spanned a period during which many white Southerners still supported racial segregation, both out of fear of minorities achieving power, and as a means of preventing them from doing so by maintaining the status quo social structure. In addition to outright segregation, it is noted, societies sometimes use paternalistic attitude towards minority populations as an embedded device, rather consciously or unconsciously, to maintain order.⁴¹²

⁴⁰⁹ Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science*, 6.

⁴¹⁰ Judith N. McArthur, *Creating the New Woman: The Rise of Southern Women’s Progressive Culture in Texas, 1893-1918* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 1-7.

⁴¹¹ Brand, “Doctor Sofie Herzog,” 60.

⁴¹² Peter W. Bardaglio, *Reconstructing the Household: Families, Sex, and the Law in the Nineteenth-Century South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 224.

Further, in an example of period perspective on race in medical care in particular, UTMB projected a Biblically-based paternalistic, imperialistic, and social Darwinist outlook on minority patients when opening a “negro hospital” in 1903, remarking: “The new year has made us take up the ‘White Man’s Burden,’ which is caring for the black man. We have opened the new negro hospital, where the learned Seniors may successfully treat those ills that negro flesh is heir to, and where all the suffering ‘sons of Ham’ may come to seek the ‘Balm of Gilead.’”⁴¹³ Between this and the Eugenics Movement ongoing at this time, race and medicine intersected frequently.

As for Ware, her Baptist beliefs instilled in her a “great desire to minister among Mexican people,” who made up the largest percentage of her town’s minority population. Her father, also “interested in helping Mexican people,” founded a Mexican Baptist Church and a half-sister Lois, who, armed with a bachelors and teaching degree, focused her missionary work on Latin America.⁴¹⁴ Ware, like many physicians of the Progressive Era, compassionately reached out to minority patients. Still, in keeping with the aforementioned paternalistic undertones common to the period, she did not necessarily consider them her equals.⁴¹⁵

Interestingly though, it is through the minority population in her community she found an avenue where she, as a white woman, could experiment with activism with those lower on the social ladder than herself, while still maintaining the traditional social hierarchy. And minorities actually benefited greatly from this. Birth records indicate she

⁴¹³ *Cactus* 1903, 271.

⁴¹⁴ “Miss Lois Ware To Be Missionary,” 1949.

⁴¹⁵ Brand, “Doctor Sofie Herzog,” 30.; Steen, interview.

provided care for more minorities, predominantly Mexican Americans, than other doctors in the area, exemplifying she believed everyone had a right to skilled medical care.⁴¹⁶ Births traditionally tended to by a midwife, now received the oversight of an educated doctor.⁴¹⁷ Ware personally developed such strong relationships with Mexican American patients that they visited her for advice at the end of her life, after she was confined to her bed. She educated them on public health and helped them financially by buying and holding onto property for them. In a more unseemly instance, she may have even named their babies for them, with one family remembering her recording a birth name intended to be Olivia, as Ella. Despite the paternalistic attitudes that abound, Ware reportedly never acted snobbish towards any of her patients, surprising some of her affluent friends when she sat and ate with the poorest and unkempt of families.⁴¹⁸ One time assistant, Helen Birkner Christa, noted "...she'd never known [Ware] to turn down any patient's call for help at any hour of the night."⁴¹⁹ This remained important particularly for the Mexican population, as "[h]ealth conditions for many Hispanic Texans were also dismal in the early twentieth century."⁴²⁰ Ware likewise undeniably meant to do well in providing minorities employment opportunities. Yet by hiring a Mexican American driver and an African American cleaning woman, she still perpetuated the rigid social class system.⁴²¹

⁴¹⁶ Wilson County Birth Records.

⁴¹⁷ Vailani, "WOMEN AND HEALTH."

⁴¹⁸ Lorenz, interview.

⁴¹⁹ "Stockdale Honors Retired Doc," *San Antonio Light Monday*, October 25, 1954.

⁴²⁰ Burns, "Health and Medicine," *Handbook of Texas Online*, 2010.

⁴²¹ Brand, "Doctor Sofie Herzog," 32.

Temperance and women's suffrage also garnered the attention of Progressive reformers in Texas throughout much of Ware's early professional life. Little is known about Ware's own leanings on these issues, other than her likely partiality for policies that complemented both her religious beliefs and her life as an independent businesswoman.⁴²² Some of the other early female Texas graduates did crusade for women's enfranchisement. Perle Penfield Newell served as a National American Woman Suffrage Association organizer prior to obtaining her medical degree, then took a year off from practicing to campaign for women's suffrage in Iowa. Women physicians Daisy Emery Allen, Clara G. Cook, Grace Danforth, Ellen Dabbs, Hallie Earle, and Ray K. Daily, and possibly others, also involved themselves in this cause.⁴²³

While Ware may never have compromised her position in society to speak out either in favor of or against women's rights, her work, which allowed her unprecedented access into people's private lives, brought some of the most powerful effects of a patriarchal system on women to her attention. She encountered situations such as frequent, painful, and dangerous childbirths by mothers already tired from working in fields and caring for large families, as well as abusive, alcoholic, and cheating husbands. In these cases, Ware, likely drawing on her moral beliefs, did not hesitate to put men in their place. Of her confrontations it is noted:

She stepped outside a woman's boundaries when some local man was not faithful to his wife. She told him what he needed to hear in plain words, usually he got the message and changed his ways.⁴²⁴

⁴²² Dave Fittery and Mary Lucille Ware Fittery Parsons, interview.; Steen, interview.

⁴²³ Census records.; Marin B. Fenwich, "Just Among Ourselves," *San Antonio Evening News*, April 2, 1919.; Karbach, "Ellen Lawson Dabbs: Waving the Equal Rights Banner" in *Texas Women: Their Histories, Their Lives*, 2015, 193-194. Silverthorne and Fulgham, *Women Pioneers in Texas Medicine*, 176.

⁴²⁴ Steen, interview.

In still another way, it is also seems that Ware gave women's rights a small boost by employing so many young women in her community and by even perhaps motivating one to pursue a medical education. Morinda "May" Angie Butler of Stockdale got her bachelor's from the University of Texas in 1909 and matriculated into UTMB in 1910. Although she did not appear to have completed a medical degree, and instead became a teacher, Ware's inspiration probably played an early inspiration.⁴²⁵ Ware's example also paved the way for another female physician, Nina Mae Sisley, to later be readily welcomed to practice in Stockdale, this time in the socially conservative times of the 1950s.⁴²⁶

After the nineteenth amendment passed allowing white women the right to vote, women's rights continued to interest women physicians. Amidst the start of World War II, fellow UTMB alum Minnie L. Maffett, as then president of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, even got political, stating, "the economic social and political future of American women can be safeguarded only through the preservation of democracy," explaining:

Women must be alert to the daily need of insisting upon a free press and other important aspects of democracy. Unless we can preserve democracy and save it from the isms that threaten us from abroad, the pioneer work of Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, who advocated the right of women to be trained as physicians, of Susan B. Anthony who championed right of women to vote and of Mary Lyon, who believed that women have the right to higher education, will be lost.

⁴²⁵ *Cactus 1910*.; *General Register of the Students and Former Students of the University of Texas*, 1917.; Morinda "May" Angie Butler (b. December 24, 1886 - d. July 15, 1939) seems to have sadly later committed suicide via poisoning.

⁴²⁶ Wilson County, Texas Death Certificates.

By couching her argument in the popular and accepted fear terminology of McCarthyism, Maffett creatively championed women. In the same article, she is praised for her own outstanding accomplishments as a professional and is held up as a voice of authority, indicating her very public activism did not seem to raise many flags.⁴²⁷

Other Texas women physicians also avoided raising eyebrows by channeling their extensive activism through supported Progressive causes in the state. This meant in often previously overlooked areas of society such as women, children, education, food, hygiene, morality, and other matters of public health, which did include the more provocative topic of sexually transmitted disease.⁴²⁸ The women physicians formed connections with other women outside the medical field to aid in spreading invaluable public health knowledge. Respected for aiding in the births of so many babies and having admirable domestic skills (with help), Ware could always count on the women of Stockdale and especially her church ladies to back her recommendations. She also held membership to local Eastern Star, Royal Neighbors, and Woodmen Circle organizations, which included a presence of women.⁴²⁹ Clara G. Cook, experienced similar support from the San Antonio Woman's Club. After sharing with the clubwomen her experiences of caring for traumatized refugees during World War I, she commended them for their work at home and the encouragement they gave her, saying, 'You never will know what an impetus it was to me to hear of the service flag which you hung for me. It gave me

⁴²⁷ "'Democracy Must Be Safeguarded' Says Dr. Maffet," *Zanesville Times Recorder*, October 12, 1939. "Issues Warning to the Women of United States," *The Deming Headlight*, October 6, 1939.

⁴²⁸ See section 5 in Appendix for examples of the activism of Texas women physicians.

⁴²⁹ "Dr. Ella Ware," *Texas State Journal of Medicine* 54, no. 12 (December 1958): 880.; *General Register of the Students and Former Students of the University of Texas*, 1917.

something to live up to and to work for.’⁴³⁰ Later, when the San Antonio Woman’s City Committee “composed of members of virtually all the woman’s clubs in the city” put forward a request that a woman gain appointment as Assistant City Physician, they also recommended Clara G. Cook for the post.⁴³¹

Still, the common line of ways women channeled their public influence alludes to the fact that they did face limits when it came to what types of activism society considered suitable. For example, like many of the other women physicians, Ray K. Daily became a well-known advocate for education, served on the Houston Board of Education, and helped found the University of Houston. Yet, she also very vocally supported causes including women’s rights, lunch programs for underprivileged students, equal education opportunities for students with learning disabilities, and fought against the Ku Klux Klan. The extent of her crusading, coupled with her Jewish heritage, raised so many alarms she came under government investigation during the Red Scare.⁴³²

Patriotism, on the other hand, like McCarthyism, remained a safe outlet for activism by women. Texas female physicians frequently involved themselves in war efforts. As early as the Spanish American War, early woman physician Ellen Dabbs “volunteered for medical service,” yet had to work as a nurse.⁴³³ Ware, herself, signed a petition supporting World War I rationing efforts as the only woman amongst many

⁴³⁰ “Tells Work of Red Cross in France: Dr. Clara Cook Gives Word Picture of Relief Given Many Sufferers,” *San Antonio Evening News*, January 9, 1919.

⁴³¹ “Dr. Clara Cook Named Assistant City Physician,” *San Antonio Evening News*, February 25, 1920.

⁴³² See: Don E. Carleton, *Red Scare! Right-Wing Hysteria, Fifties Fanaticism, and Their Legacy in Texas* (Austin, TX: Texas Monthly Press, 1985).

⁴³³ Karbach, “Ellen Lawson Dabbs: Waving the Equal Rights Banner,” 2015, 193-194.

prominent local men.⁴³⁴ Yet, during World War II, it is also reported she encouraged her patients to pay her in rationed goods like sugar, and that her office closets were stacked with the goods when she retired.⁴³⁵ Several of the female physicians actually offered their aid throughout wars. In fact, so many Texas medical personnel served in World War I, the papers noted a shortage of doctors and nurses at home, especially trying with the rural region's propensity for outbreaks and epidemics.⁴³⁶ The female UTMB graduates who served during World War I included May Agnes Hopkins Reitzel, Ellen Charlotte Cover, Clara G. Cook, and Perle Penfield Newell, who all worked in France and other countries, some staying on after the war to do relief work.⁴³⁷ Marie Delalandre Dietzel did her part for wartime aide in Galveston, working as a captain of the women's division of the Victory Loan program to help raise \$52,000 in the sale of bonds. Likewise, Ware joined the American Women's Hospital national campaign to raise \$250,000 for medical aid efforts in Serbia, Armenia, and Syria. In the San Antonio district of the organization, Minnie C. O'Brien acted as chairman and Mary K. Robbie, Clara G. Cook, Mary Cleveland Harper, and Ware acted as sub-chairmen.⁴³⁸ Later, during World War II, Minnie L. Maffett served on an advisory committee to the nation's

⁴³⁴ "Would Stop Grinding Wheat: Citizens of Stockdale Favor More Stringent Regulations to Conserve Supply," *San Antonio Express*, March 30, 1918.

⁴³⁵ "Memory from Mary Jo Salter," e-mail from Pat Lorenz.

⁴³⁶ "Shortage of Physicians is Relieved: Twenty-seven of Forty-five in Army Return; Three Dead," *San Antonio Evening News*, February 17, 1919.

⁴³⁷ "Duty Called Many Miles From Home," *San Antonio Express*, March 21, 1965.

⁴³⁸ "Total of \$52,000 Reached By Women In Sale of Bonds," *Galveston Daily News*, May 11, 1919.; "Women Physicians to Aid Serbians: Undertake Raising \$250,000 For Work in Near East," *San Antonio Express*, June 10, 1919.

War Department on Woman's Army Corps and Bertha Stanley Byram and her physician husband served as Presbyterian missionaries, eventually becoming prisoners of war.⁴³⁹

Religion

From all accounts, Ware's religious faith was absolutely paramount in her life, and other factors discussed throughout this work should not detract from its primary significance. For example, previous studies by scholars on the women's suffrage movement reveal how spirituality remained so ingrained for some Southern women during this period that it is easy to overlook, "the fundamental role of religious and theological ideology in shaping and inspiring [them]..."⁴⁴⁰ Historian Beverly Ann Zink-Sawyer explains about the historiography surrounding this issue in her book on pioneer women preachers turned suffragists:

'A great deal has already been written about the sociological, economic, and political aspects of the nineteenth century woman's right's movement,' Behnke observes, 'So much, in fact, that it was dwarfed an equally important aspect of the movement—its concern for religious and theological issues. In her study of the spirituality of abolitionist women, Anna M. Speicher suggests that contemporary historians have difficulty 'transcending the secularism of our own age in order to interpret accurately the religiosity of a previous one.' Thus, the religious values and assumptions that inspired reformers and consequently, shaped reforms are often misunderstood or ignored.'

While the primary significance of Christianity as Ware's inspiration is indicated, the sources to explore it in depth throughout the whole study are unfortunately lacking.

What is known is that religion also held the upmost importance in Stockdale.

Despite the town lacking much of an infrastructure in its early days, by 1885, it boasted

⁴³⁹ Cottrell, "Maffett, Minnie Lee," *Handbook of Texas*, 2010; "The Byrams: Missionaries to North Korea," *Ethnê*, 2006.

⁴⁴⁰ Beverly Ann Zink-Sawyer, *From Preachers to Suffragists: Woman's Rights and Religious Conviction and Religious Conviction in the Lives of Three Nineteenth-Century American Clergywomen* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003), 11-12.

four churches.⁴⁴¹ While interestingly Ware's father once reportedly "taught Sunday School at Union where Methodism reigned almost supreme," he remained "a staunch Baptist," and later helped form the Stockdale Baptist Church, Stockdale Mexican Baptist Church, and served as a deacon.⁴⁴² The Ware family as a whole remained very involved in the Stockdale Baptist Church, a conservative parish in which actions such as watching a lewd motion picture or taking a Sunday excursion could result in excommunication. Her brother, Bartlett, served as Sunday school superintendent, and once urged the entire congregation to phone another brother, Richard, when he and his family missed church. As previously mentioned, her sister Lois served as a missionary, doing work in Venezuela among other areas.⁴⁴³

This Baptist upbringing strongly influenced all aspects of Ware's life. And although her busy schedule caused absences from Sunday school, she usually made it to the worship service.⁴⁴⁴ She also held membership to groups like the Baptist Women's Auxiliary, yet frequently could not attend the extra functions. In 1905, she served as president of the church's inaugural branch of the Baptist Young Peoples Union (B.Y.P.U.), but resigned from the post after only one year.⁴⁴⁵ To supplement her overall lack of physical presence at church activities, she gave very large donations.⁴⁴⁶ At least

⁴⁴¹ *Wilson County Centennial 1860-1960: September 19th through the 25th* (Floresville, TX: Wilson County Centennial Association, 1960).

⁴⁴² Karon Mac Smith, *On the Watershed of Ecletto and Clear Fork II*, 254-255.

⁴⁴³ "Ella Ware Fete Cancelled," *San Antonio Light*, May 13, 1949.; *Historical Resume of the First Baptist Church of Stockdale, Texas, Centennial History, A Century of Praise Centennial Celebration and Homecoming* (Stockdale, TX: First Baptist Church August 17 18, 1974).

⁴⁴⁴ Edith Akin, interview.

⁴⁴⁵ *Historical Resume of the First Baptist Church of Stockdale, Texas*, 1974.

⁴⁴⁶ Women's Auxiliary Records, Stockdale: First Baptist Church, 1900-1949.

once, she did manage to visit her family at the Texas Baptist encampment for a few days during the summer, of course not being able to stay with them the entire session.⁴⁴⁷

Other recent works, like *God Speaks to Us, Too: Southern Baptist Women on Church, Home, and Society* (2008) by Susan M. Shaw, uncover how women very much served as agents in their own right through religious institutions like the Baptist church, “discerning God’s voice for themselves” and realizing their ability to affect social change from within religious institutions, even with their spirituality tied to such a patriarchal structures. While, the details of Ware’s own faith may remain largely unspoken due to the passage of time and its personal nature, but they do not remain unseen. It is clearly expressed through her acts of compassion, “entire life of service to others,” and their remembrances of her. To her, they say, being a Christian really meant answering God’s call to serve one another in Christ’s love.⁴⁴⁸ Although not intentional, like many other factors in Texas, rooting her work in religion played in her favor. Her Baptist missionary-minded relatives, church family, and the largely Christian Stockdale community accepted her untraditional position, and even admired her, because in their minds, she was actually out there doing God’s work, something to which they all aspired.

Women long joined their careers with community service. Earlier on in the Northeast, “religious perfectionism” or “the notion that women, like men, had a moral and religious obligation to society,” played a role in women physicians fitting themselves into the medical field as it “often afforded the only means by which women could exercise power and autonomy.” It is noted, there: “Long after explicitly religious

⁴⁴⁷ “Sutherland Springs,” *San Antonio Express*, July 9, 1911.

⁴⁴⁸ “Dr. Ella Ware,” An Editorial, *San Antonio Express*, October 31, 1958.

motives ceased to motivate them, women from liberal colleges like Oberlin retained a secularized desire to do good.” By the time of the social hygiene movement of the Progressive Era, it appears many Northeastern women physicians held a mixture of religious and moral motivations.⁴⁴⁹

Like Ware, many of the other women physicians in Texas held strong ties to churches, primarily of Protestant denominations. Both Clara G. Cook and Minnie L. Maffett took over the pulpits of Methodist churches to speak on their experience with foreign relief work.⁴⁵⁰ Cook volunteered weekly at the Children’s Clinic at the Methodist Wesley Community House in San Antonio.⁴⁵¹ Daisy Emery Allen acted as Sunday school superintendent, church organist, and a choir member at the First United Methodist Church in Fort Worth. She planned on traveling to China to do missionary work with her husband before his sudden death. “Even though her practice continued to grow, she continued to give generously of her time to indigent patients. She also donated her services freely to the city-county hospital, and she held free clinics at the Wesley Community Center—often making home deliveries of the babies of clinic patients.”⁴⁵² Others provided free care to the poor on side of their regular positions.⁴⁵³ Robbie Davis Matlock served as a longtime Sunday school teacher at her Baptist Church. Ada Ben Halbert Graham remained an active member of the Baptist Church. Of Graham, it is said

⁴⁴⁹ Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science*, 102, 106.

⁴⁵⁰ “Dr. Cook to Take Pulpit,” *San Antonio Evening News*, February 19, 1919.; “Honor Dr. Maffett,” *The Brownsville Herald*, May 19, 1929.

⁴⁵¹ “Women in Action: Volunteers for Community Service,” *San Antonio Light*, February 7, 1960.

⁴⁵² Silverthorne and Fulgham, *Women Pioneers in Texas Medicine*, 82.

⁴⁵³ Silverthorne and Fulgham, *Women Pioneers in Texas Medicine*, 86. This included Martha Alice Wood, Hallie Earle, and Edith Bonnet.

“She loved to help those in distress and she studied how she might bring joy and pleasure to those who were in need.”⁴⁵⁴ Finally, like some of the others, Bertha Stanley Byram, did overseas missionary work, in her case, in the name of the Presbyterian Church.⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁵⁴ “Columbus Street Baptists Honor Deceased Members: Mrs. Louis Graham,” *Waco Morning News*, January 4, 1916.

⁴⁵⁵ “The Byrams: Missionaries to North Korea,” *Ethnê*, 2006.

CHAPTER VI

THE END OF HER CAREER

The Fall

Ware actively practiced medicine for fifty years, until Monday, May 9, 1949, four days before her seventy-ninth birthday. Her patients planned a five-county fete in honor of her birthday, the fiftieth anniversary of her medical school graduation, and her half-century of service. With the celebration only a few days away, Ware intended to go to San Antonio to do some shopping, but after stopping by to check on one of her obstetric cases, decided she best stay in town. That same afternoon, she tripped while helping disassemble a stove being taken down in her office and broke her leg just below her left hip.⁴⁵⁶

Ware immediately diagnosed her own injury and knew it would require surgery. “Some of San Antonio’s finest surgeons participated and advised in the operation,” with Drs. Walter Stuck, M.W. Morris, Pat Ireland Nixon, and Robert Nixon attending her at Baptist Memorial Hospital, where pegs were put into her broken bone. “To avert a possible heart failure, the surgery had to be done quickly. It was performed in 30 minutes and it was done well...”⁴⁵⁷ It was reported “half of Stockdale,” in reality about twenty-five residents, waited in the hallway during the operation.⁴⁵⁸ Back in town, other doctors had to be called in to attend to two deliveries under her care and the festivities were canceled. Ware “withstood the surgery very well” and after she recovered enough for

⁴⁵⁶ “Fiftieth Anniversary of Medical Practice Observed By Dr. Ella Ware, Local Physician,” *Stockdale Star*, May 12, 1949.; Homer Clance, “Honor ‘Mother’ of 6,000,” *San Antonio Express*, October 17, 1954.

⁴⁵⁷ “Ella Ware Fete Cancelled,” *San Antonio Light*, May 13, 1949.

⁴⁵⁸ Hart Sitwell, “Texas Trails: Stockdale Had Woman Doctor,” *San Antonio Light*, January 6, 1967.

visitors, her friends held a small, makeshift party in her room.⁴⁵⁹ “An orchid was to be brought to her, and she hoped to serve a birthday cake herself and open her own gifts.” Although the gathering was said to be small, around forty or so people were expected. Later that week, fellow physician C.W. Archer of the neighboring community of Floresville stopped by to check up on Ware while in San Antonio and reported her condition to be “satisfactory.”⁴⁶⁰ Another article noted: “With good fortune, the good doctor of Stockdale intends to be making calls among her people within the next eight months,” continuing:

For those Wilson County people—some white and some with darker skins who paid her with fresh yard eggs in lean times—who would have trekked to Stockdale to honor her Friday, Dr. Ware said:

“I am sorry I cannot be there to see them all again today.”

She paused and added three more words:

“God Bless Them.”⁴⁶¹

Demonstrating her unmatched value to the community, when she returned home, Ware continued meeting with patients from her bedside and wheelchair for two more years. Mexican American patients traveled into town from the backcountry on the weekends for Ware to see them from her hospital bed set up in the front of her house.⁴⁶² In a letter to the paper in which Ware’s birthday and anniversary of her graduation fell on Mother’s Day, Mary A. Haskell noted, “she is brave in her affliction and goes on an

⁴⁵⁹ “Historic Moments in Wilson County, Texas: Dr. Ella Ware, Wilson County Physician,” Wilson County Historical Society Archives, June 1, 2008, <http://wilsoncountyhistory.org/Moments/Dr%20Ella%20Ware.pdf>.

⁴⁶⁰ “Dr. Ella Ware Is Accident Victim,” undated newspaper clipping.

⁴⁶¹ Louis Engelke, “Woman Doctor, 80, ‘Celebrates’ in Hospital, *San Antonio Evening Express*.”

⁴⁶² Dulce Lea Ware, 2015.

occasional drive and visit to San Antonio.” For this occasion, Ware received “more than 89 cards, many gifts, beautiful flowers, a family dinner, and three birthday cakes.”⁴⁶³ Though not verified, she may have even gotten back out to attend a few more births, perhaps at least until another doctor could reach the scene.⁴⁶⁴ Although she never regained her strength and lived with “continuous pain in her hips,” she only officially retired in 1951 when her eyesight became too weak.⁴⁶⁵

Physicians commonly worked longer in rural areas because their retirement meant leaving the community without a physician.⁴⁶⁶ Almost all of the “country docs” practiced for at least half a century and many up until their deaths. Towards the end of Lena Fimple Schreier’s sixty-year plus career, she noted she had been trying to retire for three years, feeling ‘this community is about through with me. Maybe I’m too old.’ Yet her waiting room, crowded with her packed moving boxes, remained full of patients. For five years prior to her arrival in Huntington, Utah the town lacked a doctor. When she left, they likely faced the same dilemma. She said she would stay as long as she was needed.⁴⁶⁷ Knowing her own town would lack the type of continuous care she provided troubled Ware, especially when she finally had to sell her house in 1952 and move to San

⁴⁶³ “Dr. Ware Celebrates Birthday,” May 13, 1951.

⁴⁶⁴ Based on birth stories of Roy Hummel Jr. and Ollie Gann Steenken.

⁴⁶⁵ “Dr. Ella Ware to Be Feted By Her Patients,” *San Antonio Express*, October 15, 1954.; “Woman Doctor to Be Honored,” *The Bonham Daily Favorite*, October 19, 1954.

⁴⁶⁶ Neavel, Walker, Austin, and Knudson, *Rural Medicine In Texas: A Study*, 1982, 5.

⁴⁶⁷ Judy Rollins, “Country Doctor Dispenses Counseling and Medicine,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 3, 1971.

Antonio so that her sister Mayme, the registered nurse, could help care for her and they could be closer to other sisters Neppie and Letha.⁴⁶⁸

Celebration

The people of Stockdale held the upmost respect for Ware and still wanted nothing more than to show their gratitude. Finally, on Sunday, October 24, 1954, they held their “Dr. Ware Day,” a remarkable celebration at which hundreds of “Dr. Ware babies,” patients, medical school classmates, associates, friends, and family from far and wide turned out to the local high school auditorium to honor the country doc. “Hundreds of others who could not come ‘home’ sent messages.”⁴⁶⁹ The lengthy planning committee list read like a who’s who of Stockdale. Now bedridden except for the few minutes she pulled herself into a wheelchair each day, Ware traveled from San Antonio via ambulance. Fifty-five years after she first stood on stage at her medical school graduation, befuddled by the special attention she received from her classmates, she now sat, shrunken by the years, and completely surrounded by flowers. Based on the large response, it seems very few folks of any sort forgot the good deeds she delivered throughout her life.⁴⁷⁰

One of the earliest Dr. Ware babies and the town’s postmaster, Maggie Lou Deason Spear, born March 2, 1900, helped organize the event and another early baby, the aforementioned Bernice Wheeler Smith, sang a solo. Mayor Bennie W. Haverlah, who presided, relayed his own sorrow at not being a Dr. Ware baby, pointing out she delivered

⁴⁶⁸ Sarah Hairgrove, email to author.; Steen, interview.

⁴⁶⁹ “Dr. Ella Ware,” An Editorial, *San Antonio Express*, October 31, 1958.; “Fund Started For Dr. Ware,” *San Antonio Express*, October 26 1954.

⁴⁷⁰ “Ella Ware To Be Feted By Her Patients,” *San Antonio Express*, October 15, 1954.

his wife and everyone else in his family.⁴⁷¹ Baptist reverend Winfred Chandler delivered the invocation, Methodist reverend J.R. Kidwell outlined her life, and the Catholic priest, Father Lambert Laskowski, whose siblings Ware delivered, “told of Dr. Ware’s help through the years for his congregation.” Her pastor at the time, Baptist reverend Charles Bowles, shared “Dr. Ware, now 84, still asked him ‘What are we doing now?’ every time he visited her in San Antonio.⁴⁷² Tom King, Ware’s nephew and an attorney in San Antonio, “gave the family response” and the paper reported Pauline Gusman “represented the Latin-Americans in the area.” Henry P. Smith, former town druggist and owner of the drugstore next to the office Ware practiced out of for forty years, attended, as did prominent San Antonio physician Pat Ireland Nixon.⁴⁷³ The ceremony featured a representative sampling of other Ware babies, which included Walter Matt Carr, born August 27, 1900, a retired farmer, rancher, and store owner, who “came early for the affair,” Alta Mae (Edmiston) Cook, a first grade teacher born in 1907, Jim Henry Bain, Jr., a banker born in 1911, Joe Guzmon (Gusman), a locker plant worker born in 1914 (an uncle to the aforementioned Pauline, whose two children Ware also delivered), and the twelve children of tenant farmer and carpenter Vicente and his wife Juanita Concepcion (Vela) Rodriguez born from 1913 to 1935.⁴⁷⁴

The event lasted around two hours, with speakers going longer than expected and “tears flowing freely”⁴⁷⁵ “You can’t get anybody to come and serve the community like

⁴⁷¹ “Stockdale Honors Retired Doc,” *San Antonio Light*, October 25, 1954.

⁴⁷² Bert Wise, “Stockdale Honors Doctor Ella Ware,” *San Antonio Express*, undated newspaper clipping.

⁴⁷³ “Dr. Ella Ware to Be Feted By Her Patients,” *San Antonio Express*, October 15, 1954.

⁴⁷⁴ “Doctor Ella Ware, Country Doctor, Honored,” *San Antonio Express*, October 26, 1954.

⁴⁷⁵ “Dr. Ella Ware to Be Feted By Her Patients,” *San Antonio Express*, October 15, 1954.

Dr. Ware did and you never will,’” said Nathan Avant Elder, the previously mentioned physician from the neighboring community of Nixon, who was also a longtime friend. Another attendee summed up the impact of the ceremony well by saying, ‘If I came to a fork in the road of life and saw a million bucks down one road and what’s been done here today down the other, you know I’d follow that old bumpy road Dr. Ella Ware did.” On Ware’s way back to San Antonio, she asked the ambulance driver to pass by her former home.⁴⁷⁶ She told the paper she ‘enjoyed most the renewal of old acquaintances,’ but added in her ever-self-depreciative manner, ‘They shouldn’t have done it, though.’⁴⁷⁷

Another of Ware’s nephews later wrote a note of thanks in the paper, saying:

To The Citizens of Stockdale
 Rev. J.R. Kidwell
 Stockdale, Texas
 Dear Brother Kidwell:

I want to take this opportunity to express my appreciation, and the appreciation of all Dr. Ella Ware’s family, to you and all those present, who did so much to make a success of Dr. Ella Ware Day. This event was without doubt, the happiest event in her life, and she will remember it with pleasure as long as she lives.

Dr. Ware lives in 934 West Gramercy, just off Blanco Road, in San Antonio. She wants all her Stockdale friends to know that they will always be welcome in her home.

Sincerely,
 William C. King⁴⁷⁸

Retirement

The aforementioned years of charitable service given at little to no cost of many of her patients and the effects of the Great Depression led to financial strain toward the

⁴⁷⁶ “Stockdale Honors Retired Doc,” *San Antonio Light*, October 25, 1954.

⁴⁷⁷ “Fund Started For Dr. Ware,” *San Antonio Express*, October 26 1954.

⁴⁷⁸ “To The Citizens of Stockdale,” undated newspaper clipping.

end of Ware's life. Those at the celebration promptly started a collection after this came to their attention, and raised upwards of \$500. Reports in the paper dramatized the situation by calling her "virtually penniless," but she did lack in funds. Back in San Antonio, cards started pouring in containing all many could spare, which usually meant dollar bills, but sometimes fives and tens. Ware enjoyed hearing from her old friends more than receiving their money. She deeply missed Stockdale where people regularly stopped by to pay a visit.

In her later days, she often sat alone in a darkened room, occupying her time listening to the radio and crocheting bedspreads, until suffering a mild stroke, which left her fingers numb.⁴⁷⁹ Then, nearly blind and deaf, she just "waited for the long days to pass." Her spirits improved upon the renewed outpouring of gratitude. She received countless phone calls and her sister could not keep up with the mail.⁴⁸⁰ A merchant and friend from the neighboring town of Floresville sent in twenty-five dollars "in appreciation for what she meant to Stockdale and the surrounding community." A former medical school classmate from Alice, Texas sent twenty dollars and a letter saying he kept the bouquet of flowers, now pressed and dried, she gave him at their graduation.⁴⁸¹ Complete strangers wrote into the paper to admire her as "a tribute to all beloved country

⁴⁷⁹ "Boerne Man Boosts Ware Fund \$100," *San Antonio Express*, November 10, 1954.; Dulce Lea Ware, 2015.; "Dr. Ware Day Set at Stockdale," *San Antonio Express*, October 17, 1954.; "Five Years Later...Community Will Pay Homage to Woman Physician," *The Bonham Daily Favorite*, October 19, 1954.; "Money, Letters Pouring in to Dr. Ella Ware," *San Antonio Express*, October 29, 1954.

⁴⁸⁰ "Boerne Man Boosts Ware Fund \$100," *San Antonio Express*, November 10, 1954.; "Dr. Ware Day Set at Stockdale," *San Antonio Express*, October 17, 1954.; "Five Years Later...Community Will Pay Homage to Woman Physician," *The Bonham Daily Favorite*, October 19, 1954.

⁴⁸¹ "Money, Letters Pouring in to Dr. Ella Ware," *San Antonio Express*, October 29, 1954. This classmate was possibly Newell Wrigley Atkinson (he graduated with the class of 1898, which Ware was originally a member of until she continued with the four year program).

doctors,” with a man from Boerne, who did not even know her, personally sending in a \$100 donation.⁴⁸²

Another fellow UTMB alumni and pioneer physician, Madison Woodson Rogers, caused a stir when he wrote into the paper. Appalled after reading of her circumstance and perhaps reflecting on some of his own experience of being taken advantage of, he stated:

...But a note of sadness overshadows the incident. Not only a soul worn out in service but the fact mentioned that there was a fund started to provide for her old age. The old doctors were not only the family physician, but were also the “father confessor.” Many folks took advantage of the situation and neglected to pay for the doctor’s services. One wonders how many former patients of the doctor have failed in this respect. It is sad that one who has worn out her life in service should have to have a fund raised for her.⁴⁸³

These comments insulted Stockdale citizens and reportedly also some of Ware’s family.

The town’s druggist, Lee Roy Smith, replied to the paper on their behalf to say the community deeply treasured Ware and this speculative criticism marred the image of a town in desperate need of a new physician. For Smith, himself a 1904 Dr. Ware baby, working as a pharmacist meant he “was more closely associated with Dr. Ware in the business world than any living human, other than his father [the town’s prior pharmacist].” He stated:

During her fifty years of practice at Stockdale she made lots of money; she spent her money freely on her relatives and needy families of this community and in living well. She donated thousands of dollars to her church and other worthy causes; she had a very nice bank account when she became crippled and had to retire. During 1953 and the early part of 1954 an attempt was made, NOT BY DR. WARE, to get the eighty-three-year old doctor on the Old Age Assistance

⁴⁸² “Boerne Man Boosts Ware Fund \$100,” *San Antonio Express*, November 10, 1954.

⁴⁸³ “Dr. Madison Woodson Rogers,” *Texas State Journal of Medicine* 57, no. 1 (1961): 176.; M.W. Rogers M.D., “Dr. Ware Tribute Praised,” *San Antonio Express*, November 2, 1954. Rogers was from Rule, Texas and graduated a year before Ware.

rolls and the investigators for that board refused the request. Evidently there was a reason for the refusal, as those who are in dire need usually receive the assistance.

To solidify his claims, he added an example of another doctor's earnings in the area, saying, "There was a young doctor who came here, directly from internship and stayed with us just about eighteen months, then went back to school to specialize. His 1953 income tax return was for better than \$23,000. YES, a doctor can make good money here in Stockdale." Finally, he noted of the article the San Antonio newspaper ran featuring Ware, while "fine," covered "only a small portion of her life's history and service to this community." For their part, the paper included a note in which they reiterated they did not insinuate a doctor could not make a good living in Stockdale and that "...at least three reporters, who contacted close relatives of the doctor, were informed that illness had consumed her savings."⁴⁸⁴

Tributes

Along with her town's accolades, in 1952, Ware received a certificate from UTMB recognizing "her long service to humanity" and even after her death, she remained an honorary member of the Karnes-Wilson Medical Society and the Texas Medical Association.⁴⁸⁵ Many of the other early Texas women physicians received tributes both during and after their time as well. This illustrates women held a place in Texas' long history of pride in "its hospitals, its veterinary professionals, and its health

⁴⁸⁴ L.R. Smith, "Stockdale Apology Asked," *San Antonio Express*, November 12, 1954.

⁴⁸⁵ "Dr. Ware Day Set at Stockdale," *San Antonio Express*, October 17, 1954.; "Ella Ware," *Texas Journal of Medicine* 54, no. 2 (1958): 528.

care providers.”⁴⁸⁶ Prior to her passing, UTMB celebrated Marie Delalondre Dietzel, their first female student, upon the fiftieth anniversary of her graduation.⁴⁸⁷ The *Texas State Journal of Medicine* reported on Ella Devlin Fritch’s untimely death by stating, “Dr. Devlin was a woman of noble character and her kindly yet reserved disposition won her numerous friends.”⁴⁸⁸ At UTMB, the students of M. Charlotte Schaefer canceled their annual ball upon learning of her sudden death, the family held funerals both in her hometown and Galveston, and some of her former classmates served as pallbearers.⁴⁸⁹ Claudia Potter “became the first woman ever to receive the Golden “T” Award for ’50 years of service to medicine” from UTMB in 1954.⁴⁹⁰ Ray K. Daily similarly became the first woman to attain the prestigious Ashbel Smith Distinguished Alumni Award from the university in 1970. The American Women’s Association named Clara G. Cook “Medical Woman of the Year” in 1959.⁴⁹¹ The Texas Federation of Business and Professional Women’s Clubs set up a fund “in honor of Dr. Minnie L. Maffet of Dallas to send a worthy girl through medical school.”⁴⁹² Former students of Violet H. Keiller created a Violet H. Keiller Award at Hermann Hospital in Houston, where she worked as

⁴⁸⁶ Carlos Kevin Blanton, “Deconstructing Texas,” in *Beyond Texas Through Time: Breaking Away from Past Interpretations*, Walter L. Buenger and Arnoldo De Leon, Eds. (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2011), 205.

⁴⁸⁷ Silverthorne and Fulgham, *Women Pioneers in Texas Medicine*, xxvi.

⁴⁸⁸ “Deaths,” *Texas State Journal of Medicine* 8 (January 1913): 252.

⁴⁸⁹ Jakobi, “Schaefer, Marie Charlotte,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, 2010.

⁴⁹⁰ Silverthorne, “Potter, Claudia,” *Handbook of Texas Online*, 2010.

⁴⁹¹ “Those Feminine Hands that Heal: Women Play an Increasing Role in the Many Facets of Medicine,” *San Antonio Express*, November 10, 1963.

⁴⁹² “B&PW Adopts New By-Laws,” *Brownsville Herald*, Oct. 12, 1948.

a chief pathologist for thirty years.⁴⁹³ The Alamo Chapter of the American Medical Women's Association selected Edda Von Bose as "Woman Physician of the Year" and the national organization named her as one of twelve women of the year in 1958.⁴⁹⁴ Finally, Clara Kocher Duncan's patients uniquely wrote a set of poems dedicated to the doctor.⁴⁹⁵

Small Texas towns also treasured "country docs" for the deeply personalized care they provided. In Stockdale's county seat of Floresville, citizens honored "pioneer physician" John V. Blake at the community's annual Peanut Festival in 1946 with a parade "in which scores of children, men and women he had brought into the world took part. He was awarded a large bronze plaque by citizens for his 'service to humanity.'"⁴⁹⁶ Although he once made the news for a rather eventful hanging he attended in which the convicted man stabbed a sheriff while on the execution platform, he was better known for, like Ware, delivering many babies.⁴⁹⁷ His name even appears on some Stockdale deliveries, and he made the Ripley's Believe-It-Or-Not newspaper column for delivering 4,500 babies, but no triplets.⁴⁹⁸ Patients also fondly recount their interactions with him, for example, one woman remembered, "Since we had a large family – Dad, Mom, and eight children – old Dr. Blake often made house calls. Sometimes when he visited

⁴⁹³ Cottrell, "Keiller, Violet Hannah," *Handbook of Texas Online*, 2010.

⁴⁹⁴ "'Headliners' to Be Honored at Matrix Dinner," *San Antonio Express*, April 3, 1960.

⁴⁹⁵ "Abstract," Clara Duncan Papers 1899-1920s, Archives of Women of the Southwest, University of Texas, Austin, Texas, <http://www.worldcat.org/title/clara-duncan-papers-1899-1920s/oclc/550567509>.

⁴⁹⁶ "Pioneer Physician Dies," *The Corpus Christi Caller-Times*, May 6, 1947.

⁴⁹⁷ "Condemned Man Stabs Sheriff; Attacks on Gallows," *Abilene Reporter*, June 13, 1909.

⁴⁹⁸ Janice (Parker) Frost, "William Ludson Worsham." "Ripley's Picture of Late Dr. Blake Used in Tokyo, Japan," *Floresville Chronicle-Journal*, 1948.

someone in our area, he would drop by our house to see if everyone was OK.” She recalled, on one occasion, asking him to fix her broken china doll. He did, but “Looking back,” she said, “I know he had many important things to do. But that day he took the time to mend a little girl’s heart.”⁴⁹⁹

As previously exhibited by Ware, country doctors became more than doctors to their communities. During his fifty-four year plus practice, Blake “prominently identified with business and civic life.” He built a hospital, spoke at the local school on “The Necessity of School Sanitation,” and owned the local newspaper.⁵⁰⁰ “Telegrams of sympathy...from all over Texas came to the family home when news of his death went out over the state news wires. Old friends of long years standing, all races and creeds, were saddened.” In addition to family and friends, “Many prominent physicians and surgeons from neighboring cities were present for the funeral.” Like the ecumenical presence at Ware’s celebration: “Following his wishes and in keeping with his daily life, a simple burial service was held” with the local Methodist preacher, a personal friend, conducting a brief service and the Lutheran preacher closing with a prayer. The entire city closed for the funeral “out of respect to his long life of useful service.”⁵⁰¹

Similarly, another early Floresville doctor, Jerry William Oxford, received a whole day’s celebration “Dr. J.W. Oxford Day” during the county’s 1960 centennial celebration after he, too, practiced for more than half a century.⁵⁰² The nearby

⁴⁹⁹ “Dr. Blake: Our country doctor,” *Wilson County News*, April 2, 2014.

⁵⁰⁰ “Wilson County Institute, *San Antonio Express*, September 8, 1915.

⁵⁰¹ “Floresville And Wilson County Mourn Death Of Dr. John V. Blake, Sr., Pioneer South Texas Physician,” *Floresville Chronicle-Journal*, May 1947.

⁵⁰² *Wilson County Centennial 1860-1960: September 19th through the 25th, 1960.*

community of La Vernia named a street “Dr Martin” after their own cherished physician, James Robinson Graves Martin, who practiced there for fifty years. He also delivered hundreds of babies, owned many of the town’s buildings, and received high praise from citizens, who called him “OUR Dr. R.G. Martin.”⁵⁰³ In Bullard, Texas, another woman country doctor, Marjorie Ferrell Roper Studdard, also had a street, Dr M Roper Parkway, named for her.⁵⁰⁴

A previously mentioned physician, Nathan Avant Elder, who practiced more than sixty-five years in the neighboring town of Nixon, once earned the title of Texas “Physician of the Year.” His daughter recalled:

‘His list of the numbers of babies delivered seemed endless. There were many twins, but only one set of triplets.’

‘He was most famous for delivering a most unusual set of Negro twins. The first boy was born in Smiley. Difficulties occurred so the mother was put on a cot and rode the afternoon train from Smiley to Nixon.’

‘My dad performed a caesarean section and delivered another boy safely. What were the boys’ names? of course they were Nixon and Smiley.’⁵⁰⁵

Just like in Ware’s case, citizens in San Benito, Texas held a “Dr. Cash Day” in honor of their country doc, Clarence M. Cash, at which they named the local elementary school in his honor. On another occasion, the mothers of around 200 of the babies he delivered joined together to donate a room in his honor at the local hospital. “They

⁵⁰³ Amber M. Middleton, “LaVernia-Small Town Research Projects,” 2000, <http://pacweb.alamo.edu/InteractiveHistory/projects/rhines/StudentProjects/2000/Lavernia/LaVerniaPage.htm>.; Pioneer Doctor Served La Vernia Over Half A Century,” *Floresville Chronicle-Journal*, 1963.

⁵⁰⁴ Marvin Mayer, “The Lady Doctor of Bullard, Texas,” Stephen F. Austin State University Heritage Center, October 2014, <http://www.sfasu.edu/heritagecenter/9416.asp>.

⁵⁰⁵ “Dr. N.A. Elder of Nixon Dies Sunday,” January 13, 1961.; Joyce E. Moore, “Dr. Nathan Avant Elder,” in *On the Watershed of Eclecto and Clear Fork II*, by Karon Mac Smith, 170-171.

presented him a scrapbook filled with pictures of ‘Dr. Cash babies.’ Included were newborns, toddlers at every stage, school children, some college students and a few mothers.” And on still another occasion, after he retired to a summer home, the school band and a crowd of townspeople met the doctor and his wife on the outskirts of town when they returned home and paraded them through town.⁵⁰⁶

Also much like in Ware’s case, while William Thomas “Tom” Arnold Jr.’s patients in Hemphill, Texas may never have been able to compensate him adequately, they did turn out for “one of the largest funerals in the history of Sabine County.”⁵⁰⁷ Finally another “country doc,” Monroe Arthur Thomas of Houston County, Texas, evaded his own town ceremony by simply not attending, yet letters of praise very reminiscent of the appreciation for Ware still flooded the paper after his death. They detailed how “he went to his patients, rain or shine,” “did so many good things for the poor, the half cannot be told,” and lived “a full and useful life.” He was “...the exemplification of the highest standards of citizenship,” “No glamorous acclaim followed his philanthropies. He was the friend of all, the benefactor of all in need, without thought of race or color.” “This great citizen, medical doctor and humanitarian will live forever because he gave to society a lifetime of service.”⁵⁰⁸

All of this familiar praise, confirms once again, Ware practiced much like other, usually male country docs. In the end, Ware also remained modest and just loved being a

⁵⁰⁶ Minnie Gilbert, “Country Doctor,” for “Roots by the River,” date unknown, http://www.sanbenitohistory.com/projects/Whats_in_Name_7th/Dr._Cash.html

⁵⁰⁷ Bob Bowman, “A Country Doctor,” *All Things Historical*, Dec. 30-Jan 5, 2002, http://www.texasescapes.com/DEPARTMENTS/Guest_Columnists/East_Texas_all_things_historical/CountryDoctorBB102.htm.

⁵⁰⁸ Sharron Randall, “Country Doctor’s Life Remembered,” *Houston County Courier*, November 2008, <http://www.easttexasnews.com/Courier/News/Ind/November2008/story1.html>.

doctor and helping people. She likely related to Lena Fimple Schreier's feelings on the praise, who as a physician who had "gone through one black doctor's bag and was working on a second," said "I don't believe my life has been unusual. I've done what I was supposed to do. Flattery doesn't do much for me. I just love my work."⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰⁹ Judy Rollins, "Country Doctor Dispenses Counseling and Medicine," *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 3, 1971.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

Watching a friend die from uterine cancer inspired Elizabeth Blackwell to become the first woman formally educated as a physician in the United States in 1849. With her degree, Blackwell nobly hoped to help other women suffering from female diseases or at least give them the comfort of receiving treatment from someone of their own sex.⁵¹⁰ This marked the entrance of women into medical school in the Northeastern United States, but the milestone took a little longer in Texas, where a modern public medical school did not exist for anyone until 1891.

By the end of the century, Ware's motivations seemed almost unremarkable in comparison to Blackwell's, and more similar to her male counterparts. Although moved by her own mother's illness, Ware, having already worked as a teacher, simply wished to pursue a career in her desired field of medicine. She set forth to make a living for herself and her family, fill a void in her community, and join her work with Christian service. Her father's tenacious, entrepreneurial spirit and progressive idea about women's role in society, pushed Ware's aims further than nursing and cemented her place on the even more unusual path of becoming a doctor. The other women pursued medical degrees in the state for much the same reasons and, for the most part, with familial support.⁵¹¹ While all of this drive and backing remained consistent with that of newer generations of

⁵¹⁰ Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science*, 107.

⁵¹¹ McArthur and Smith, *Texas Through Women's Eyes*, 8.; Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science*, 107-108. Minnie L. Maffet withheld her medical school efforts from her family until she could prove herself, going so far to have her ex roommate at the UT Austin campus post her letters home, and meaning perhaps family support was not necessary.

female medical students in the Northeast, Ware and the other women's experiences in Texas thereafter often differed.

Instead of female medical students coming from upper class families like in the increasingly competitive Northeast, many of the Texas women grew up under more average or even difficult circumstances and worked before they entered medical school. They arrived most similarly to male students within their state. This meant woefully unprepared, with generally even less collegiate level experience than an already undereducated crop of men.

Ware held a positive memory of her education, and for good reason. As one of the few Southern medical schools to match their standards to the established, most-respected medical programs in the Northeast, UTMB offered a unique opportunity for cutting edge knowledge and skill. At the Galveston Island based campus, the female students benefited from a tolerant, booming port city atmosphere. This included an encouraging progressive academic culture offered by adventurous professors, trained in the Northeastern United States and Europe, who moved to Texas to teach. Philanthropist George Brackenridge helped further dictate the openness of the university to "the fairer sex" through the exceptional availability of special housing and financial aid. Unlike in the Northeast, where women seemed to face some ever-present and some increasing pushback in attaining the highest quality medical education available, women in Texas received virtually open access.

With reduced conflict and added benefits for female students, women experienced medical school in Texas in a rather open way for the time. UTMB allowed women to readily attend the same class as men, attain ample clinical experience, and offered them

postgraduate opportunities. Keeping up with the rigorous curriculum, could instead, remain their chief concern, as was the bane of *all* early students' existence. While at the school, the female students excelled. Male privilege among professors, classmates, and a sometimes narrow-minded public still existed as a reality of life at the turn of the century. The role of refining "pillars of virtue" is used again and again to justify the women's presence in a traditionally male space, even by broader-minded academic faculty. The ever-important, particularly Southern, female role to uphold virtue and add charm helped justify the women's presence amongst rugged Texas men, who would need refining before they became sophisticated physicians of elite social status. Still, the early female students did not receive acknowledgement for this alone. They received praise detailing their promise of future careers, held important roles in student government, aided at local hospitals in their off time, and the university even actively sought to add female faculty members to their staff. In the end, the Texas medical school provided an unusually egalitarian environment.

When Ware and her fellow female graduates emerged from what could have just been the supportive bubble of progressive academia, they also found Texas welcoming to their medical practice. The great majority quickly set up and maintained long-lasting careers in burgeoning urban areas in the Lone Star state. Holding positions at hospitals and schools seemed to attract the women, possibly because of the added resources they offered under their umbrella, but virtually all fields remained open to them. Perhaps most tellingly of all, the rural area where Ware struck out on her own to practice, although theoretically less progressive than early Texas cities, primarily influenced her career, rather than any sort of gender conflict.

Her small town's need and appreciation for medical care triumphed over most prejudice she could face because of stepping outside "the female sphere." As suggested by historian Mary Roth Walsh, the professionalization of medicine actually benefited women in that it offered "corroboration of their expertise to meet a disbelieving public."⁵¹² In Ware's case, her sparkling new diploma even made less-educated male doctors in her community fall out of favor. As society matured, people began to look beyond quacks, and realize options for better healing existed with advances in modern medicine. Patients seemed less picky about from whom they obtained this care, as long as they did, even anxiously writing letters to the federal Children's Bureau all the way in Washington D.C. for the latest medical advice.⁵¹³ They tried to attract doctors to their areas, and did not necessarily complain when these doctors wore a skirt. Educated physicians, who might also invest in local projects, became a positive asset across the board. Stockdale's townspeople actually liked the image boost that having their own educated woman physician brought to the community and that she was "one of their own." Residents continued to play an active role in securing healthcare in the community even after Ware and in the 1950s a clinic was built through stock sales to local citizens. The town also continued to support physicians of special character, such as William G. Osoba, who like Ware, provided personalized and holistic care.⁵¹⁴

Strikingly, Ware's career itself is near indistinguishable from that of male rural physicians in the state. She came from and returned to practice in a rural area just as they

⁵¹² Mary Roth Walsh, *Doctors Wanted No Women Need Apply: Sexual Barriers in the Medical Profession, 1835-1875* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1976), 15.

⁵¹³ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁵¹⁴ Lorenz, *Stockdale: A Glimpse Into The Past*.

often did and made a huge impact as they often did as well. They, too, compassionately met patients where they most needed care, at their bedside, and offered services to cater to their environment, such as healthcare for the railroad. As UTMB noted of Ware's "most cosmopolitan and democratic aggregation" of a class, "Most of our graduates come from the ranks of the people. They have energy, character and sympathy with humanity..."⁵¹⁵ Like Ware, the male country docs also worked all hours of the night, never refused care, traveled by horse and buggy, hand-crafted fixes to issues that arose, and received payment in goods. They also delivered plenty of babies, cared for multiple generations, were community-oriented, practiced through their own illness, rarely retired, and all the while, kept their educations up to date.

Medical historians point to the fact that "...the public has generally been a big supporter of women doctors..." with male physicians, instead, serving as "...the principal gatekeepers to, and the most determined opponents of, women's admission to the medical profession."⁵¹⁶ Yet, within Ware's local, overwhelmingly male medical community, she received acceptance, even serving as president of her area medical association.⁵¹⁷ This professional acceptance did not occur so easily for women doctors in many other places. Ware acted as a fellow rural physician, however, and male doctors in the surrounding areas seemed far too busy dealing with muddy roads and inadequate facilities to jeer at someone for having a ruffled hem. They tended to admire anyone who held up to their trying work and included her in a sense of camaraderie.

⁵¹⁵ "History," *Cactus* 1898, 70-71.; "President Winston Talks," *Houston Daily Post*, May 14, 1899.

⁵¹⁶ More, Fee, and Parry, *Women Physicians and Cultures of Medicine*, 7.

⁵¹⁷ Alma Sioux Scarberry, "Ella Ware Fete Cancelled," *The San Antonio Express*, May 15, 1949.

Isolating work, a rural general medical practice could be, managing what amounted to a never-ending shift in a remote area lacking in many modern conveniences and rife with epidemics. But Ware had strategies, from her portable stove to her makeshift driver alarm and horse-mounting system. In fact, one of her most effective aids may have been in the form of an animal friend, who offered physical travel and, it seems, emotional support. She never could part with her trusty steed Martin, and “kept him for life, 30 years.” Relatives recalled, “The horse was her constant companion...and understood spoken commands and words. As one recalled, ‘Old Martin could do everything but write a prescription.’⁵¹⁸

Ware and her fellow women physicians led less traditional lives, yet with a little creativity, all led very full ones. Several managed to marry their beloveds and others to have families, just on a smaller scale than the average contemporary woman. They held onto parts of period women’s culture like crafting, entertaining, or spending time with children, even though they also partook in activities such as traveling more than the typical turn of the century Texas woman. Lacking in time for traditional women’s duties, Ware hired housekeepers to keep up her domestic image, bought her own set of china, allowed others to use her home for activities she supported, and gave large monetary donations to her church to supplement her absence. She also purposefully dressed to balance her roles as a professional and Southern woman.

Contrasting again with the Northeast, where women physicians challenged the status quo by enlisting themselves in very public crusades, the Texas-educated female physicians generally held their activism to areas considered “appropriate for women.”

⁵¹⁸ “Dr. Ware Day Set at Stockdale,” *San Antonio Express*, October 17, 1954.

This meant churches and schools, with some forays into suffrage. Despite these parameters, they became outspoken and accomplished in very important fields such as education and public health that might otherwise have not received as much attention. Through the evidence available, it seems Ware held her efforts close to home by working with her church and the local Mexican American population, yet did join an organized campaign in San Antonio during World War I. Patriotism always remained a respectable cause and many of the women also took on roles in the war.

Noteworthy, thanks to Ware's informal social reform, minorities benefited greatly from her healthcare. The option of a trained physician-assisted birth was unheard of most anywhere in the state at the beginning of her career and later on, still only most common for residents in urban areas.⁵¹⁹ While Ware's charitable generosity in her area eventually put her in financial straits in her retirement, she also came from a community of like-minded individuals who later provided support.

Finally, religion seemed to play an important role in the lives of Texas women physicians, and perhaps many of the early physicians in the state. For Ware in Stockdale, Christianity remained not just a religion, but the way of life, and few could argue with the female doctor doing what they saw as God's work. Texas women physicians' joining of spiritual motives with their work fit well with the state's period religiosity and moral traditionalism.⁵²⁰ When it came to maintaining the ubiquitous stamina that provided for

⁵¹⁹ Burns, "Health and Medicine," *Handbook of Texas Online*, 2010.

⁵²⁰ Alwyn, Barr, "Late Nineteenth-Century Texas." *Handbook of Texas Online*, June 15, 2010, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/npl01>.

Ware's adventurous career, she drew foremost on her faith. She was the oldest member of her Stockdale Baptist congregation at the time of her death.⁵²¹

Ware served a breathtaking number of roles throughout her life, including general practitioner, obstetrician, surgeon, city doctor, railroad doctor, anesthesiologist, nurse, laboratory technician, radiologist, pharmacist, and office manager. She was a lifelong student eager to learn, teacher to employees, collaborative colleague, and when need be, kind missionary or authoritarian. She became a mother, grandmother, and auntie to many, and acted as an astute businesswoman, counselor, friend, and role model. The list goes on and on, with gardening, wagon repair, and an inventive spirit also coming easily. In further proof that the early women doctors need not sacrifice, and possibly even benefited from keeping elements of "womanhood," relatives fittingly remembered her doctoring *and* her crocheting.

Overall, the ways in which Ware conducted herself insured she remained maintained support, despite her unorthodox position. While pushing boundaries, she ultimately supported white Southern culture by mostly embracing a female gender identity, maintaining elite-class standards, upholding racial hierarchy, promoting families, and exemplifying her town's religious character. What emerges is a practical, Christian woman, for whom ingenuity, led to a successful, rewarding, appreciated, and yes, unusual life for her time.

In the end, this study offers a rare lens through which to examine the distinct practice of this early twentieth century rural Texas woman physician. Yet, the information surrounding Ware's experiences in origins, education, practice, and social

⁵²¹ "Ware," obituary, undated newspaper clipping.

life also reveal the flexible environment the state provided for all women physicians to explore a medical career of their choice. This atmosphere existed in contrast to the Northeast, where beginning at the turn of the century, medical education reform caused female medical students to face growing obstacles in just getting into the field. This included a rise in competition and cost of schooling, and the growing elite status of the profession.⁵²²

With access to a quality medical school, financial aid, and perhaps a touch of Ware's stamina, the early Texas women physicians went on to practice in a wide variety of fields, become businesswomen, travel around the world, and lead their private lives in a wide variety of ways. Ware mainly related to the fellow, mostly urban women physicians throughout the state in how they adapted to this still unusual role for their time. For many, their approach included embracing period women's culture and taking on non-controversial issues in social activism. This study suggests the urban women likely benefited from the Progressive environment of growing Texas cities, much as they had in their medical education in Galveston. Several of the the women did choose some new and under-staffed fields, such as anesthesia, mental health, pathology, or women's health services at universities. In this way, they related to some of the women physicians in the Northeast, but the women in Texas still seem to report less overall discrimination. In the end, more extensive research is needed on urban Texas women physicians to determine if and how their freedom in practicing matched Ware's remarkable level in her small town.

⁵²² Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science*, 119, 329, 353.; *Send Us a Lady Physician: Women Doctors in America*, 225.

The ability for Ware and a few other women in the state to choose careers as country docs may be an indicator of just how flexible Texas could be for the early woman physician. This choice left Ware, in many ways, even more comparable to the overwhelmingly male rural physician population in the state than her fellow urban female physicians. In fact, she only seemed to significantly verge from the men socially. As indicated, this was largely by her own choice. Gender did not seem to hold Ware back, yet this remained true because she did not disregard it. Freedom to practice like the men did not mean equally as the men. Utilizing her period's ideals helped her strategically maintain an image of Southern womanhood that benefitted both her career and her patients. Practicing in a patriarchal, rural Southern community afforded Ware a surprisingly unique position of power. Other factors including, her own family's influence in the town, her training, her spiritual basis for her work, and her personal stamina played roles in the acceptance of this authority.⁵²³

Contributions to Historiography: Women's and Minorities' Entry into Medicine Outside the Urban Northeast

A study of Dr. Ware contributes to the historiography of women in medicine in that by focusing on Texas, it examines the rural South, as opposed to the frequently examined urban Northeast. The study reveals how this environment at the turn of the century informed Ware's experience in a uniquely positive way. Previous brief accounts of early women physicians in Texas focus on the overcoming of obstacles on what would have always been an unconventional path for an early twentieth century woman. Few

⁵²³ Hart Sitwell, "Texas Trails: Stockdale Had Woman Doctor," *San Antonio Light*, January 6, 1967.

look beyond the surface at the remarkable advantages the Lone Star state offered its first female medical students and graduates. This is especially true in comparison to the experience of women in the Northeastern United States, who began to face greater obstacles and less tolerance in their pursuit of medical educations and practices around the same time.

Interestingly, black male physicians also found a small niche in medical practice, but not education in Texas, and the state also became home to the second African American medical society in the United States.⁵²⁴ Yet, far from a dream world, women and other minorities still made up a very small portion of doctors in the state. In the 1900 census, women physicians numbered at 100. Black doctors numbered at 136 in 1900 and 205 in 1930.⁵²⁵ More research is still needed to offer further understanding of these few early physicians who faced social constraints, but found environments welcome to their practice. This includes the other largely unexamined women physicians of the American South, West, and Southwest, as well as women and other minorities who practiced medicine in frontier or rural areas across the country and the world. In Texas, it seems possible that population growth, a large number of minorities, and a good deal of poverty, but also new wealth, instituted a need for more doctors to cover the expansive, developing, and rugged state. At the same time, the medical field remained young and disorganized. This early lack of organization perhaps led to less structured groups to push women out of the field, and it is in formal meetings, instead of practice, for

⁵²⁴ Burns, "Health and Medicine," *Handbook of Texas Online*, 2010.; "Courage & Determination - A Portrait of Pioneering African-American Physicians in Texas," Texas Medical Association Exhibit.

⁵²⁵ Robert A. Calvert, Arnoldo De Leon, and Gregg Cantrell, eds., *The History of Texas*, 5th ed. (Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell, 2014). Alwyn Barr, *Black Texans: A History of African Americans in Texas, 1528-1995*, 2nd ed. (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 151.

example, where women reported some discrimination in the state.⁵²⁶ A similar pattern of acceptance of women in medicine across the Southwestern and Western United States is briefly considered through this study, and an existing work on women in the Midwestern, then frontier state of Michigan already reveals some striking commonalities with Texas.

Researcher Janet Tarolli found that, in Michigan around the 1870s-1900, “Public sentiment was growing...in support of coeducation, including medical education.” This, of course, contrasted with “...the eastern United States, [where the study notes] higher collegiate barriers were being erected.” As shown in Texas, a growing public appreciation of those with modern medical educations remained a key factor to women’s acceptance as physicians, and the women that studied in Michigan realized that “success in their future careers depended upon receiving a thoroughly competent medical education at an established school.” They found that school, and for a time, it offered amenities similar to those at the Texas medical school, including truly coeducational classes and a boarding house with an eating club for both sexes. As in Texas, women who practiced medicine in Michigan also seemed to receive acceptance. For example, as one woman physician who traveled to work there in 1868 is quoted in *Sympathy and Science*: “I was the pioneer. It was a strong thing for a woman to demand recognition as the peer of the old practitioners, but it has been granted.” Yet women there still faced discrimination in academic appointments, and with the standardization of medicine,

⁵²⁶ “Those Feminine Hands That Heal: Women Play an Increasing Role In the Many Facets of Medicine,” *San Antonio Express*, November 10, 1965.

confronted increasing opposition in receiving medical educations after 1900 like their Northeastern contemporaries.⁵²⁷

Ultimately, flexible environments helped, but it still remained a delicate balance for a woman to be a doctor in the early twentieth century. This study focuses on the first thirty years of women's education at UTMB, from 1891-1921. At the end of this period, the school actually began to record their most diverse years on records in terms of both gender and race. However, the women from this period on, seem to become increasingly subject to backlash. They report more disapproval from their families, taunting from classmates, opposition from male professors, and difficulty in gaining internships, unlike the female students at the turn of the century, who generally received warm, bemused, or only mildly annoyed receptions.⁵²⁸ This is reminiscent of the pushback faced earlier at the turn of the century by women in the Northeast and suggests perhaps a similar pattern may have taken place in other regions for the same or new reasons.

The Understudied History of Rural Medicine

This study also uncovers aspects of rural general medical practice, as opposed to the heavily researched hospital-based history of medicine of the urban Northeast. Stories of country doctors have long captivated the public. Early on in 1948, *Life* magazine featured Dr. Ernest Ceriani in a famous photographic essay entitled "Country Doctor," which chronicled twenty-three humdrum to harrowing days in the life of a rural physician

⁵²⁷ Janet Tarolli, "Five Women Determined to Be Doctors and the Role Michigan Played in Helping Them Achieve their Dream," *Medicine at Michigan* (Fall 2000): 26-33.; Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science*, 148-149.

⁵²⁸ See, for example, "From Prairie to Presidency: Women change the face of Texas medicine," *Texas Medicine* 99, 1 (January 2003): 64.; *Changing the Face of Medicine: Celebrating America's Women Physicians, Local Legends* (Galveston, TX: Moody Medical Library, 2008).; Silverthorne and Fulgham, *Women Pioneers in Texas Medicine*, 89.

in a small Colorado town. Numerous museums and exhibits across the nation continue to preserve and celebrate the history of these revered medical practitioners today.⁵²⁹

While Norman Rockwell-esque male country doctors frequently inhabit public imagery, as suggested by this study, many women undertook and received attention for the path as well. Frontier and rural environments seemed to even provide adventurous challenges some women found appealing, which is also a topic worthy of future study. One of the key, early historical works on women physicians in the United States, *Sympathy and Science*, Regina Morantz-Sanchez even briefly, but tellingly indicates the significant presence of women in the field of rural healthcare around the turn of the century, stating:

Many women chose to open rural practices, or like Belcher, pioneer in the Midwest and West. Though the majority of women physicians by the end of the century were concentrated in the urban East and old Northwest, a significant minority pursued less conventional paths. Indeed, their geographical mobility was quite typical of the age. They went everywhere: to rural areas in western Pennsylvania and New York, even to the South.⁵³⁰

Short biographies of many female frontier settlement doctors are available through the Oregon Health & Science University Historical Collections and Archives' website, with similar online showings for other states. A few memoirs and many newspaper articles on early rural women physicians also exist.⁵³¹

⁵²⁹ For example: The Arkansas Country Doctor Museum in Lincoln, Arkansas, The Country Doctor Museum in Bailey, North Carolina, The Indiana Medical History Museum in Indianapolis, Indiana, and the Robert Wood Johnson Museum of Frontier Medicine in San Angelo, Texas.

⁵³⁰ Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science*, 149.

⁵³¹ Memoirs such as *Doc Susie: The True Story of a Country Physician in the Colorado Rockies* (1991) by Virginia Connell and *Country Doctor: The Story of Dr. Claire Louise Caudill* (1999) by Shirley Gish, focus on the careers of rural women physicians. Other female country doctors contemporary to Ware received coverage in their local papers, including A. Louise Klehm in Illinois, Mina B. Glasier in Wisconsin, and Susan Anderson in Colorado, just to name a very few.

Yet, while these male and female “country docs” have intrigued the public for years, they actually lack in scholarly attention. And it is a shame, as from the history of rural medicine there is much to learn. In his work *Doctoring the South: Southern Physicians in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (2004) historian Steven Stowe argues for a particular “country orthodoxy” espoused by early physicians in their remote Southern practices. Others contend, this special country doctor spirit is not confined to a certain region or period. The altruistic, complex, rich relationships doctors share with patients in communities in which they root themselves are common to rural physicians in all areas and periods, even in modern times, in humanitarian practices in remote villages in third world countries. For example, in her review of Stowe’s work, historian Carole Emberton notes Judith Walzer Leavitt showed similar doctor-patient relationships in what she called the “domestic environment” of the early nineteenth century rural Northeast and Midwest.⁵³² It is this nuanced, one size *does not* fit all care that is the mainstay for rural physicians that needs more attention.

Many doctors pursued medical degrees after witnessing or learning of a doctor just like Ware, who impacted their patients profoundly with their passion and commitment to their position. The bottom line of a huge profit-based, and often flawed, healthcare industry did not yet complicate Ware’s world. At her time, specialization, urbanization, and affluence among physicians had only begun to emerge as trends. Patient care stood as the primary objective of doctors.

Of course the absence a healthcare industry is just an idyllic picture of yesteryear. To be sure, all was also not great in doctor-patient relations “way back when,” as doctors

⁵³² Carole Emberton, Review of Stowe, Steven M., *Doctoring the South: Southern Physicians and Everyday Medicine in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*, *H-South, H-Net Reviews*, March 2006, <http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=11475>.

of Ware's time could be paternalistic, taking decisions into their own hands and not telling patients important details about their own health. Patient's rights movements of the 1960s and 1970s sought to remedy this, but today, reminders of "patient centered care" are constantly needed, indicating other problems emerged. It seems some of the art and service aspect of medicine was lost in the incredible, head spinning scientific and technologic developments. Studies of rural physicians like Ware reflect how important the caring part was, and suggest ways to balance this art with the science.

Her productive, rooted-in-service career gets at the core values of rural medicine. Ware proved a conversation could often be just as important as writing a prescription, and in being conservative in her practice and taking time to listen, she could avoid doing more harm than good. She knew her patients, enough to suspect that one died of rabies because of her pet rats. While Ware likely used a detached demeanor to get through treating patients she knew so well, she also remained intimately acquainted with their way of life. She witnessed firsthand the effects of poverty and illness in her community, as well as the miracle of new life, while providing her invaluable care. This type of practice left her very fulfilled in her work.

Histories of actual rural physicians support these types of "country doctor" practices are not just a creative writer's dream, they happened. As a businesswoman, Ware still sought a profit, but a fair one. Much like the discoverers of the drug insulin, who valued their drug's contribution to society so much they gave away their rights to its patent, she kept in close contact with her goal to provide medical care, putting that before great monetary gain.⁵³³ Patients valued her as a blessing and that remained important to

⁵³³ See, Michael Bliss, *The Discovery of Insulin* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1982).

Ware. In the end, to elicit such appreciation as these early country doctors garnered, it seems there needed to be heart in the medicine, studies of rural physicians reveal this unique art of care.

Insight into a Different Kind of Turn of the Century Professional Woman

Lastly, this study of Ware details the experiences of a professional woman born and working in rural Texas, in contrast to more plentiful studies of early women professionals in cities. To recognize the difference in her experience, consider the example of a woman physician who practiced in the nearest city to Ware. Josephine Kingsley reportedly became the first educated woman physician and surgeon in San Antonio. After growing up in the New York, she obtained her degree from the University of Michigan in 1873. She went east for a bit, and then returned to Michigan and worked at The Woman's Hospital and Foundlings' home in Detroit for five years.⁵³⁴ She began practicing medicine in San Antonio around 1878, and joined the Bexar County Medical Society as its first female member. Working in a general practice with her doctor brother, the pair focused on obstetrics and gynecology and abdominal surgery.⁵³⁵ Known clearly as a progressive physician, Kingsley reorganized and led the San Antonio Kindergarten Association in 1904, which ran free kindergartens in the city's most needy areas.⁵³⁶ She also wrote articles implicating men in the epidemic of gonorrhea, perhaps

⁵³⁴ "University Notes," *Michigan Argus*, April 19, 1878. Elizabeth Brooks, *Prominent Women of Texas* (Akron, Ohio: The Werner company, 1896), 141.

⁵³⁵ *A Twentieth Century History of Southwest Texas Illustrated Volume II* (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1907).

⁵³⁶ *History of the Kindergarten Movement in the Western States, Hawaii, and Alaska*, Barbara Greenwood, Lucy Wheelcock, Association for Childhood Education Committee of nineteen, 1940.; S. L. S., "The Josephine Kingsley Free Kindergarten," *The Daily Express*, January 30, 1910.

acceptable since they focused on morality, popular at the time.⁵³⁷ Notices of her passing in 1907 appeared far and wide and the *Texas Medical Journal* reported:

Dr. Kingsley was a sister and associated in practice of Dr. B. F. Kingsley. This firm was amongst the most eminent, popular and distinguished in Texas, and Dr. Kingsley's death will be mourned by a wide circle of admiring and attached friends. It is a distinct loss to the profession and the State. Dr. Kingsley was eminent and distinguished no less in social circles, and was ever forward in charitable work. She was also a contributor at intervals to the current literature of medicine, and was the author of several valuable papers contributed to the State Medical Association and which grace the annual volumes of the Transactions.⁵³⁸

In her obituary in the *San Antonio Light*, it was noted "Dr. Kingsley was one of the most active characters in the city and to her efforts much of the relief movement that has been inaugurated in this city is due."⁵³⁹ In sum, Kingsley's well-respected career as a woman physician involved in Progressive causes remained very typical of the frequently studied urban women physicians in the history of medicine.

This contrasts with Ware's experience as a native Texas woman educated in the state and practicing in a rural, traditionally more conservative area, the very type of place said to be home to the anti-suffrage sentiment in the South.⁵⁴⁰ Ware's story differed, but she still found a way to be just as accepted and appreciated in the ever-flexible state.

⁵³⁷ Kingsley left some interesting published material, including the "The Woman's Peril; The Man's Sin," in which she argues for the cause of social reform by teaching self control to prevent gonorrhea, and the physician's role in educating society. She cited ninety percent of men as afflicted, and held them and female prostitutes accountable for this terrible disease that affected innocent children and wives. She also wrote, "The Overeducated Woman and Race Question," which again suggests physicians take a greater role in social reform and alleviate the pressure on "overtaxed" and "intelligent" women in teaching that boys can be raised to be just as morally successfully as girls.

⁵³⁸ "Dr. Josephine Kingsley," *Texas Medical Journal* 23, no. 5 (November 1907): 187.

⁵³⁹ "Ends Long Career in San Antonio," *San Antonio Light*, October 14, 1907.

⁵⁴⁰ Elna Green, "Ideals of Government, of Home, and of Women: The Ideology of Southern White Antisuffragism," in *Hidden Histories of Women in the New South*, edited by Virginia Bernhard, Betty Brandon, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, Theda Perdue, and Elizabeth H. Turner (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1994), 100.

Outside of medical school, it seems localism and religion, more than progressivism, had a lot to do with it.

Through Ware, we see how a different type of professional woman ordered her life around her local community's values and religious principles. Her story of autonomy calls into question the need for women to be exposed to women's groups or live away from a conservative society, as the only path to a life of agency for a woman. The relationship between Christianity and her career also remained significant. Those who suffered often claimed recovering due to Ware's modern medical training *and* her vigilant bedside care. They emphasized this care ran through and through with her Baptist faith, with Ware administering to bodies and ministering to souls, perhaps presaging a type of holistic care to which some in the medical field are returning. All in all, more studies of rural professional women may uncover novel and thought provoking insight into women's varying experiences.

Death and Legacy

Interestingly, only some of the women physician's tombstones display "Dr." or "M.D." on their inscription. Ware's grave includes both. Many of the women only received epitaphs as daughters, wives, or mothers. At least twenty of the women succumbed to some form of cardiovascular disease. Two died as a result of automobile accidents, one tragically early in her career and the other after retirement, and four of the women died while just in their thirties. Ware died at age eight-eight at the home she shared with her sister at 934 Gramercy Place in San Antonio at 3:30 AM on Wednesday,

October 29, 1958, due to cerebral arteriosclerosis, hypertensive arteriosclerotic cardiovascular disease, and complications of her earlier strokes.⁵⁴¹

Her funeral was held at the First Baptist Church in Stockdale on Thursday, October 30, 1958 at 3 o'clock in the afternoon with Reverend Marshall Smith officiating assisted by Dr. J.N. Hunt and Reverend Dwight Smith, all Baptist clergy.⁵⁴² When prominent Texas physician and medical historian Pat Ireland Nixon delivered the eulogy for his colleague, he spoke far more of her service than her sex. In fact, he only made mention of it once as he opened his speech, saying, "When on a May day in the year 1899 a modest ^but ambitious^ (added into his typed speech in pencil) young woman walked across the stage at Galveston and received her diploma, little could she have foreseen that there was thus beginning one of the most worthy careers in the annals of Texas medicine." The record of her medical career appeared far more noteworthy to him than her gender, especially given she had trained at Galveston under the likes "of such medical stalwarts as Thompson, Carter, Keiller, Paine, and Randall." He marveled at the fact: "She did not go to a city to practice medicine, some city that offered better financial returns. She chose Stockdale and her decision was a blessing to all the people of this area." Speaking of her legacy, he notes, "No doctor that I know has given so much of herself and her personality as has Doctor Ware. All this has been done without regard for her own welfare. No night was ever too dark or road too long for her. She will long be remembered as family doctor, advisor, and friend."⁵⁴³

⁵⁴¹ "Ella Ware," 1958, Bexar County, Texas Death Certificates.

⁵⁴² "Ware," obituary, undated newspaper clipping.

⁵⁴³ Pat Ireland Nixon, "Dr. Ella Ware," 1954.

People's love for Ware does indeed continue until this day. As recently as 2010, one hundred and eleven years after her medical school graduation, Stockdale held another "Dr. Ware Day" to commemorate her service to the community. The country doc's office now houses the town's museum. Other early Texas women doctors continue to be appreciated as well. Hallie Earle and Claudia Potter received Texas State Historical Markers by their graves in 1996 and 1997, Baylor named a dorm after Hallie Earle in 2013, and UTMB held exhibits featuring its early female graduates in 2008 and 2015.⁵⁴⁴ All of this is a testament to generations of recognition of these women's work.

In the end, perhaps nothing exemplified Ware's impact on rural South Texas more than the outcome of one of the last births she attended on April 17, 1949. In an article on her accident and the canceled fete, Ware is pictured proudly holding two-week old preemie Frederico Ybarra whom she treated in her own home until he was out of danger. Forty-eight-year-old Mamie Bernice Wheeler Smith stands next to the doctor and baby as one of the first "Dr. Ware babies."⁵⁴⁵ Smith was privy to Ware's care up until that point in her life, became a teacher and a mother, and lived to the age of sixty. Other Ware babies lived until even much riper old ages.⁵⁴⁶ Yet, the story would differ for the infant Ybarra, son of Mexican laborer Fred Ybarra and his fifteen-year-old wife. He died at just

⁵⁴⁴ "East Village building names honor prominent Baylor engineer and doctor," Baylor Proud, June 3, 2013, <http://www2.baylor.edu/baylorproud/2013/06/east-village-building-names-honor-prominent-baylor-engineer-and-doctor/>; "Women in Texas History Marker Map," Texas Historical Commission.; KristiAnn Clifford, "Women's History Month Exhibit Highlights UTMB women, past and present," *Impact*, March 9, 2015, <http://www.utmb.edu/impact/article.aspx?IAID=1596>; "Women in medicine exhibit to open Aug. 14," UTMB Newsroom, August 7, 2008, <http://www.utmb.edu/newsroom/article3969.aspx>.

⁵⁴⁵ "Ella Ware Fete Cancelled," *San Antonio Light*, May 13, 1949.

⁵⁴⁶ Census records.; Headstone: Mamie Bernice Smith, 1961, Stockdale Cemetery, Stockdale, Texas.

seven months old after the family moved from Stockdale to rural Lamesa, Texas. The cause of his death is recorded as: “No Dr., from what I could learn, pneumonia.”⁵⁴⁷

Ware continues to be remembered for what she treasured the most, delivering an endless number of babies and providing charitable, often lifelong care to those in a community in need. Her tombstone reads “Fifty years of unselfish humanitarian service to her fellow man,” and a quote in an editorial after her death likely portrayed Ware’s own feelings well, “Death has claimed Dr. Ella Ware...who practiced medicine and Christianity for more than 50 years at Stockdale but her good deeds live on. She died not a wealthy woman but she was richer than any millionaire.”⁵⁴⁸

⁵⁴⁷ “Frederico Ybarra,” 1949, Dawson County, Texas Death Certificates.

⁵⁴⁸ “Dr. Ella Ware, An Editorial,” *San Antonio Express*, October 31, 1958.

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APPENDIX

1. First UTMB female graduates' birthplaces:

Ware from Wilson County (Lorenz, Texas), (Martha) Nelle Beal from Burnet County (Bertram, Texas), Jessie Walker Pryor from Caldwell County (Luling, Texas), Una Howe (Hasskarl) from Cass County (Douglasville, Texas), Edda Von Bose from Comal County, Minnie Lee "L." Maffett from Falls County, Marjorie Mason (Jarvis) Hutson from Grayson County (Denison, Texas), Ruby/Rubie Kathleen Embry from McLennan/Coryell County (McGregor, Texas), Margaret Roberta (Holliday) Clark from Victoria County (Victoria, Texas), and Emma Jane (Beck) Rector from Williamson County (Florence, Texas), Claudia Potter and Mary Robert "Robbie" (Davis) Matlock from Denton County (Denton, Texas and Little Elm, Texas) and Frances May/Mae McAdams and Rosalie/Rosa Lee (McAdams) Milkovich from Walker County (Huntsville, Texas). Those from cities included: May Agnes(s) (Hopkins) Reitzel from Austin, Ella (Devlin) Fritch from Galveston, Mary Elizabeth Roe from Fort Worth, Ada Ben (Halbert) Graham from Waco, and Marie "M." Charlotte Schaef(f)er and Ellen Carlotta/Charlotte Cover from San Antonio. Those outside of Texas included: Mollie Amelia Geiss from Dawson County, Georgia, Bertha Elvira (Stanley) Byram from Kansas, Perle Potter (Penfield) Newell from Iowa, Clara Gathright "G." Cook from Meridian, Mississippi, Sarah (Rudnick) Jourdin from New York, Mildred Washington (Weeks) Wells from Oklahoma (Indian Territory), Clara (Kocher) Duncan from White Haven, Pennsylvania, Anna Marie Bowie from Tennessee, Marie Philomene (Delalondre) Dietzel from New Orleans, Louisiana, Martha Alice "A." Wood from Highland, Louisiana, Jennie Aloysius Sherrin from New Orleans, Louisiana, Mary Cleveland Harper from Chariton County, Missouri, Ray (Karchmer) "K." Daily from Vilna, Lithuania, and Violet Hannah Keiller from Edinburgh, Scotland.

2. Sources on the dates women were first admitted to Southern Medical Schools:

For Alabama see, "A Chronological History of the University of Alabama at Birmingham (UAB) and its Predecessor Institutions and Organizations 1831-," *UAB Archives, The University of Alabama Board of Trustees*, <https://www.uab.edu/archives/chron.>; "Early Female Physicians in Alabama," *Hidden Legacies*, Amos Wright, ed., *The University of Alabama*, <https://sites.google.com/site/earlyfemaledocsalabama/Home.>; For Arkansas see, *Alumni Matters, UAMS College of Medicine*, 3, 2, June 2007, http://www.uams.edu/com/alumni/alumni_june_2007.pdf; For Georgia see, "History of the Medical College of Georgia 1910-1923," *Greenblatt Library, Georgia Regents University*, <http://gru.edu/library/greenblatt/history/1910-1923.php>; "Elizabeth Grambell: First Female Medical Student at Emory," *History and Traditions, Emory University*, <http://www.emoryhistory.emory.edu/facts-figures/people/makers-history/profiles/gambrell.html>; Karen Schindler, "Emory University School of

Medicine,” *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, <http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/science-medicine/emory-university-school-medicine12/12/2003>.; For Louisiana see, *International Dictionary of University Histories*, Carol J. Summerfield, Mary Elizabeth Devine, Anthony Levi, eds. (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1998), 400.; John Duffy, *The Tulane University Medical Center* (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1984), 84-85, 136.; “Women in Medicine: Elizabeth Bass Collection,” *Rudolph Matas Library of the Health Sciences, Tulane University*, <http://matas.tulane.edu/collections/womeninmedicine>.; For Kansas see, Nancy J. Julston “Women of the (Early) Years, *KU History, The University of Kansas*, <http://kuhistory.com/articles/women-of-the-early-years>.; For Kentucky see, “‘Firsts’ of for the Women at the University of Louisville, *The Women’s Center News*, 13, 3 Spring 2006, *UofL Women’s Center*, <https://louisville.edu/nursing/womenscenter/news/news.html/newletters/Spring%202006-Volume%2013%20Issue%203.pdf>.; Dwayne D. Cox, William Morison, *The University of Louisville* (The University Press of Kentucky, 2015), 63.; *The Encyclopedia of Louisville*, John E. Kleber, ed. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2015), 606.; For Mississippi see, “History,” *The University of Mississippi Medical Center*, <http://www.umc.edu/History.aspx>.; “Mississippi Women in the Health Professionals: First Women Physicians,” *Rowland Medical Library, University of Mississippi Medical Center*, <http://library.fsmb.org/centennial/pdf/ms-medical-history.pdf>.; For North Carolina see, Molly Gillespie and Mark Grotjohn, “North Carolina Medical College,” *Davidson Encyclopedia*, 3 July 2006 <http://sites.davidson.edu/archives/encyclopedia/north-carolina-medical-college/>.; “Sloop, Mary T. Martin,” *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography: Vol. 5, P-S*, William S. Powell, ed. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 364.; Patty Courtright, “Brief encounter triggers 100 years of women students at Carolina,” *UNC-CH News*, October 10, 1997, no. 735, <http://www.unc.edu/news/archives/oct97/100.html>.; “Facts About Women’s History at Wake Forest Baptist,” *Wake Forest Baptist Medical Center*, 7-9-2014, <http://www.wakehealth.edu/Diversity/Womens-History-at-WFBMC.htm>.; For Oklahoma see, “The Story of Oklahoma City: ‘the Biggest Little City in the World,’” William F. Kerr, Ina Gainer, eds. (Chicago: The S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1922), 304.; Fred S. Clinton, “University of Oklahoma Medical School Crisis Averted, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*,” 25, <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/Chronicles/v025/v025p342.pdf>, p. 343.; *Polk’s Medical Register and Directory of North America* (Polk., 1914), 178.; For South Carolina see, “MUSC Timeline and Events,” *Waring Historical Library*, <http://waring.library.musc.edu/qrtimeline.php>.; For Tennessee see, “Firsts for Vanderbilt Women,” *Jean and Alexander Heard Library, Vanderbilt University*, December 5, 2012, http://www.library.vanderbilt.edu/speccol/digcoll/vuwomen_date.shtml.; “Early History,” *Meharry Medical College*, <http://www.mmc.edu/education/som/aboutus/somhistory.html>.; “About the Graduate School of Medicine: Our History,” *The University of Tennessee*

Graduate School of Medicine, <http://gsm.utmck.edu/about/history.cfm>.; “Timeline & History,” *The University of Tennessee Health Science Center*, <http://www.uthsc.edu/100/timeline/>.; For Virginia see, Amy Marshall, “Women in Medicine: A History of Hard Battles and Kind Hearts,” *UVA Health System Blog*, March 8, 2012, <http://uvahealth.com/blog/2012/03/08/women-in-medicine-a-history-of-hard-battles-and-kind-hearts/>. Survey questionnaires that you have created.

3. More on the first female graduates from Southern medical schools:

A medical school in Alabama appears to claim the title of the first Southern institution to grant a degree to a woman somewhere in its brief years of operation from 1852 to 1861. This woman, Louisa Shepard Presley, was the daughter of the man who organized the school. She faced public scrutiny and never could sustain a practice. Only a handful of other schools in the region graduated women prior to Texas, including the medical department of an all-women’s college in Georgia in 1887, a Kentucky medical school in 1887, and interestingly, two African American medical schools in 1893, in Kentucky and Tennessee. “Early Female Physicians in Alabama,” *Hidden Legacies*, Amos Wright, ed., *The University of Alabama*, <https://sites.google.com/site/earlyfemaledocsalabama/Home>.; Thomas J. Ward, *Black Physicians in the Jim Crow South* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2010), 52. Of note, historian Thomas J. Ward suggests: “Surprisingly, the first licensed women physicians in a number of southern states were African American. In addition to Dr. Johnson, the first women to pass state medical board exams in Virginia, Mississippi, and South Carolina were all black. This may be due in part to the fact that while any southern woman who sought to receive a medical education faced an uphill struggle, white women with the means and education to go on to medical school also faced social pressures that deemed medicine an ‘unwomanly’ profession in the late nineteenth century. Black women, excluded from the cult of southern white womanhood, were less restrained from pursuing ‘unwomanly’ professions.”

4. Suggested topics for public health addresses by Texas women physicians:

Topics included: The Cause and Prevention of Ordinary Colds; The Value of Pure Food and the Physiology of Digestion; The Chemistry and Economic Value of Food; The Care of the Food at Home, The Relation of Pure Water to Public Health; Water-borne Diseases; The Value of Exercise and Rest to the Public Health; The Causes and Prevention of Nervous Exhaustion and Prostration; The Use and Abuse of Stimulants and Narcotics; The Prevention and Cure of Tuberculosis; The Air We Breathe and the Value of Ventilation; The Relation of Flies, Mosquitoes, Water Bugs and Other Insects to Public Health; Pure Milk and Infant Hygiene; The Hygienic Management of Nervous Children; The Relation of Teeth to Good Health; Prevention of Some of the Commoner Skin Diseases; The Importance of Early Diagnosis and Treatment of Adenoids; The Causes and Prevention of Deafness; The Prevention of Fourth of July Injuries and Tetanus;

The Prevention of Acquired Deformities; The Causes and Prevention of Blindness; The Causes and Results of Eye-Strain; How to Instruct Children Regarding the Origin of Life; The Responsibility of Girlhood to Motherhood in the Care of the Health During the Menstrual Period; Pregnancy and the Menopause; The Value of Early Diagnosis of Cancer in Women; The Responsibility of Boyhood to Fatherhood; Social Hygiene—How Parents May Protect Their Sons and Daughters from Immorality.

5. Examples of the activism of Texas women physicians:

For example, in Galveston, Marie Delalondre Dietzel led health-concerned women's groups, advocated for the regulation of meat prices, ran city beautification projects, and organized homework exhibition fairs. ("The City Beautiful Movement Status," *Galveston Daily News*, November 5, 1911.; Various other *Galveston Daily News* articles.); Ella Devlin Fritch also worked on beatification projects and with the city's Women's Heath Protective Association. (Various *Galveston Daily News* articles); In Houston, Martha A. Wood served as the state department president of the American Legion Auxiliary of Texas and "was a leader in many groups outside of medicine, and in rehabilitation and child welfare work." ("Legion Honor Group Fetes Dr. M.A. Wood," *Dallas Morning News*, May 12, 1942.; Baker, "Chronology of Texas Pathology," 143.); Margaret Holliday Clark started a hospital for children with mental and physical disabilities. She also worked with the Southern Educational Association on "Social Sanitation" in Austin. In San Antonio, Mary Cleveland Harper acted as a president of the Women's Business Club, served as a school board member, led the Bexar County Medical Milk Commission, and promoted the benefits of breastfeeding. (Jakobi, "Harper, Mary Cleveland," *Handbook of Texas Online*, 2010.); May Agnes Hopkins Reitzel "help[ed] to organize the Children's Clinic at Baylor Hospital" and "examined children in juvenile court and lectured on social and child welfare" in Dallas. (Cara East and Debbie Bridges, "Women physicians at Baylor University Medical Center," *Baylor University Medical Center Proceedings* 17, 3, July 2004: 304-317.); Clara G. Cook, as assistant city physician, addressed mothers and teachers on health topics at local schools in San Antonio. As previously mentioned, Cook volunteered weekly at the Children's Clinic at the Wesley Community House. She also held membership in the Woman's Club and Y.M.C.A. ("Dr. Clara Cook Named Asst. City Physician," *San Antonio Evening News*, February 25, 1920.; "Society," *San Antonio Evening News*, February 14, 1919.; "Women in Action: Volunteers for Community Service," *San Antonio Light Sunday*, February 7, 1960.); In addition to Minnie L. Maffett's aforementioned role president of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women, she did relief work overseas. (Debbie Mauldin Cottrell, "Maffett, Minnie Lee," *Handbook of Texas*, June, 15, 2010, <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fmach>.; "Americans Build Taipei Nurses Home," *The Fresno Bee*, April 16, 1964.); Claudia Potter held membership to the American Association of University Women. (Silverthorne, "Potter, Claudia," *Handbook of Texas Online*, 2010.); Edda Von Bose raised

awareness of drug addiction, served on the Texas Public Health Association, the Mexico Border Public Health Association, the San Antonio Safety Council, and the Community Welfare Council. She also held membership to the to the American Association of University Women, Business and Women's Professional Club, Order of the Eastern Star, San Antonio Business and Professional Women's Club, United Daughters of the Confederacy, and Zonta International. ("Headliners' to Be Honored at Matrix Dinner," *San Antonio Express*, April 3, 1960.; "Secret Narcotics Use Leads To Addiction—Medic of Year," *San Antonio Express*, January 26, 1959.); Finally, as previously mentioned, a few of the women played instrumental roles in opening health centers at universities.

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PUBLICATIONS

Articles published by the Texas State Historical Association, 2010:

“Nixon, Joan Lowery,” *Handbook of Texas Online*
(<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fni16>)

“Finklea, Tula Ellice [Cyd Charisse],” *Handbook of Texas Online*
(<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ffi58>)

“Swayze, Patrick Wayne,” *Handbook of Texas Online*
(<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fsw35>)

“Dr. Ella Ware, ‘The Country Doc:’ Early Female Physician Educated and Practicing in Rural Texas,” *The Journal of South Carolina Medical Association* (2009), abridged version of senior seminar paper

EDUCATION

Research displayed at The University of Texas Medical Branch in Galveston, August 2008

In the “Local Legends” portion of the US National Library of Medicine traveling exhibit “Changing the Face of Medicine: Celebrating America’s Women Physicians” at the Moody Library

AWARDS

W. Curtis Worthington, Jr. National Research Paper Competition
1st place Undergraduate Division, June 2008

Presented by the Waring Historical Library Society and the Waring Historical Library at the Medical University of South Carolina in Charleston

For an abridged version of senior seminar paper published, “*Dr. Ella Ware, ‘The Country Doc:’ Early Female Physician Educated and Practicing in Rural Texas*”